

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, November 26, 2012 9:03 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Hearings

Remind me to discuss b/f today's mtg

----- Original Message -----

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Sunday, November 25, 2012 10:15 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Hearings

Got it - thanks.

----- Original Message -----

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, November 25, 2012 08:52 PM
To: Matthew G. Olsen
Subject: Re: Hearings

Dear Matt

Thanks for reaching out - I am en route to Haiti so will try you when I land b/w 810 to 9am

Best
Cdm

----- Original Message -----

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Sunday, November 25, 2012 12:07 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: RE: Hearings

Cheryl --

I'm just following up from last week. I know you spoke to Nick on Wednesday. I thought the ARB session went very well -- good questions and discussion with the panel.

I was planning to leave for Africa today, but have postponed my trip to handle the [REDACTED] tomorrow. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] It may be good for us to talk tomorrow morning --
I'd appreciate any suggestions or insights you may have in advance of the WH meeting.

I hope you've had a good holiday weekend.

-----Original Message-----

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, November 20, 2012 7:17 AM
To: Matthew G. Olsen

B6

B6

B5

Subject: RE: Hearings

Dear Matt

Thanks so much - we've been getting as good a reports as one might expect. That said, I welcome the read out and look forward to sharing some concerns - I am around all day today, though am easier to reach in the afternoon.

Best.

cdm

-----Original Message-----

From:

Sent: Monday, November 19, 2012 11:02 PM

To: Mills, Cheryl D

Subject: Hearings

Cheryl --

This is a quick note to say that the hearings on Benghazi are going fine, from my perspective. Pat Kennedy has been terrific -- substantive, precise, and firm in the face of some outlandish behavior. We continue to fend off questions about the unclass talking points. And I think the time line narrative is helpful.

I will call to give you a more complete read-out

-Matt

B6

RELEASE IN PART B5,B3 CIA
PERS/ORG,B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, October 17, 2012 5:48 PM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: Fw:

B6

PLs print.

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, September 27, 2012 12:27 PM
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Subject: Fw:

----- Original Message -----

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 11:08 AM
To: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Sullivan, Jacob J; [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Subject:

B3 CIA PERS/ORG
B6

Per the discussion at Deputies, here are the revised TPs for HPSCI. Let me know what you think.

B5

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PERS/ORG,B6

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B5

RELEASE IN PART
B1,B7(D),B7(E),1.4(D),B7(A)

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, November 18, 2012 8:44 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: FYI - Report of arrests -- possible Benghazi connection

Fyi

From: Jones, Beth E
Sent: Sunday, November 18, 2012 07:14 PM
To: Burns, William J; Sherman, Wendy R; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Dibble, Elizabeth L; Roebuck, William V
Subject: Fw: FYI - Report of arrests -- possible Benghazi connection

This preliminary, but very interesting, pls see below. FBI in Tripoli is fully involved.

From: Roebuck, William V
Sent: Sunday, November 18, 2012 07:01 PM
To: Jones, Beth E; Maxwell, Raymond D; Abdalla, Alyce N; Sidereas, Evyenia; Miller, James N
Subject: FYI - Report of arrests -- possible Benghazi connection

Post reports that Libyans police have arrested several people today who may/may have some connection to the Benghazi attack. They were acting on information furnished by DS/RSO. [REDACTED]

B7(E)

B7(A)
B7(E)

[REDACTED] That may or
may not materialize, according to David McFarland. [REDACTED] Overall,
this could lead to something operationally, or not, and it could lead to news accounts from Libya saying there
is a significant break in the case, or not.

1.4(D)
B1
B7(D)

At this point, just FYI.

William V. Roebuck

Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 05/22/2015 ~ Class: SECRET/NOFORN ~
Reason: 1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 11/18/2032

Director

Office of Maghreb Affairs

Department of State

202-647-4679

roebuckwv@state.gov

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, October 7, 2012 12:29 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: H: Great to see you. Drop in again. Here's Libya. Sid

Will do.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, October 07, 2012 11:02 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: H: Great to see you. Drop in again. Here's Libya. Sid

Useful insight. Pls circulate.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Saturday, October 06, 2012 06:18 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Great to see you. Drop in again. Here's Libya. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

October 6, 2012

For: Hillary

From: Sid

Re: Libya cabinet politics

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. As of October 5, 2012 Mohammed Yussef el Magariaf, the new interim President of Libya told senior advisors that the abortive efforts to form a cabinet under new Prime Minister Mustafa Abushagur represent the first step in the next phase of the struggle for control of the new Libyan Government. According to a sensitive source Magariaf is concerned that Abushagur, supported by the Muslim Brotherhood's (MB) Justice and Construction Party (JCP), as well as certain of the other more traditional Islamist groups, is looking to establish day to day administrative control the new government while defining Magariaf as a ceremonial Head of State.

2. According to this individual, the President, who is not affiliated with a particular party holding seats in the General National Council (GNC), spoke with the new Prime Minister immediately after Abushagur was elected by the GNC on September 12. At that time Magariaf advised him to include in his government members of former Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril's National Forces Alliance (NFA), Abushagar having only narrowly defeated Jibril in the GNC vote. At that time Magariaf was not aware of the fact that Jibril had already demanded 9 cabinet seats for the NFA; however, he did point out that even Jibril's more moderate followers were committed to the idea of a modern Islamic state and would fit into the new cabinet. The President came away from this discussion with the impression that Abushagur and his supporters intend to marginalize Jibril and the 39 Members of Parliament (MP) controlled by the NFA, concentrating instead on working with the 120 independent MPs in the GNC, looking to establish a more conservative administration. This individual added that Abushagur made it clear that while the President was free to choose his Vice President and staff, the Prime Minister would choose the national cabinet, supported by the GNC.

3. (Source Comment: According to this individual, Magariaf is allowing the current crisis in the Abushagur administration to play out without direct interference. He is convinced that the desire of the Libyan people for peace and stability, which brought him to power, added to the need to balance the regional and political rivalries throughout the country, will lead to the formation of a cabinet that is acceptable to all parties. Magariaf also believes that these developments will eventually leave him as the dominant figure in the government.)

4. In addition, this individual added that Magariaf is seized with the national security situation, the ongoing effort to disarm militia units, and the investigation of the murder of the United States Ambassador. All of these efforts are related to what he sees as his most important role, rebuilding the confidence of the international business community in its ability to operate in Libya safely and efficiently. To this end he does agree with Abushagur that it is important to replace the cabinet of former Prime Minister Abdel Rahman el-Keib, particularly Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yazza, whose connections to the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi, and the Italian Oil firm ENI made him unacceptable to the JCP and other conservative parties. That said, this individual notes that Magariaf was surprised and not pleased with the appointment to the ministry of Mabrouk Issa Abu Harroua, another technical expert, who previously worked for Libya's Zueitina Oil Company as well as in the oil sector abroad. Magariaf feels that Abu Harroua does not have the standing among the foreign oil companies that Ben Yezza enjoyed, although he was more acceptable to a number of the conservative members of the GNC.

5. Magariaf was pleased that the Prime Minister, after dramatic confrontations with MPs and demonstrators who entered the GNC chamber, withdrew his cabinet nominations. The President again advised Abushagur to name former Oil and Finance Minister Ali Tarhouni to the Oil Ministry post; however, he fears that that Ali Tarhouni is seen as too close to Western governments to gain acceptance in the GNC. Magariaf is concerned that, while the new cabinet Abushagur plans to put forward on October 7 may contain some members of the NFA and other moderate groups, it will still be dominated by the JCP and conservative elements, and will again fail to gain acceptance, leading to a real government crisis.

6. According to this individual Magariaf and his advisors knew in advance that more than 100 protesters planned to enter the GNC session on October 4, in an effort to prevent MPs from convening to vote on the new cabinet. While Magariaf did not directly influence these protesters he did nothing to warn or advise Abushagur on the developing situation. In particular, the protestors objected to the failure of the Prime Minister to name any minister from the Zawiya region. Although the demonstrators eventually left the hall, a number of the independent MPs, who had said they would support the new cabinet, were shaken by the incident and changed their positions. In the end, according to this individual, Abushagur's efforts to rally their support failed, and he was forced to withdraw all of the nominees, promising to submit a new list on October 7, one that would take into account regional and political considerations.

7. In the opinion of a particularly sensitive source, the failure of Abushagur to name any NFA ministers to the new cabinet will continue to complicate the matter. For his part Magariaf is concerned over international perceptions regarding the nature of the new Libyan government. In this regard, he fears that the Western press is too sharply focused on the fact that the NFA holds the largest single bloc of votes in the GNC (38), missing the fact that the real power in the parliament lies with the 120 independent deputies, who tend to be somewhat conservative on religious and social matters, while focusing primarily on local political issues. Magariaf believes that the appointment of Ali Tarhouni, or another liberal not associated with the NFA, would serve to reassure Western business and government leaders while demonstrating political balance to the Libyan people. Although he continues to make this point, the President has no indication that Abushagur will follow his advice. He does expect Abushagur to again select a majority of cabinet ministers associated with the MB and the JCP.

8. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, Magariaf will remain focused on the security situation, particularly as he is having some success disarming the militias following the death of the U.S. Ambassador. According to this individual, Magariaf believes he must end the power of the regional militia

forces before the Libyan economy can improve. The President knows that foreign companies are the key to Libyan oil production, but he fears that they will not increase their commitment to Libya until the government can insure the security of their personnel and facilities. In a final note, this individual added that the Italian government is stepping up its activities in Libya, and the President expects them to pressure to Abushagur appoint an individual like Ben Yezza to the Oil Ministry, where he can favor ENI and other Italian firms.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2012 11:18 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: H: Latest intel: Libyan leadership private discussions. Sid

Roger, will do.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2012 10:18 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: H: Latest intel: Libyan leadership private discussions. Sid

Fyi and send around as you choose.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2012 09:57 AM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Subject: H: Latest intel: Libyan leadership private discussions. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

October 25, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Latest Libyan Leadership Private Discussions & Plans

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During mid-October 2012 Libyan President Youssef el Magariaf stated in private that he and Prime Minister Ali Zidan have ordered National Libyan Army (NLA) Chief of Staff General Youssef al Mangoush to establish a more coordinated operational relationship with Misrata and Zintan militias in order to support expanded army operations throughout the country. According to a sensitive source, prior to the death of the United States Ambassador on September 11, 2012 Mangoush resisted greater reliance on these specific large militias, believing that such a move undercuts the government's efforts to disarm and demobilize all of the militias left over from the 2011 civil war. At this point, however, Mangoush agreed with Magariaf that the situation in the country is becoming

increasingly dangerous and unmanageable. Accordingly, the Chief of Staff stated that he will work with Ousama al Jouwali, the leader of the Zintan forces to step up operations against the other militias, (supported by the Misrata troops), that also come from the mountainous region of Western Libya. At the same time he will instruct NLA troops under ground force commander General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar to pursue operations against tribal forces fighting on behalf of the Qaddafi family in Southern and Southeastern Libya.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, Magariaf and Zidan agree that Libya's future depends on the success of their efforts in this militia demobilization operation over the next six months. While they believe that the involvement of Ansar al Sharia forces, with the assistance of al Qai'da in the Islamic Magreb (AQIM), in the assassination of the U.S. Ambassador has focused the world business and diplomatic community on the reality of the security issues surrounding the militias, the President and Prime Minister also fear that the situation is far worse than Western sources realize. Mangoush informs them that AQIM and radical Salafist groups are increasing their efforts to take advantage of the frustrations of the various militias with the government, using the attack on the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi as an inspiration for their activities. Just as Ansar al Sharia began as a militia supporting the federalist claims of Eastern tribal leaders, and was then infiltrated by AQIM radicals, Mangoush believes many of the other regional and ethnic militias around the country could follow the same path, if his troops do not succeed in the disarmament program. He also agrees with Zidan that they must move quickly since Libya's tradition of avoiding the Sunni-Shia conflict that dominates most of Middle East is beginning to erode during this period of chaos.)

3. A particularly sensitive source noted that NLA operations have already begun against Ansar al Sharia forces south of Benghazi, after members of that militia/terrorist group killed four national policemen during a grenade attack at a roadblock in the Sousa Mountains. Under orders from Haftar Libyan troops surrounded more than 100 Ansar al Sharia fighters in the region of the town of Sousa. According to this sensitive source, the NLA suffered relatively heavy casualties in the fighting, but believe they captured a number of AQIM operatives and one of Ansar al Sharia's senior commanders, Sufian bin Qamu, who they believe ordered the attack on the police. Mangoush also reported to Zidan that Qamu had been previously captured by United States forces and imprisoned at the Guantanamo Bay facility.

4. At the same time the Libyan army and forces from the Misrata militia entered the town of Bani Walid approximately 100 miles south of Tripoli, in an area still loyal to the Qaddafi family, engaging in close fighting with pro-Qaddafi forces. During the fighting Haftar dispatched troops with heavier arms to support the Misrata forces. According to this source, the NLA downplayed the level of the fighting, in an effort to reassure the supporters of the Government. That said the NLA/Misrata force had captured the city center and the airport after suffering significant casualties. The Government forces entered the city after shelling opposition positions around the city hospital, using heavy mortars and motorized guns.

5. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this knowledgeable individual, while Magariaf and Zidan remain optimistic about the future of Libya, they believe that the security situation will remain tenuous throughout 2013. Magariaf also sees the national election scheduled for mid-2013 as a potentially complicating factor. According to this source, Mangoush and Haftar focused on Bani Walid under pressure from the Misrata commanders. These militia leaders were, according to a knowledgeable source, angered over the death of one of their senior officials, Omran Shaban, at the hands of pro-Qaddafi forces in Bani Walid. The Misrata commanders report that Shaban was one of the organizers of the Misrata militia unit that captured and executed Qaddafi in 2011 outside of the town of Sirte. The Misrata leaders, supported by the General National Council (GNC), demanded the surrender of the men who arrested and killed Shaban. As the fighting expanded through late September and early October, Magariaf and his advisors came to see Bani Walid as an important

symbol of their commitment to disarm the militias and anti-government groups, and increased their involvement accordingly.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 1:52 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Libya, latest Benghazi intel. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo libya, benghazi, oil 121012.docx

More info.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:[\[REDACTED\]](#)]
Sent: Monday, December 10, 2012 02:56 PM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Subject: H: Libya, latest Benghazi intel. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

December 10, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Libya, Benghazi, Oil

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Government, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During early December 2012 Libyan Prime Minister Ali Zidan and President Mohamed Magariaf concluded a series of discreet meetings with selected tribal leaders from Eastern Cyrenaica region (Barqa in Arabic), after which they agreed that the problem of the growing Barqa federalist movement is gaining strength and will again become a major issue in early 2013. At the same time National Libyan Army (NLA) Chief of Staff General Youssef al Mangoush warned Zidan that the Eastern tribes have rearmed and reequipped in the past three months and are preparing to reassert their desire for a degree of autonomy in early 2013. Mangoush also advised that the situation in the region between Benghazi and the Egyptian border may become increasingly complicated as Salafist fighters from Egypt continue to arrive in Benghazi. Mangoush reported that his staff officers have been advised in secret by aids to Egyptian Army Chief of Staff, General Mohammed al-Sissi, that, acting under instructions from Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi, military and security forces are taking steps to detain or neutralize extreme Salafist para-military groups and that a number of these fighters are fleeing to Libya. According to the Libyan commander, these Salafist fighters are comfortable in Benghazi, where many of them served with Libyan revolutionary forces during the rebellion against former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi.

2. In the opinion of this individual, Zidan and Magariaf, after consulting with Minister of Oil Abdulbari al-Arusi, decided to move forward with a plan dating back to the administration of former Oil Minister Abdulrahman Ben Yezza dividing the National Oil Corporation's (NOC) production and exploration divisions into two separate firms. With this in mind, al-Arusi began discussing the matter with concerned parties in late November and early December. Included in these discussions were meetings with members of the local federalist council in Benghazi and tribal officials from Barqa. In these sessions Al-Arusi described a new structure managing all existing oil-related firms, while building new operations and raising funds from investors outside of the country. This firm will be divided into two branches, one in Benghazi and one in Tripoli. Al-Arusi added that the cost of this project will range between fifty (50) and sixty (60) billion dinars.

3. (Source Comment: According to a separate sensitive source, this concept came as a surprise to most of the local officials in Tripoli and Benghazi. This individual added that while the Western officials continue to have some questions about the matter, the Benghazi/Barqa leaders were, in al-Arusi's opinion, positive, if not enthusiastic about the new initiative. According to al-Arusi, doubts on either side relate to the mistrust that remains between the two regions, but he is determined to move ahead in this matter and is supported by Zidan and Magariaf. According to this source, the president and prime minister are convinced that they must deal with this internal East-West issue before they can bring a stable security environment to the country, and disarm the remaining independent militias in each part of the country. This individual added that in private discussions al-Arusi stated that the tentative name for this new oil entity will be the National Corporation for Oil Refining and Petrochemicals Industry, with its headquarters in Tripoli, and substantive offices in Benghazi. Like the NOC, the new firm will fall under the Ministry of Oil and Gas.)

4. In addition, this sensitive source noted that Al-Arusi is also discussing the creation of a company specializing in mechanical construction related to the oil and gas industry. This firm would be based in Benghazi. The minister stated in private that he believes such a company can be developed to compete with international firms in this very complex field. He also believes that such a firm must be managed by experienced, scientifically-qualified Libyans, with reputations for honesty. He noted that until as such a cadre is developed it may be desirable to use experts from Egypt to fill the immediate needs of the firm. Al-Arusi believes this firm should have offices in all of the oil fields and loading facilities. The minister also plans to establish an office in Benghazi, similar to Tripoli's oil institute, a facility that will train students looking to pursue oil-related studies. In addition, al-Arusi is making plans to reopen the Higher Petroleum Institute in Tobruk, which was closed by Qaddafi at the beginning of the revolution. He told a sensitive source that he expects the Tobruk institute to produce thousands of skilled engineers to provide Libyan managers for the future operation of the oil sector. Once the final details are set the Zidan regime will submit the entire package for parliamentary approval and financing

6. (Source Comment: Advisors to Magariaf state in confidence that, in their opinion this comprehensive plan for the oil industry will face opposition from individuals with links to foreign oil firms, primarily foreign trained engineers who hope to see greater privatization in the oil and oil services industries in the wake of the revolution. According to a particularly sensitive source, Zidan is particularly concerned about this possibility, noting that these individuals see this issue in strictly business terms, not considering the political issues, and the East - West situation, that are all part of the overall picture in Libya. At present al-Arusi believes that foreign oil firms remain concerned about the unsettled security situation throughout Libya, however; he is convinced that this new plan will help address this situation. At present, he noted that the large Italian oil firm ENI is stepping up its operations throughout Libya, and, with the support of the Italian Government, will continue to increase its investment in Libya in an effort to get ahead of the other foreign firms concerned in Libya.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sidney Blumenthal [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2012 9:57 AM
To: H
Subject: H: Latest intel: Libyan leadership private discussions. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo Libyan Leadership Private Discussions 102512.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

October 25, 2012

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CONFIDENTIAL

October 25, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Latest Libyan Leadership Private Discussions & Plans

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During mid-October 2012 Libyan President Yussef el Magariaf stated in private that he and Prime Minister Ali Zidan have ordered National Libyan Army (NLA) Chief of Staff General Youssef al Mangoush to establish a more coordinated operational relationship with Misrata and Zintan militias in order to support expanded army operations throughout the country. According to a sensitive source, prior to the death of the United States Ambassador on September 11, 2012 Mangoush resisted greater reliance on these specific large militias, believing that such a move undercuts the government's efforts to disarm and demobilize all of the militias left over from the 2011 civil war. At this point, however, Mangoush agreed with Magariaf that the situation in the country is becoming increasingly dangerous and unmanageable. Accordingly, the Chief of Staff stated that he will work with Ousama al Jouwali, the leader of the Zintan forces to step up operations against the other militias, (supported by the Misrata troops), that also come from the mountainous region of Western Libya. At the same time he will instruct NLA troops under ground force commander General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar to pursue operations against tribal forces fighting on behalf of the Qaddafi family in Southern and Southeastern Libya.

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claims of Eastern tribal leaders, and was then infiltrated by AQIM radicals, Mangoush believes many of the other regional and ethnic militias around the country could follow the same path, if his troops do not succeed in the disarmament program. He also agrees with Zidan that they must move quickly since Libya's tradition of avoiding the Sunni-Shia conflict that dominates most of Middle East is beginning to erode during this period of chaos.)

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sidney Blumenthal [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, December 10, 2012 2:57 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Libya, latest Benghazi intel. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo libya, benghazi, oil 121012.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

December 10, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Libya, Benghazi, Oil

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Government, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During early December 2012 Libyan Prime Minister Ali Zidan and President Mohamed Magariaf concluded a series of discreet meetings with selected tribal leaders from Eastern Cyrenaica region (Barqa in Arabic), after which they agreed that the problem of the growing Barqa federalist movement is gaining strength and will again become a major issue in early 2013. At the same time National Libyan Army (NLA) Chief of Staff General Youssef al Mangoush warned Zidan that the Eastern tribes have rearmed and reequipped in the past three months and are preparing to reassert their desire for a degree of autonomy in early 2013. Mangoush also advised that the situation in the region between Benghazi and the Egyptian border may become increasingly complicated as Salafist fighters from Egypt continue to arrive in Benghazi. Mangoush reported that his staff officers have been advised in secret by aids to Egyptian Army Chief of Staff, General Mohammed al-Sissi, that, acting under instructions from Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi, military and security forces are taking steps to detain or neutralize extreme Salafist para-military groups and that a number of these fighters are fleeing to Libya. According to the Libyan commander, these Salafist fighters are comfortable in Benghazi, where many of them served with Libyan revolutionary forces during the rebellion against former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi.

2. In the opinion of this individual, Zidan and Magariaf, after consulting with Minister of Oil Abdulbari al-Arusi, decided to move forward with a plan dating back to the administration of former Oil Minister Abdulrahman Ben Yezza dividing the National Oil Corporation's (NOC) production and exploration divisions into two separate firms. With this in mind, al-Arusi began discussing the matter with concerned parties in late November and early December. Included in these discussions were meetings with members of the local federalist council in Benghazi and tribal officials from Barqa. In these sessions Al-Arusi described a new structure managing all existing oil-related firms, while

building new operations and raising funds from investors outside of the country. This firm will be divided into two branches, one in Benghazi and one in Tripoli. Al-Arusi added that the cost of this project will range between fifty (50) and sixty (60) billion dinars.

3. (Source Comment: According to a separate sensitive source, this concept came as a surprise to most of the local officials in Tripoli and Benghazi. This individual added that while the Western officials continue to have some questions about the matter, the Benghazi/Barqa leaders were, in al-Arusi's opinion, positive, if not enthusiastic about the new initiative. According to al-Arusi, doubts on either side relate to the mistrust that remains between the two regions, but he is determined to move ahead in this matter and is supported by Zidan and Magariaf. According to this source, the president and prime minister are convinced that they must deal with this internal East-West issue before they can bring a stable security environment to the country, and disarm the remaining independent militias in each part of the country. This individual added that in private discussions al-Arusi stated that the tentative name for this new oil entity will be the National Corporation for Oil Refining and Petrochemicals Industry, with its headquarters in Tripoli, and substantive offices in Benghazi. Like the NOC, the new firm will fall under the Ministry of Oil and Gas.)

4. In addition, this sensitive source noted that Al-Arusi is also discussing the creation of a company specializing in mechanical construction related to the oil and gas industry. This firm would be based in Benghazi. The minister stated in private that he believes such a company can be developed to compete with international firms in this very complex field. He also believes that such a firm must be managed by experienced, scientifically-qualified Libyans, with reputations for honesty. He noted that until as such a cadre is developed it may be desirable to use experts from Egypt to fill the immediate needs of the firm. Al-Arusi believes this firm should have offices in all of the oil fields and loading facilities. The minister also plans to establish an office in Benghazi, similar to Tripoli's oil institute, a facility that will train students looking to pursue oil-related studies. In addition, al-Arusi is making plans to reopen the Higher Petroleum Institute in Tobruk, which was closed by Qaddafi at the beginning of the revolution. He told a sensitive source that he expects the Tobruk institute to produce thousands of skilled engineers to provide Libyan managers for the future operation of the oil sector. Once the final details are set the Zidan regime will submit the entire package for parliamentary approval and financing

6. (Source Comment: Advisors to Magariaf state in confidence that, in their opinion this comprehensive plan for the oil industry will face opposition from individuals with links to foreign oil firms, primarily foreign trained engineers who hope to see greater privatization in the oil and oil services industries in the wake of the revolution. According to a particularly sensitive source, Zidan is particularly concerned about this possibility, noting that these individuals see this issue in strictly business terms, not considering the political issues, and the East - West situation, that are all part of the overall picture in Libya. At present al-Arusi believes that foreign oil firms remain concerned about the unsettled security situation throughout Libya, however; he is convinced that this new plan will help address this situation. At present, he noted that the large Italian oil firm ENI is stepping up its operations throughout Libya, and, with the support of the Italian Government, will continue to increase its investment in Libya in an effort to get ahead of the other foreign firms concerned in Libya.)

CONFIDENTIAL

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2012 10:18 AM
To: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Latest intel: Libyan leadership private discussions. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo Libyan Leadership Private Discussions 102512.docx

Pls print.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2012 09:57 AM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Subject: H: Latest intel: Libyan leadership private discussions. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

October 25, 2012

For: Hillary
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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sidney Blumenthal [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2012 9:47 AM
To: H
Subject: H: New intel, Libyan PM's plans. Sid
Attachments: hrc_memo_new_libyan_pm_plans_101612.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

October 16, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Plans of new Libyan PM

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. On October 15, 2012, new Libya Prime Minister Ali Zidan discussed the future structure of his cabinet and administration with senior advisors to interim President Yussef el Magariaf. According to a sensitive source, Zidan stated that he intends to draw on all sectors of the Libyan political world to form his cabinet. He also advised that while he must proceed with caution he will have at least one and possibly as many as three members of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) and its Justice and Construction Party (JCP) included in the cabinet. Zidan believes that he can find members of the JCP and other Islamist groups who support his plan for establishing a moderate Islamic state, while maintaining good working relations with the United States and Western Europe. Zidan also plans to reach out to the supporters of Islamist General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj, who he believes can be used as a balance against al Qai'da in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Ansar al Sharia as they attempt to undermine the new administration.

2. In the opinion of this individual Zidan is committed to Magariaf's policy of seeking constructive relationships with international oil companies. In this regard, Zidan is looking for an individual to serve as Minister of Oil who has the appropriate experience and reputation in the International Oil industry, while maintaining Islamic credentials that will allow the Minister to work with the JCP and conservative independent members of the General National Congress (GNC). Zidan believes this will be among his greatest challenges. At the same time, this individual notes that Zidan has complained that he and Magariaf are under pressure from the Mohammed Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood Government of Egypt to use Egyptian oil service firms to replace Western firms in supporting the Libyan oil industry. Zidan is skeptical about this idea, fearing that Libya could become too dependent on Egypt for technical expertise. He believes that Western firms provide the opportunity to maintain independence and balance in the oil sector.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this source, Zidan, who served at the Libyan Mission to India for two years before defecting to the West in 1980, joining Magariaf and his anti- Qaddafi National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL), plans to work with all of the parties and groups in the GNC. At the same time his history gives the Prime Minister a relationship with the President and a degree of credibility that will be helpful as he forms his cabinet. According to this source, Zidan wants to move quickly to name a cabinet. His position is also strengthened by the fact that he worked on behalf of the National Transitional Council (NTC) during the 2011 Civil War, organizing international support for the rebels. According to this sensitive source, Zidan's immediate concerns include organizing the investigation of the September 11 attack on the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi, and the resulting assassination of Ambassador Christopher Stevens and three other Americans. Zidan is already under pressure from the U.S. Government to move the investigation along as quickly as possible.)

4. In the opinion of this individual Zidan realizes that the attack on the U.S. consulate is now an international symbol of the security issues at play in Libya, and that the use of pro-government militias to provide security is not a long term solution to the problem. Zidan believes that the idea that the government must ask for support from the powerful militias from Misrata and Zintan undermines his efforts to bring order and centralized authority to the country. Zidan believes that he can address this problem in part by developing a working majority in the GNC drawing on moderates and independents, who will support his efforts to establish a modern Islamic regime that can work with the West, particularly International Oil Companies. That said, he cautions his advisors that he does not anticipate real success in this regard until the latter part of 2013.

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Re: Plans of new Libyan PM

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. On October 15, 2012, new Libya Prime Minister Ali Zidan discussed the future structure of his cabinet and administration with senior advisors to interim President Yussef el Magariaf. According to a sensitive source, Zidan stated that he intends to draw on all sectors of the Libyan political world to form his cabinet. He also advised that while he must proceed with caution he will have at least one and possibly as many as three members of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) and its Justice and Construction Party (JCP) included in the cabinet. Zidan believes that he can find members of the JCP and other Islamist groups who support his plan for establishing a moderate Islamic state, while maintaining good working relations with the United States and Western Europe. Zidan also plans to reach out to the supporters of Islamist General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj, who he believes can be used as a balance against al Qai'da in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Ansar al Sharia as they attempt to undermine the new administration.

2. In the opinion of this individual Zidan is committed to Magariaf's policy of seeking constructive relationships with international oil companies. In this regard, Zidan is looking for an individual to serve as Minister of Oil who has the appropriate experience and reputation in the International Oil industry, while maintaining Islamic credentials that will allow the Minister to work with the JCP and conservative independent members of the General National Congress (GNC). Zidan believes this will be among his greatest challenges. At the same time, this individual notes that Zidan has complained that he and Magariaf are under pressure from the Mohammed Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood Government of Egypt to use Egyptian oil

service firms to replace Western firms in supporting the Libyan oil industry. Zidan is skeptical about this idea, fearing that Libya could become too dependent on Egypt for technical expertise. He believes that Western firms provide the opportunity to maintain independence and balance in the oil sector.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this source, Zidan, who served at the Libyan Mission to India for two years before defecting to the West in 1980, joining Magariaf and his anti- Qaddafi National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL), plans to work with all of the parties and groups in the GNC. At the same time his history gives the Prime Minister a relationship with the President and a degree of credibility that will be helpful as he forms his cabinet. According to this source, Zidan wants to move quickly to name a cabinet. His position is also strengthened by the fact that he worked on behalf of the National Transitional Council (NTC) during the 2011 Civil War, organizing international support for the rebels. According to this sensitive source, Zidan's immediate concerns include organizing the investigation of the September 11 attack on the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi, and the resulting assassination of Ambassador Christopher Stevens and three other Americans. Zidan is already under pressure from the U.S. Government to move the investigation along as quickly as possible.)

4. In the opinion of this individual Zidan realizes that the attack on the U.S. consulate is now an international symbol of the security issues at play in Libya, and that the use of pro-government militias to provide security is not a long term solution to the problem. Zidan believes that the idea that the government must ask for support from the powerful militias from Misrata and Zintan undermines his efforts to bring order and centralized authority to the country. Zidan believes that he can address this problem in part by developing a working majority in the GNC drawing on moderates and independents, who will support his efforts to establish a modern Islamic regime that can work with the West, particularly International Oil Companies. That said, he cautions his advisors that he does not anticipate real success in this regard until the latter part of 2013.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, October 7, 2012 11:02 AM
To: 'Russov@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Great to see you. Drop in again. Here's Libya. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo libya cabinet 100612.docx

Pls print.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Saturday, October 06, 2012 06:18 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Great to see you. Drop in again. Here's Libya. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

October 6, 2012

For: Hillary

From: Sid

Re: Libya cabinet politics

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. As of October 5, 2012 Mohammed Yussef el Magariaf, the new interim President of Libya told senior advisors that the abortive efforts to form a cabinet under new Prime Minister Mustafa Abushagur represent the first step in the next phase of the struggle for control of the new Libyan Government. According to a sensitive source Magariaf is concerned that Abushagur, supported by the Muslim Brotherhood's (MB) Justice and Construction Party (JCP), as well as certain of the other more traditional Islamist groups, is looking to establish day to day administrative control the new government while defining Magariaf as a ceremonial Head of State.

2. According to this individual, the President, who is not affiliated with a particular party holding seats in the General National Council (GNC), spoke with the new Prime Minister immediately after Abushagur was elected by the GNC on September 12. At that time Magariaf advised him to

include in his government members of former Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril's National Forces Alliance (NFA), Abushagar having only narrowly defeated Jibril in the GNC vote. At that time Magariaf was not aware of the fact that Jibril had already demanded 9 cabinet seats for the NFA; however, he did point out that even Jibril's more moderate followers were committed to the idea of a modern Islamic state and would fit into the new cabinet. The President came away from this discussion with the impression that Abushagar and his supporters intend to marginalize Jibril and the 39 Members of Parliament (MP) controlled by the NFA, concentrating instead on working with the 120 independent MPs in the GNC, looking to establish a more conservative administration. This individual added that Abushagar made it clear that while the President was free to choose his Vice President and staff, the Prime Minister would choose the national cabinet, supported by the GNC.

3. (Source Comment: According to this individual, Magariaf is allowing the current crisis in the Abushagar administration to play out without direct interference. He is convinced that the desire of the Libyan people for peace and stability, which brought him to power, added to the need to balance the regional and political rivalries throughout the country, will lead to the formation of a cabinet that is acceptable to all parties. Magariaf also believes that these developments will eventually leave him as the dominant figure in the government.)

4. In addition, this individual added that Magariaf is seized with the national security situation, the ongoing effort to disarm militia units, and the investigation of the murder of the United States Ambassador. All of these efforts are related to what he sees as his most important role, rebuilding the confidence of the international business community in its ability to operate in Libya safely and efficiently. To this end he does agree with Abushagar that it is important to replace the cabinet of former Prime Minister Abdel Rahman el-Keib, particularly Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yazza, whose connections to the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi, and the Italian Oil firm ENI made him unacceptable to the JCP and other conservative parties. That said, this individual notes that Magariaf was surprised and not pleased with the appointment to the ministry of Mabrouk Issa Abu Harroua, another technical expert, who previously worked for Libya's Zueitina Oil Company as well as in the oil sector abroad. Magariaf feels that Abu Harroua does not have the standing among the foreign oil companies that Ben Yezza enjoyed, although he was more acceptable to a number of the conservative members of the GNC.

5. Magariaf was pleased that the Prime Minister, after dramatic confrontations with MPs and demonstrators who entered the GNC chamber, withdrew his cabinet nominations. The President again advised Abushagar to name former Oil and Finance Minister Ali Tarhouni to the Oil Ministry post; however, he fears that that Ali Tarhouni is seen as too close to Western governments to gain

acceptance in the GNC. Magariaf is concerned that, while the new cabinet Abushagur plans to put forward on October 7 may contain some members of the NFA and other moderate groups, it will still be dominated by the JCP and conservative elements, and will again fail to gain acceptance, leading to a real government crisis.

6. According to this individual Magariaf and his advisors knew in advance that more than 100 protesters planned to enter the GNC session on October 4, in an effort to prevent MPs from convening to vote on the new cabinet. While Magariaf did not directly influence these protesters he did nothing to warn or advise Abushagur on the developing situation. In particular, the protestors objected to the failure of the Prime Minister to name any minister from the Zawiya region. Although the demonstrators eventually left the hall, a number of the independent MPs, who had said they would support the new cabinet, were shaken by the incident and changed their positions. In the end, according to this individual, Abushagur's efforts to rally their support failed, and he was forced to withdraw all of the nominees, promising to submit a new list on October 7, one that would take into account regional and political considerations.

7. In the opinion of a particularly sensitive source, the failure of Abushagur to name any NFA ministers to the new cabinet will continue to complicate the matter. For his part Magariaf is concerned over international perceptions regarding the nature of the new Libyan government. In this regard, he fears that the Western press is too sharply focused on the fact that the NFA holds the largest single bloc of votes in the GNC (38), missing the fact that the real power in the parliament lies with the 120 independent deputies, who tend to be somewhat conservative on religious and social matters, while focusing primarily on local political issues. Magariaf believes that the appointment of Ali Tarhouni, or another liberal not associated with the NFA, would serve to reassure Western business and government leaders while demonstrating political balance to the Libyan people. Although he continues to make this point, the President has no indication that Abushagur will follow his advice. He does expect Abushagur to again select a majority of cabinet ministers associated with the MB and the JCP.

8. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, Magariaf will remain focused on the security situation, particularly as he is having some success disarming the militias following the death of the U.S. Ambassador. According to this individual, Magariaf believes he must end the power of the regional militia forces before the Libyan economy can improve. The President knows that foreign companies are the key to Libyan oil production, but he fears that they will not increase their commitment to Libya until the government can insure the security of their personnel and facilities. In a final note, this individual added that the Italian

government is stepping up its activities in Libya, and the President expects them to pressure to Abushagur appoint an individual like Ben Yezza to the Oil Ministry, where he can favor ENI and other Italian firms.)

CONFIDENTIAL

October 6, 2012

For: Hillary

From: Sid

Re: Libya cabinet politics

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2. According to this individual, the President, who is not affiliated with a particular party holding seats in the General National Council (GNC), spoke with the new Prime Minister immediately after Abushagur was elected by the GNC on September 12. At that time Magariaf advised him to include in his government members of former Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril's National Forces Alliance (NFA), Abushagar having only narrowly defeated Jibril in the GNC vote. At that time Magariaf was not aware of the fact that Jibril had already demanded 9 cabinet seats for the NFA; however, he did point out that even Jibril's more moderate followers were committed to the idea of a modern Islamic state and would fit into the new cabinet . The

President came away from this discussion with the impression that Abushagur and his supporters intend to marginalize Jibril and the 39 Members of Parliament (MP) controlled by the NFA, concentrating instead on working with the 120 independent MPs in the GNC, looking to establish a more conservative administration. This individual added that Abushagur made it clear that while the President was free to choose his Vice President and staff, the Prime Minister would choose the national cabinet, supported by the GNC.

3. (Source Comment: According to this individual, Magariaf is allowing the current crisis in the Abushagur administration to play out without direct interference. He is convinced that the desire of the Libyan people for peace and stability, which brought him to power, added to the need to balance the regional and political rivalries throughout the country, will lead to the formation of a cabinet that is acceptable to all parties. Magariaf also believes that these developments will eventually leave him as the dominant figure in the government.)

4. In addition, this individual added that Magariaf is seized with the national security situation, the ongoing effort to disarm militia units, and the investigation of the murder of the United States Ambassador. All of these efforts are related to what he sees as his most important role, rebuilding the confidence of the international business community in its ability to operate in Libya safely and efficiently. To this end he does agree with Abushagur that it is important to replace the cabinet of former Prime Minister Abdel Rahman el-Keib, particularly Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yazza, whose connections to the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi, and the Italian Oil firm ENI made him unacceptable to the JCP and other conservative parties. That said, this individual notes that Magariaf was surprised and not pleased with the appointment to the ministry of Mabrouk Issa Abu Harroua, another technical expert, who previously worked for Libya's Zueitina Oil Company as well as in the oil sector abroad. Magariaf feels that Abu Harroua does not have the standing among the foreign oil companies that Ben Yezza enjoyed, although he was more acceptable to a number of the conservative members of the GNC.

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6. According to this individual Magariaf and his advisors knew in advance that more than 100 protesters planned to enter the GNC session on October 4, in an effort to prevent MPs from convening to vote on the new cabinet. While Magariaf did not directly influence these protesters he did nothing to warn or advise Abushagur on the developing situation. In particular, the protestors objected to the failure of the Prime Minister to name any minister from the Zawiya region. Although the demonstrators eventually left the hall, a number of the independent MPs, who had said they would support the new cabinet, were shaken by the incident and changed their positions. In the end, according to this individual, Abushagur's efforts to rally their support failed, and he was forced to withdraw all of the nominees, promising to submit a new list on October 7, one that would take into account regional and political considerations.

7. In the opinion of a particularly sensitive source, the failure of Abushagur to name any NFA ministers to the new cabinet will continue to complicate the matter. For his part Magariaf is concerned over international perceptions regarding the nature of the new Libyan government. In this regard, he fears that the Western press is too sharply focused on the fact that the NFA holds the largest single bloc of votes in the GNC (38), missing the fact that the real power in the parliament lies with the 120 independent deputies, who tend to be somewhat conservative on religious and social matters, while focusing primarily on local political issues. Magariaf believes that the appointment of Ali Tarhouni, or another liberal not associated with the NFA, would serve to reassure Western business and government leaders while demonstrating political balance to the Libyan people. Although he continues to make this point, the President has no indication that Abushagur will follow his advice. He does expect Abushagur to again select a majority of cabinet ministers associated with the MB and the JCP.

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sidney Blumenthal [redacted]
Sent: Sunday, October 7, 2012 11:12 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: H: Great to see you. Drop in again. Here's Libya. Sid

Post-election, we'd like to have you over for dinner. Bill can come, too, if he's in town. Whatever works.

-----Original Message-----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: [redacted]
Sent: Sun, Oct 7, 2012 11:03 am
Subject: Re: H: Great to see you. Drop in again. Here's Libya. Sid

B6

Very useful.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Saturday, October 06, 2012 06:18 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Great to see you. Drop in again. Here's Libya. Sid

CONFIDENTIAL

October 6, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Libya cabinet politics
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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, October 17, 2012 9:05 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: New intel, Libyan PM's plans. Sid
Attachments: hrc_memo_new_libyan_pm_plans_101612.docx

Fyi.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2012 09:47 AM
To: H
Subject: H: New intel, Libyan PM's plans. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

October 16, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Plans of new Libyan PM

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Brotherhood Government of Egypt to use Egyptian oil service firms to replace Western firms in supporting the Libyan oil industry. Zidan is skeptical about this idea, fearing that Libya could become too dependent on Egypt for technical expertise. He believes that Western firms provide the opportunity to maintain independence and balance in the oil sector.

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B6

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discussion with the impression that Abushagur and his supporters intend to marginalize Jibril and the 39 Members of Parliament (MP) controlled by the NFA, concentrating instead on working with the 120 independent MPs in the GNC, looking to establish a more conservative administration. This individual added that Abushagur made it clear that while the President was free to choose his Vice President and staff, the Prime Minister would choose the national cabinet, supported by the GNC.

3. (Source Comment: According to this individual, Magariaf is allowing the current crisis in the Abushagur administration to play out without direct interference. He is convinced that the desire of the Libyan people for peace and stability, which brought him to power, added to the need to balance the regional and political rivalries throughout the country, will lead to the formation of a cabinet that is acceptable to all parties. Magariaf also believes that these developments will eventually leave him as the dominant figure in the government.)

4. In addition, this individual added that Magariaf is seized with the national security situation, the ongoing effort to disarm militia units, and the investigation of the murder of the United States Ambassador. All of these efforts are related to what he sees as his most important role, rebuilding the confidence of the international business community in its ability to operate in Libya safely and efficiently. To this end he does agree with Abushagur that it is important to replace the cabinet of former Prime Minister Abdel Rahman el-Keib, particularly Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yazza, whose connections to the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi, and the Italian Oil firm ENI made him unacceptable to the JCP and other conservative parties. That said, this individual notes that Magariaf was surprised and not pleased with the appointment to the ministry of Mabrouk Issa Abu Harroua, another technical expert, who previously worked for Libya's Zueitina Oil Company as well as in the oil sector abroad. Magariaf feels that Abu Harroua does not have the standing among the foreign oil companies that Ben Yezza enjoyed, although he was more acceptable to a number of the conservative members of the GNC.

5. Magariaf was pleased that the Prime Minister, after dramatic confrontations with MPs and demonstrators who entered the GNC chamber, withdrew his cabinet nominations. The President again advised Abushagur to name former Oil and Finance Minister Ali Tarhouni to the Oil Ministry post; however, he fears that that Ali Tarhouni is seen as too close to Western governments to gain acceptance in the GNC. Magariaf is concerned that, while the new cabinet Abushagur plans to put forward on October 7 may contain some members of the NFA and other moderate groups, it will still be dominated by the JCP and conservative elements, and will again fail to gain acceptance, leading to a real government crisis.

6. According to this individual Magariaf and his advisors knew in advance that more than 100 protesters planned to enter the GNC session on October 4, in an effort to prevent MPs from convening to vote on the new cabinet. While Magariaf did not directly influence these protesters he did nothing to warn or advise Abushagur on the developing situation. In particular, the protestors objected to the failure of the Prime Minister to name any minister from the Zawiya region. Although the demonstrators eventually left the hall, a number of the independent MPs, who had said they would support the new cabinet, were shaken by the incident and changed their positions. In the end, according to this individual, Abushagur's efforts to rally their support failed, and he was forced to withdraw all of the nominees, promising to submit a new list on October 7, one that would take into account regional and political considerations.

7. In the opinion of a particularly sensitive source, the failure of Abushagur to name any NFA ministers to the new cabinet will continue to complicate the matter. For his part Magariaf is concerned over international perceptions regarding the nature of the new Libyan government. In this regard, he fears that the Western press is too sharply focused on the fact that the NFA holds the largest single bloc of votes in the GNC (38), missing the fact that the real power in the parliament lies with the 120 independent deputies, who tend to be somewhat conservative on religious and social matters, while focusing primarily on local political issues. Magariaf believes that the appointment of Ali Tarhouni, or another liberal not associated with the NFA, would serve to reassure Western business and government leaders while demonstrating political balance to the Libyan people. Although he continues to make this point, the President has no indication that Abushagur will follow his advice. He does expect Abushagur to again select a majority of cabinet ministers associated with the MB and the JCP.

8. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, Magariaf will remain focused on the security situation, particularly as he is having some success disarming the militias following the death of the U.S. Ambassador. According to this individual, Magariaf believes he must end the power of the regional militia forces before the Libyan economy can improve. The President knows that foreign companies are the key to Libyan oil production, but he fears that they will not increase their commitment to Libya until the government can insure the security of their personnel and facilities. In a final note, this individual added that the Italian government is stepping up its activities in Libya, and the President expects them to pressure Abushagur to appoint an individual like Ben Yezza to the Oil Ministry, where he can favor ENI and other Italian firms.)

CONFIDENTIAL

October 6, 2012

For: Hillary

From: Sid

Re: Libya cabinet politics

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. As of October 5, 2012 Mohammed Youssef el Magariaf, the new interim President of Libya told senior advisors that the abortive efforts to form a cabinet under new Prime Minister Mustafa Abushagur represent the first step in the next phase of the struggle for control of the new Libyan Government. According to a sensitive source Magariaf is concerned that Abushagur, supported by the Muslim Brotherhood's (MB) Justice and Construction Party (JCP), as well as certain of the other more traditional Islamist groups, is looking to establish day to day administrative control the new government while defining Magariaf as a ceremonial Head of State.

2. According to this individual, the President, who is not affiliated with a particular party holding seats in the General National Council (GNC), spoke with the new Prime Minister immediately after Abushagur was elected by the GNC on September 12. At that time Magariaf advised him to include in his government members of former Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril's National Forces Alliance (NFA), Abushagur having only narrowly defeated Jibril in the GNC vote. At that time Magariaf was not aware of the fact that Jibril had already demanded 9 cabinet seats for the NFA; however, he did point out that even Jibril's more moderate followers were committed to the idea of a modern Islamic state and would fit into the new cabinet. The

President came away from this discussion with the impression that Abushagur and his supporters intend to marginalize Jibril and the 39 Members of Parliament (MP) controlled by the NFA, concentrating instead on working with the 120 independent MPs in the GNC, looking to establish a more conservative administration. This individual added that Abushagur made it clear that while the President was free to choose his Vice President and staff, the Prime Minister would choose the national cabinet, supported by the GNC.

3. (Source Comment: According to this individual, Magariaf is allowing the current crisis in the Abushagur administration to play out without direct interference. He is convinced that the desire of the Libyan people for peace and stability, which brought him to power, added to the need to balance the regional and political rivalries throughout the country, will lead to the formation of a cabinet that is acceptable to all parties. Magariaf also believes that these developments will eventually leave him as the dominant figure in the government.)

4. In addition, this individual added that Magariaf is seized with the national security situation, the ongoing effort to disarm militia units, and the investigation of the murder of the United States Ambassador. All of these efforts are related to what he sees as his most important role, rebuilding the confidence of the international business community in its ability to operate in Libya safely and efficiently. To this end he does agree with Abushagur that it is important to replace the cabinet of former Prime Minister Abdel Rahman el-Keib, particularly Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yazza, whose connections to the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi, and the Italian Oil firm ENI made him unacceptable to the JCP and other conservative parties. That said, this individual notes that Magariaf was surprised and not pleased with the appointment to the ministry of Mabrouk Issa Abu Harroua, another technical expert, who previously worked for Libya's Zueitina Oil Company as well as in the oil sector abroad. Magariaf feels that Abu Harroua does not have the standing among the foreign oil companies that Ben Yazza enjoyed, although he was more acceptable to a number of the conservative members of the GNC.

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President again advised Abushagur to name former Oil and Finance Minister Ali Tarhouni to the Oil Ministry post; however, he fears that that Ali Tarhouni is seen as too close to Western governments to gain acceptance in the GNC. Magariaf is concerned that, while the new cabinet Abushagur plans to put forward on October 7 may contain some members of the NFA and other moderate groups, it will still be dominated by the JCP and conservative elements, and will again fail to gain acceptance, leading to a real government crisis.

6. According to this individual Magariaf and his advisors knew in advance that more than 100 protesters planned to enter the GNC session on October 4, in an effort to prevent MPs from convening to vote on the new cabinet. While Magariaf did not directly influence these protesters he did nothing to warn or advise Abushagur on the developing situation. In particular, the protestors objected to the failure of the Prime Minister to name any minister from the Zawiya region. Although the demonstrators eventually left the hall, a number of the independent MPs, who had said they would support the new cabinet, were shaken by the incident and changed their positions. In the end, according to this individual, Abushagur's efforts to rally their support failed, and he was forced to withdraw all of the nominees, promising to submit a new list on October 7, one that would take into account regional and political considerations.

7. In the opinion of a particularly sensitive source, the failure of Abushagur to name any NFA ministers to the new cabinet will continue to complicate the matter. For his part Magariaf is concerned over international perceptions regarding the nature of the new Libyan government. In this regard, he fears that the Western press is too sharply focused on the fact that the NFA holds the largest single bloc of votes in the GNC (38), missing the fact that the real power in the parliament lies with the 120 independent deputies, who tend to be somewhat conservative on religious and social matters, while focusing primarily on local political issues. Magariaf believes that the appointment of Ali Tarhouni, or another liberal not associated with the NFA, would serve to reassure Western business and government leaders while demonstrating political balance to the Libyan people. Although he continues to make this point, the President has no indication that Abushagur will follow his advice. He does expect Abushagur to again select a majority of cabinet ministers associated with the MB and the JCP.

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RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, October 19, 2012 7:25 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: Libya

Have not seen - will see if we can get

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, October 19, 2012 06:57 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Libya

I just heard an npr report about the CIA station chief in Tripoli sending a cable on 9/12 saying there was no demo etc. Do you know about this?

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, October 7, 2012 11:02 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Great to see you. Drop in again. Here's Libya. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo libya cabinet 100612.docx

Useful insight. Pls circulate.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Saturday, October 06, 2012 06:18 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Great to see you. Drop in again. Here's Libya. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

October 6, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Libya cabinet politics
SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. As of October 5, 2012 Mohammed Yussef el Magariaf, the new interim President of Libya told senior advisors that the abortive efforts to form a cabinet under new Prime Minister Mustafa Abushagur represent the first step in the next phase of the struggle for control of the new Libyan Government. According to a sensitive source Magariaf is concerned that Abushagur, supported by the Muslim Brotherhood's (MB) Justice and Construction Party (JCP), as well as certain of the other more traditional Islamist groups, is looking to establish day to day administrative control the new government while defining Magariaf as a ceremonial Head of State.

2. According to this individual, the President, who is not affiliated with a particular party holding seats in the General National Council (GNC), spoke with the new Prime Minister immediately after Abushagur was elected by the GNC on September 12. At that time Magariaf advised him to

include in his government members of former Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril's National Forces Alliance (NFA), Abushagar having only narrowly defeated Jibril in the GNC vote. At that time Magariaf was not aware of the fact that Jibril had already demanded 9 cabinet seats for the NFA; however, he did point out that even Jibril's more moderate followers were committed to the idea of a modern Islamic state and would fit into the new cabinet. The President came away from this discussion with the impression that Abushagur and his supporters intend to marginalize Jibril and the 39 Members of Parliament (MP) controlled by the NFA, concentrating instead on working with the 120 independent MPs in the GNC, looking to establish a more conservative administration. This individual added that Abushagur made it clear that while the President was free to choose his Vice President and staff, the Prime Minister would choose the national cabinet, supported by the GNC.

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acceptance in the GNC. Magariaf is concerned that, while the new cabinet Abushagur plans to put forward on October 7 may contain some members of the NFA and other moderate groups, it will still be dominated by the JCP and conservative elements, and will again fail to gain acceptance, leading to a real government crisis.

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government is stepping up its activities in Libya, and the President expects them to pressure to Abushagur appoint an individual like Ben Yezza to the Oil Ministry, where he can favor ENI and other Italian firms.)

CONFIDENTIAL

October 6, 2012

For: Hillary

From: Sid

Re: Libya cabinet politics

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

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President came away from this discussion with the impression that Abushagur and his supporters intend to marginalize Jibril and the 39 Members of Parliament (MP) controlled by the NFA, concentrating instead on working with the 120 independent MPs in the GNC, looking to establish a more conservative administration. This individual added that Abushagur made it clear that while the President was free to choose his Vice President and staff, the Prime Minister would choose the national cabinet, supported by the GNC.

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RELEASE IN
FULL

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Sent: Friday, October 19, 2012 6:58 AM
To: 'millsd@state.gov'
Subject: Libya

I just heard an npr report about the CIA station chief in Tripoli sending a cable on 9/12 saying there was no demo etc. Do you know about this?

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2012 10:18 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Latest intel: Libyan leadership private discussions. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo Libyan Leadership Private Discussions 102512.docx

Fyi and send around as you choose.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2012 09:57 AM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Subject: H: Latest intel: Libyan leadership private discussions. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

October 25, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Latest Libyan Leadership Private Discussions & Plans

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During mid-October 2012 Libyan President Yussef el Magariaf stated in private that he and Prime Minister Ali Zidan have ordered National Libyan Army (NLA) Chief of Staff General Youssef al Mangoush to establish a more coordinated operational relationship with Misrata and Zintan militias in order to support expanded army operations throughout the country. According to a sensitive source, prior to the death of the United States Ambassador on September 11, 2012 Mangoush resisted greater reliance on these specific large militias, believing that such a move undercuts the government's efforts to disarm and demobilize all of the militias left over from the 2011 civil war. At this point, however, Mangoush agreed with Magariaf that the situation in the country is becoming increasingly dangerous and unmanageable. Accordingly, the Chief of Staff stated that he will work with Ousama al Jouwali, the leader of the Zintan forces to step up operations against the other militias, (supported by the Misrata troops), that also come from the mountainous region of Western Libya. At the same time he will instruct NLA troops under ground force commander General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar to pursue operations against tribal forces fighting on behalf of the Qaddafi family in Southern and Southeastern Libya.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, Magariaf and Zidan agree that Libya's future depends on the success of their efforts in this militia demobilization operation over the next six months. While they believe that the involvement of Ansar al Sharia forces, with the assistance of al Qai'da in the Islamic Magreb (AQIM), in the assassination of the U.S. Ambassador has focused the world business and diplomatic community on the reality of the security issues surrounding the militias, the President and Prime Minister also fear that the situation is far worse than Western sources realize. Mangoush informs them that AQIM and radical Salafist groups are increasing their efforts to take advantage of the frustrations of the various militias with the government, using the attack on the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi as an inspiration for their activities. Just as Ansar al Sharia began as a militia supporting the federalist claims of Eastern tribal leaders, and was then infiltrated by AQIM radicals, Mangoush believes many of the other regional and ethnic militias around the country could follow the same path, if his troops do not succeed in the disarmament program. He also agrees with Zidan that they must move quickly since Libya's tradition of avoiding the Sunni-Shia conflict that dominates most of Middle East is beginning to erode during this period of chaos.)

3. A particularly sensitive source noted that NLA operations have already begun against Ansar al Sharia forces south of Benghazi, after members of that militia/terrorist group killed four national policemen during a grenade attack at a roadblock in the Sousa Mountains. Under orders from Haftar Libyan troops surrounded more than 100 Ansar al Sharia fighters in the region of the town of Sousa. According to this sensitive source, the NLA suffered relatively heavy casualties in the fighting, but believe they captured a number of AQIM operatives and one of Ansar al Sharia's senior commanders, Sufian bin Qamu, who they believe ordered the attack on the police. Mangoush also reported to Zidan that Qamu had been previously captured by United States forces and imprisoned at the Guantanamo Bay facility.

4. At the same time the Libyan army and forces from the Misrata militia entered the town of Bani Walid approximately 100 miles south of Tripoli, in an area still loyal to the Qaddafi family, engaging in close fighting with pro-Qaddafi forces. During the fighting Haftar dispatched troops with heavier arms to support the Misrata forces. According to this source, the NLA downplayed the level of the fighting, in an effort to reassure the supporters of the Government. That said the NLA/Misrata force had captured the city center and the airport after suffering significant casualties. The Government forces entered the city after shelling opposition positions around the city hospital, using heavy mortars and motorized guns.

5. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this knowledgeable individual, while Magariaf and Zidan remain optimistic about the future of Libya, they believe that the security situation will remain tenuous throughout 2013. Magariaf also sees the national election scheduled for mid-2013 as a potentially complicating factor. According to this source, Mangoush and Haftar focused on Bani Walid under pressure from the Misrata commanders. These militia leaders were, according to a knowledgeable source, angered over the death of one of their senior officials, Omran Shaban, at the hands of pro-Qaddafi forces in Bani Walid. The Misrata commanders report that Shaban was one of the organizers of the Misrata militia unit that captured and executed Qaddafi in 2011 outside of the town of Sirte. The Misrata leaders, supported by the General National Council (GNC), demanded the surrender of the men who arrested and killed Shaban. As the fighting expanded through late September and early October, Magariaf and his advisors came to see Bani Walid as an important symbol of their commitment to disarm the militias and anti-government groups, and increased their involvement accordingly.)

CONFIDENTIAL

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SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During mid-October 2012 Libyan President Youssef el Magariaf stated in private that he and Prime Minister Ali Zidan have ordered National Libyan Army (NLA) Chief of Staff General Youssef al Mangoush to establish a more coordinated operational relationship with Misrata and Zintan militias in order to support expanded army operations throughout the country. According to a sensitive source, prior to the death of the United States Ambassador on September 11, 2012 Mangoush resisted greater reliance on these specific large militias, believing that such a move undercuts the government's efforts to disarm and demobilize all of the militias left over from the 2011 civil war. At this point, however, Mangoush agreed with Magariaf that the situation in the country is becoming increasingly dangerous and unmanageable. Accordingly, the Chief of Staff stated that he will work with Ousama al Jouwali, the leader of the Zintan forces to step up operations against the other militias, (supported by the Misrata troops), that also come from the mountainous region of Western Libya. At the same time he will instruct NLA troops under ground force commander General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar to pursue operations against tribal forces fighting on behalf of the Qaddafi family in Southern and Southeastern Libya.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, Magariaf and Zidan agree that Libya's future depends on the success of their efforts in this militia demobilization operation over the next six months. While they believe that the involvement of Ansar al Sharia forces, with the assistance of al Qai'da in the Islamic Magreb (AQIM), in the assassination of the U.S. Ambassador has focused the world business and diplomatic community on the reality of the security issues surrounding the militias, the President and Prime Minister also fear that the situation is far worse than Western sources realize. Mangoush informs them that AQIM and radical Salafist groups are increasing their efforts to take advantage of the frustrations of the various militias with the government, using the attack on the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi as an inspiration for their activities. Just as Ansar al Sharia began as a militia supporting the federalist

claims of Eastern tribal leaders, and was then infiltrated by AQIM radicals, Mangoush believes many of the other regional and ethnic militias around the country could follow the same path, if his troops do not succeed in the disarmament program. He also agrees with Zidan that they must move quickly since Libya's tradition of avoiding the Sunni-Shia conflict that dominates most of Middle East is beginning to erode during this period of chaos.)

3. A particularly sensitive source noted that NLA operations have already begun against Ansar al Sharia forces south of Benghazi, after members of that militia/terrorist group killed four national policemen during a grenade attack at a roadblock in the Sousa Mountains. Under orders from Haftar Libyan troops surrounded more than 100 Ansar al Sharia fighters in the region of the town of Sousa. According to this sensitive source, the NLA suffered relatively heavy casualties in the fighting, but believe they captured a number of AQIM operatives and one of Ansar al Sharia's senior commanders, Sufian bin Qamu, who they believe ordered the attack on the police. Mangoush also reported to Zidan that Qamu had been previously captured by United States forces and imprisoned at the Guantanamo Bay facility.

4. At the same time the Libyan army and forces from the Misrata militia entered the town of Bani Walid approximately 100 miles south of Tripoli, in an area still loyal to the Qaddafi family, engaging in close fighting with pro-Qaddafi forces. During the fighting Haftar dispatched troops with heavier arms to support the Misrata forces. According to this source, the NLA downplayed the level of the fighting, in an effort to reassure the supporters of the Government. That said the NLA/Misrata force had captured the city center and the airport after suffering significant casualties. The Government forces entered the city after shelling opposition positions around the city hospital, using heavy mortars and motorized guns.

5. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this knowledgeable individual, while Magariaf and Zidan remain optimistic about the future of Libya, they believe that the security situation will remain tenuous throughout 2013. Magariaf also sees the national election scheduled for mid-2013 as a potentially complicating factor. According to this source, Mangoush and Haftar focused on Bani Walid under pressure from the Misrata commanders. These militia leaders were, according to a knowledgeable source, angered over the death of one of their senior officials, Omran Shaban, at the hands of pro-Qaddafi forces in Bani Walid. The Misrata commanders report that Shaban was one of the organizers of the Misrata militia unit that captured and executed Qaddafi in 2011 outside of the town of Sirte. The Misrata leaders, supported by the General National Council (GNC), demanded the surrender of the men who arrested and killed Shaban. As the fighting expanded through late September and early October, Magariaf and his advisors came to see Bani Walid as an important symbol of their commitment to disarm the militias and anti-government groups, and increased their involvement accordingly.)

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 6:25 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm - Topic - Benghazi

B5

Great

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 04:16 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm - Topic - Benghazi

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I think I should go w Pat.

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To: H
Subject: FW: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm - Topic - Benghazi

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You good w/ Pat going?

Cdm

From: Benjamin, Daniel S
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 3:40 PM
To: Bass, John R; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hubbard, Gloria K
Cc: Kennedy, Patrick F; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Re: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

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I am in Haiti but I would like Pat and Philippe Reines to attend if that is possible.

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Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 10:21 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hubbard, Gloria K
Subject: Fw: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

From: Blake, Randy [mailto:randy.blake@usda.gov]
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 08:51 AM
To: [REDACTED]

	Beers, Rand'	Heyman, David'
	Johnson, Bryan'	Smislova, Melissa'
	Warrick, Tom'	
	Haines, Avril	
	Carlin, John'	Cheung, Denise'
	Monaco, Lisa'	Krency, Caroline

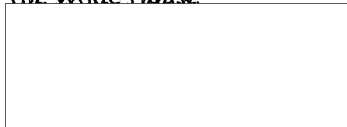
	Shapiro, Nicholas S.
Benjamin, Daniel S.	

Subject:	Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm
-----------------	--

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It will take place on Monday November 26 from 2:35 – 3:20 pm in the Situation Room.

Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Counterterrorism
National Security Staff
The White House



B6

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

From: Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, November 25, 2012 7:49 AM
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J
Subject: Schedule

MS, please find below tomorrow's final draft. Two items to mention – David Hale may ask you to see Issac Molho, he is likely in town tomorrow. Secondly, Laurene Jobs has asked to see you on Monday or Tuesday. She has just returned from overseas travel and would like to check in. Thank you -- Lona

8:25 am **DEPART** Private Residence
En route State Department
[drive time: 10 minutes]

8:35 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:35 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:40 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **MONDAY MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES**
10:00 am Principals Conference Room 7516

10:00 am **PHOTOS**
10:15 am Treaty Room
Staff: Claire

- 7th Floor "Blue Coats" and Families
- Joel Wiegert and Family, departing E Staff
- Heidi Crebo-Rediker and Family

10:15 am **OFFICE TIME**
2:00 pm Secretary's Office

2:00 pm **PHOTOS**
2:15 pm Treaty Room
Staff: Claire

- Webster University, DC Region (14 people)
- 7th Floor "Blue Coats" and Families

2:25 pm **DEPART** State Department
En route White House
[drive time: 5 minutes]

2:30 pm **ARRIVE** White House

2:35 pm

3:20 pm White House Situation Room
Contact: Caroline Krenzy Office 202-456-6317,
CLOSED PRESS

B5

B6

Note: U/S Pat Kennedy to attend as plus one for State.

3:25 pm **DEPART** White House
En route State Department
[drive time: 5 minutes]

3:30 pm **ARRIVE** State Department

3:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**
6:00 pm Secretary's Office

6:00 pm **DEPART** State Department
En route Private Residence
[drive time: 10 minutes]

6:10 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

HRC RON Washington, DC
WJC RON Chappaqua, NY

Weather:
Washington, DC: Mostly sunny, 54/39.

Lona Valmoro
Special Assistant to Secretary Hillary Rodham Clinton
(202) 647-9071 (direct)

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, November 24, 2012 3:12 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm - Topic - Benghazi

B5

Done

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 04:16 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm - Topic - Benghazi

B5

I think I should go w Pat.

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 03:59 PM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Subject: FW: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm - Topic - Benghazi

B5

You good with Pat going?

Cdm

From: Benjamin, Daniel S
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 3:40 PM
To: Bass, John R; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hubbard, Gloria K
Cc: Kennedy, Patrick F; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Re: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

B5

Pat should go.

From: Bass, John R
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 03:33 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Benjamin, Daniel S; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hubbard, Gloria K
Cc: Kennedy, Patrick F; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: RE: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

B5

Cheryl,

WH has indicated we are limited to either the Secretary +1, or a single seat if she is unable to attend. Would you prefer Pat to attend, or Dan? Thanks, JB

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 11:20 AM
To: Benjamin, Daniel S; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hubbard, Gloria K
Cc: Bass, John R; Kennedy, Patrick F; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: RE: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

B5

I am in Haiti but I would like Pat and Philippe Reines to attend if that is possible.

cdm

From: Benjamin, Daniel S
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 10:21 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hubbard, Gloria K
Subject: Fw: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

B5

As you can see from below, this week's session is on Benghazi. I'm told both Ds and P are out Monday. I'm happy to cover, as I have in the past, but, assuming she doesn't want to do it, thought this might be of interest for you. Could also contact Pat. Please advise.

From: Blake, Randy [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 08:51 AM
To: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Beers, Rand' [REDACTED] Heyman, David'
[REDACTED] Johnson, Bryan' [REDACTED] Smislova, Melissa'
[REDACTED] Warrick, Tom' [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Haines, Avril [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Carlin, John' [REDACTED] Cheung, Denise'
[REDACTED] Monaco, Lisa' [REDACTED] Krenzy, Caroline

B6

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Shapiro, Nicholas S.
[REDACTED] Benjamin, Daniel S; [REDACTED]

Subject: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

B5

Colleagues,

You have likely heard via the usual scheduling channels about timing for next week's [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] It will take place on Monday November 26 from 2:35 – 3:20 pm in the Situation Room. [REDACTED]

B5

Please don't hesitate to reach out if you have any questions.

Regards,

Randy

Randall A. Blake

Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Counterterrorism
National Security Staff
The White House



B6

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

From: Coleman, Claire L <ColemanCL@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, November 26, 2012 6:56 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin; Abedin, Huma; [REDACTED] Hanley, Monica R; Valmoro, Lona J; Coleman, Claire L
Subject: Mini for today-Monday, Nov 26, 2012

B6

7:30 am **PHONE CALL w/EGYPTIAN FM AMR**.
Private Residence, Note: Ops will connect the call to the residence.

8:25 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department

8:35 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:35 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING** ([REDACTED] is the briefer this week)
8:40 am Secretary's Office

B6

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:15 am **MONDAY MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARIES**
10:00 am Principals Conference Room 7516

10:00 am **PHOTOS**
10:15 am Treaty Room, Staff: Claire

10:15 am **OFFICE TIME**
1:00 pm Secretary's Office

1:00 pm **MEETING w/ISAAC MOLHO AND NSA TOM DONILON**
1:30 pm Secretary's Outer Office
Staff: David Hale, **CLOSED PRESS** (official photographer only)

2:00 pm **PHOTOS**
2:15 pm Treaty Room and East Hall, Staff: Claire

2:15pm **DROP BY SURPRISE BIRTHDAY PARTY FOR PHILIPPPE**
2:20pm Chief of Protocol's Office, Room 1238

2:25 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route White House

2:30 pm **ARRIVE** White House

2:35 pm [REDACTED]
3:20 pm White House Situation Room
Note: U/S Pat Kennedy to attend as plus one for State.

B5

3:25 pm **DEPART** White House *En route State Department
3:30 pm **ARRIVE** State Department

3:30pm(t) **SCHEDULING w/HUMA AND LONA (Huma via phone) (T)**
4:00pm Secretary's Office

4:00 pm **OFFICE TIME**
6:00 pm Secretary's Office

6:00 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Private Residence
6:10 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

HRC RON Washington, DC
WJC RON Chappaqua, NY
Weather: Washington, DC: Mostly sunny, 54/39

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, November 25, 2012 9:30 AM
To: 'ValmoroLJ@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Schedule

I'd like to see Molho and Laurene.

From: Valmoro, Lona J [mailto:ValmoroLJ@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, November 25, 2012 07:48 AM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>; Huma Abedin; Valmoro, Lona J <ValmoroLJ@state.gov>
Subject: Schedule

MS, please find below tomorrow's final draft. Two items to mention – David Hale may ask you to see Issac Molho, he is likely in town tomorrow. Secondly, Laurene Jobs has asked to see you on Monday or Tuesday. She has just returned from overseas travel and would like to check in. Thank you -- Lona

8:25 am **DEPART** Private Residence
 En route State Department
 [drive time: 10 minutes]

8:35 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:35 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
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 Staff: Claire

- Webster University, DC Region (14 people)
- 7th Floor "Blue Coats" and Families

2:25 pm **DEPART** State Department
 En route White House

[drive time: 5 minutes]

2:30 pm **ARRIVE White House**

2:35 pm

3:20 pm

White House Situation Room

Contact: Caroline Krenzy Office 202-456-6317, [REDACTED]

CLOSED PRESS

Note: U/S Pat Kennedy to attend as plus one for State.

3:25 pm

DEPART White House

En route State Department

[drive time: 5 minutes]

3:30 pm

ARRIVE State Department

3:30 pm

OFFICE TIME

6:00 pm

Secretary's Office

6:00 pm

DEPART State Department

En route Private Residence

[drive time: 10 minutes]

6:10 pm

ARRIVE Private Residence

HRC RON

Washington, DC

WJC RON

Chappaqua, NY

Weather:

Washington, DC: Mostly sunny, 54/39.

Lona Valmore

Special Assistant to Secretary Hillary Rodham Clinton

(202) 647-9071 (direct)

B5

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 7:35 PM
To: 'millsd@state.gov'
Cc: 'ValmoroLj@state.gov'
Subject: Re: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm - Topic - Benghazi

B5

Copying Lona.

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
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You good with Pat going?

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From: Benjamin, Daniel S
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B6

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Shapiro, Nicholas S.
[REDACTED] Benjamin, Daniel S; [REDACTED]

Subject: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

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Randall A. Blake
Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Counterterrorism
National Security Staff
The White House



B6

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

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[REDACTED] Monaco, Lisa' [REDACTED] Krency, Caroline
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Shapiro, Nicholas S.
[REDACTED] Benjamin, Daniel S; [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

B6

Subject: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

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[REDACTED]

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Randall A. Blake
Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Counterterrorism
National Security Staff
The White House

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

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Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 4:00 PM
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- Benghazi

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To: Mills, Cheryl D; Benjamin, Daniel S; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hubbard, Gloria K
Cc: Kennedy, Patrick F; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: RE: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

B5

Cheryl,

WH has indicated we are limited to either the Secretary +1, or a single seat if she is unable to attend. Would you prefer Pat to attend, or Dan? Thanks, JB

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 11:20 AM
To: Benjamin, Daniel S; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hubbard, Gloria K
Cc: Bass, John R; Kennedy, Patrick F; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: RE: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

B5

I am in Haiti but I would like Pat and Philippe Reines to attend if that is possible.

cdm

From: Benjamin, Daniel S
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 10:21 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hubbard, Gloria K
Subject: Fw: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

B5

As you can see from below, this week's session is on Benghazi. I'm told both Ds and P are out Monday. I'm happy to cover, as I have in the past, but, assuming she doesn't want to do it, thought this might be of interest for you. Could also contact Pat. Please advise.

From: Blake, Randy [mailto:[REDACTED]]
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 08:51 AM

B6

To: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] - Beers, Rand' [REDACTED] Heyman, David'
[REDACTED] - Johnson, Bryan' [REDACTED] Smislova, Melissa'
[REDACTED] Warrick, Tom' [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Haines, Avril [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] - Carlin, John' [REDACTED] Cheung, Denise'
[REDACTED] Monaco, Lisa' [REDACTED] Krency, Caroline
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Shapiro, Nicholas S.
[REDACTED] Benjamin, Daniel S; [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

B6

Subject: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

B5

Colleagues,

You have likely heard via the usual scheduling channels about timing for next week's [REDACTED]

B5

[REDACTED] It will take place on Monday November 26 from 2:35 – 3:20 pm in the Situation Room. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Please don't hesitate to reach out if you have any questions.

Regards,

Randy

Randall A. Blake
Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Counterterrorism
National Security Staff
The White House
[REDACTED]

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 4:16 PM
To: 'millsd@state.gov'
Subject: Re: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm - Topic - Benghazi

B5

I think I should go w Pat.

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 03:59 PM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Subject: FW: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm - Topic - Benghazi

B5

You good with Pat going?

Cdm

From: Benjamin, Daniel S
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 3:40 PM
To: Bass, John R; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hubbard, Gloria K
Cc: Kennedy, Patrick F; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Re: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

B5

Pat should go.

From: Bass, John R
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 03:33 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Benjamin, Daniel S; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hubbard, Gloria K
Cc: Kennedy, Patrick F; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: RE: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

B5

Cheryl,

WH has indicated we are limited to either the Secretary +1, or a single seat if she is unable to attend. Would you prefer Pat to attend, or Dan? Thanks, JB

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 11:20 AM
To: Benjamin, Daniel S; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hubbard, Gloria K
Cc: Bass, John R; Kennedy, Patrick F; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: RE: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

B5

I am in Haiti but I would like Pat and Philippe Reines to attend if that is possible.

cdm

From: Benjamin, Daniel S
Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 10:21 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hubbard, Gloria K
Subject: Fw: [REDACTED] Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

B5

As you can see from below, this week's session is on Benghazi. I'm told both Ds and P are out Monday. I'm happy to cover, as I have in the past, but, assuming she doesn't want to do it, thought this might be of interest for you. Could also contact Pat. Please advise.

From: Blake, Randy

Sent: Friday, November 23, 2012 08:51 AM

To:

- Beers, Rand'

Heyman, David'

Johnson, Bryan'

Smislova, Melissa'

- Warrick, Tom'

Haines, Avril

Carlin, John'

Cheung, Denise'

Monaco, Lisa'

Krency, Caroline

Shapiro, Nicholas S.

Benjamin, Daniel S;

Subject: Monday November 26 from 2:35 - 3:20 pm

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Please don't hesitate to reach out if you have any questions.

Regards,

Randy

Randall A. Blake

Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Counterterrorism

National Security Staff

The White House

B6

B5

B5

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 7:37 AM
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Hanley, Monica R; Abedin, Huma
Subject: RE: Ending of speech
Attachments: HRC @ CSIS - v8.doc

Here is a new version with the alternative ending and our other edits.

Dan

-----Original Message-----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 6:10 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Schwerin, Daniel B
Subject: Re: Ending of speech

Ok. I'll read the whole thing. Can you email it to me?

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 12:56 AM
To: H
Cc: Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
Subject: Ending of speech

B5



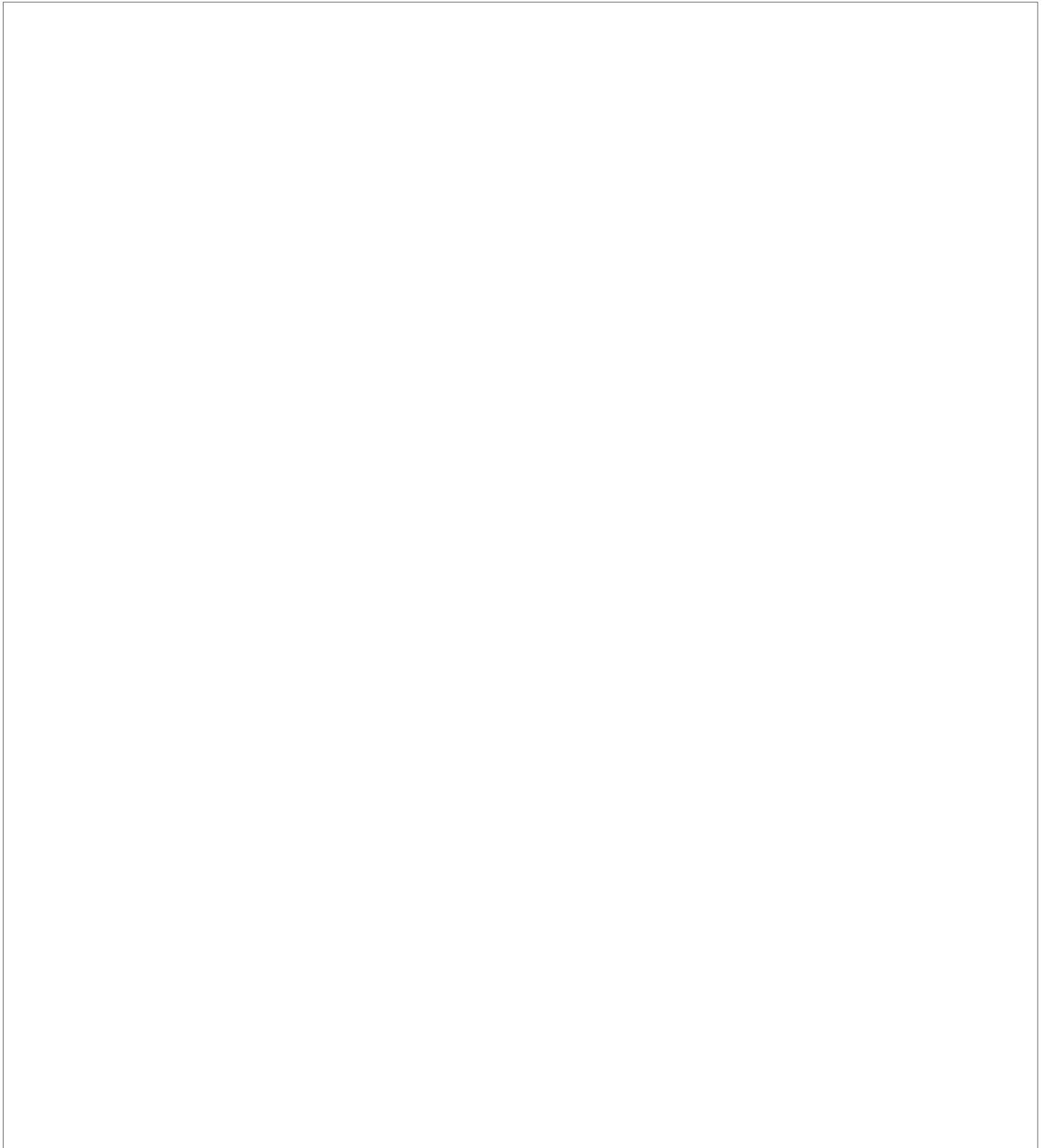


B5

SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS ON THE MAGHREB IN TRANSITION
AT THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
WASHINGTON, DC
OCTOBER 12, 2012



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RELEASE IN PART
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SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS ON THE MAGHREB IN TRANSITION
AT THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
WASHINGTON, DC
OCTOBER 12, 2012

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RELEASE IN PART
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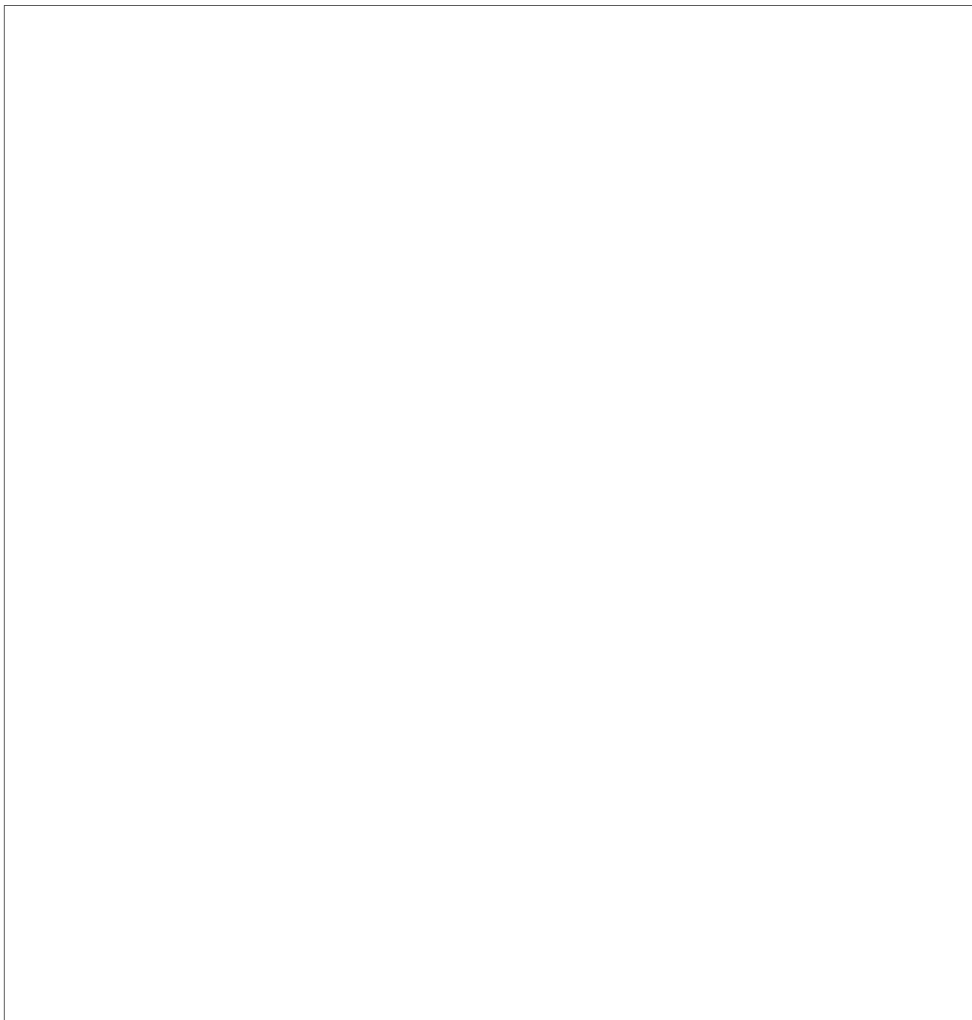
From: Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2012 7:55 PM
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Speech draft for Friday at CSIS
Attachments: HRC @ CSIS - v4.docx

Madam Secretary, here is our latest draft of Friday's speech. It's long – about 30 minutes in this version – but if you're comfortable with the general direction we'll streamline it.

Thanks
Dan



SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS ON THE MAGHREB IN TRANSITION
AT THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
WASHINGTON, DC
OCTOBER 12, 2012



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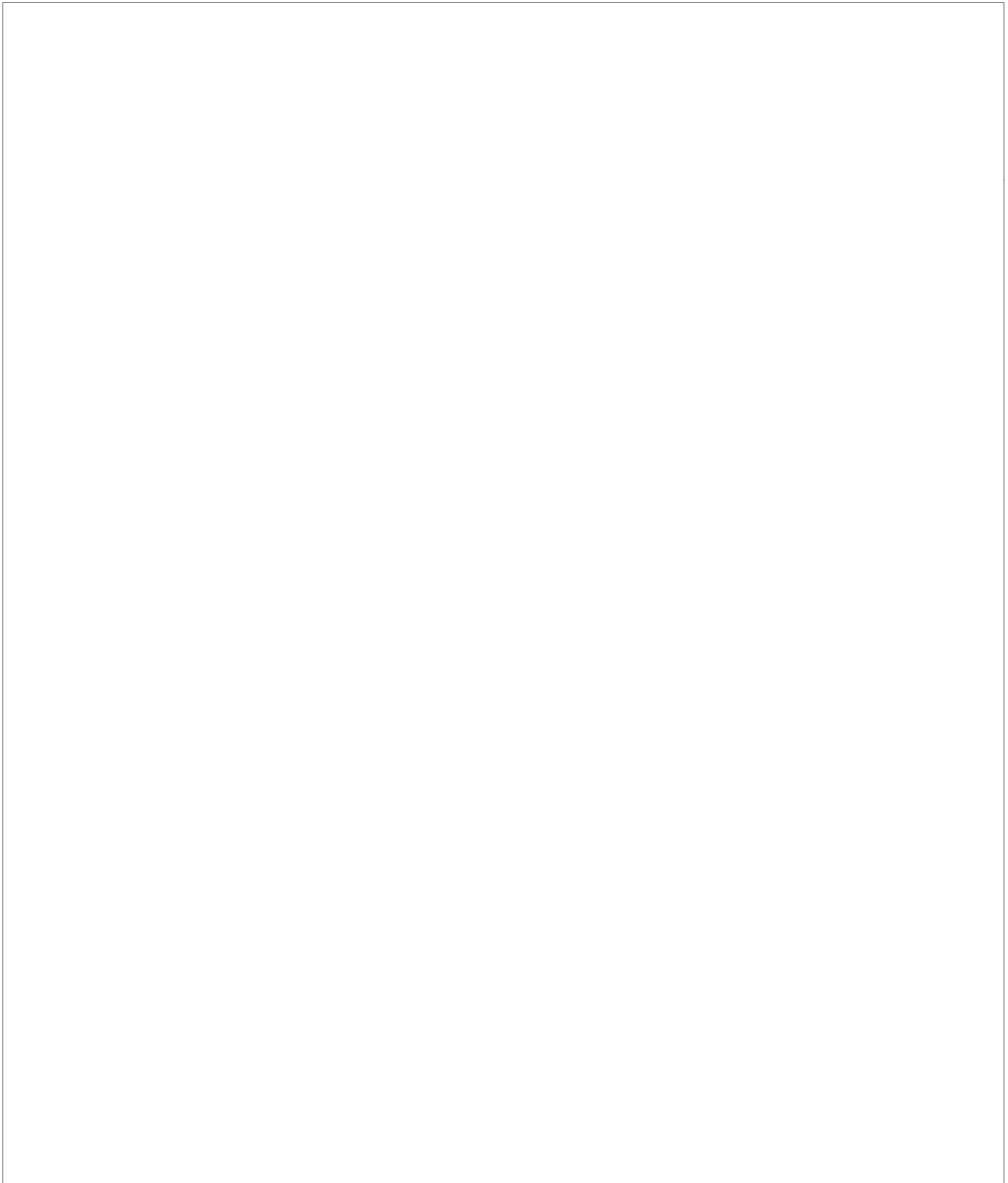




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RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2012 7:55 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Speech draft for Friday at CSIS
Attachments: HRC @ CSIS - v4.docx

Sorry we were a couple hours late!

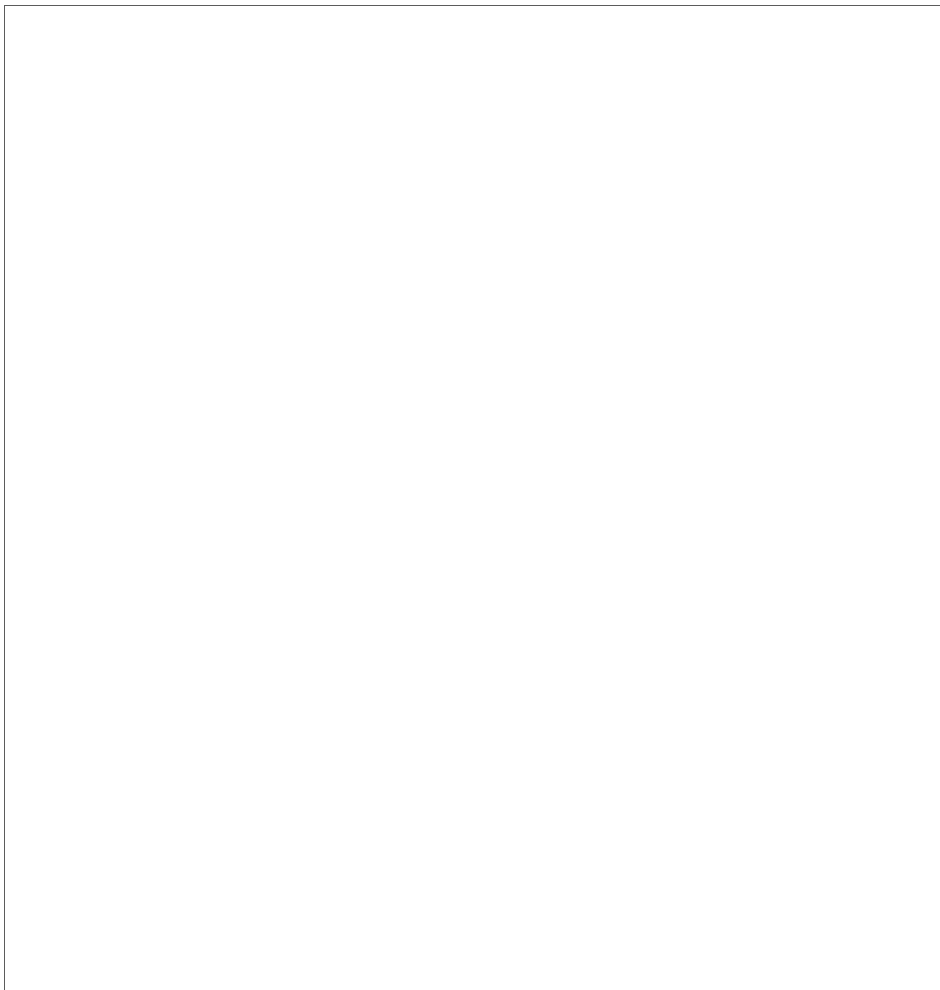
From: Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2012 7:55 PM
To: HRC (HDR22@clintonemail.com)
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Speech draft for Friday at CSIS

Madam Secretary, here is our latest draft of Friday's speech. It's long – about 30 minutes in this version – but if you're comfortable with the general direction we'll streamline it.

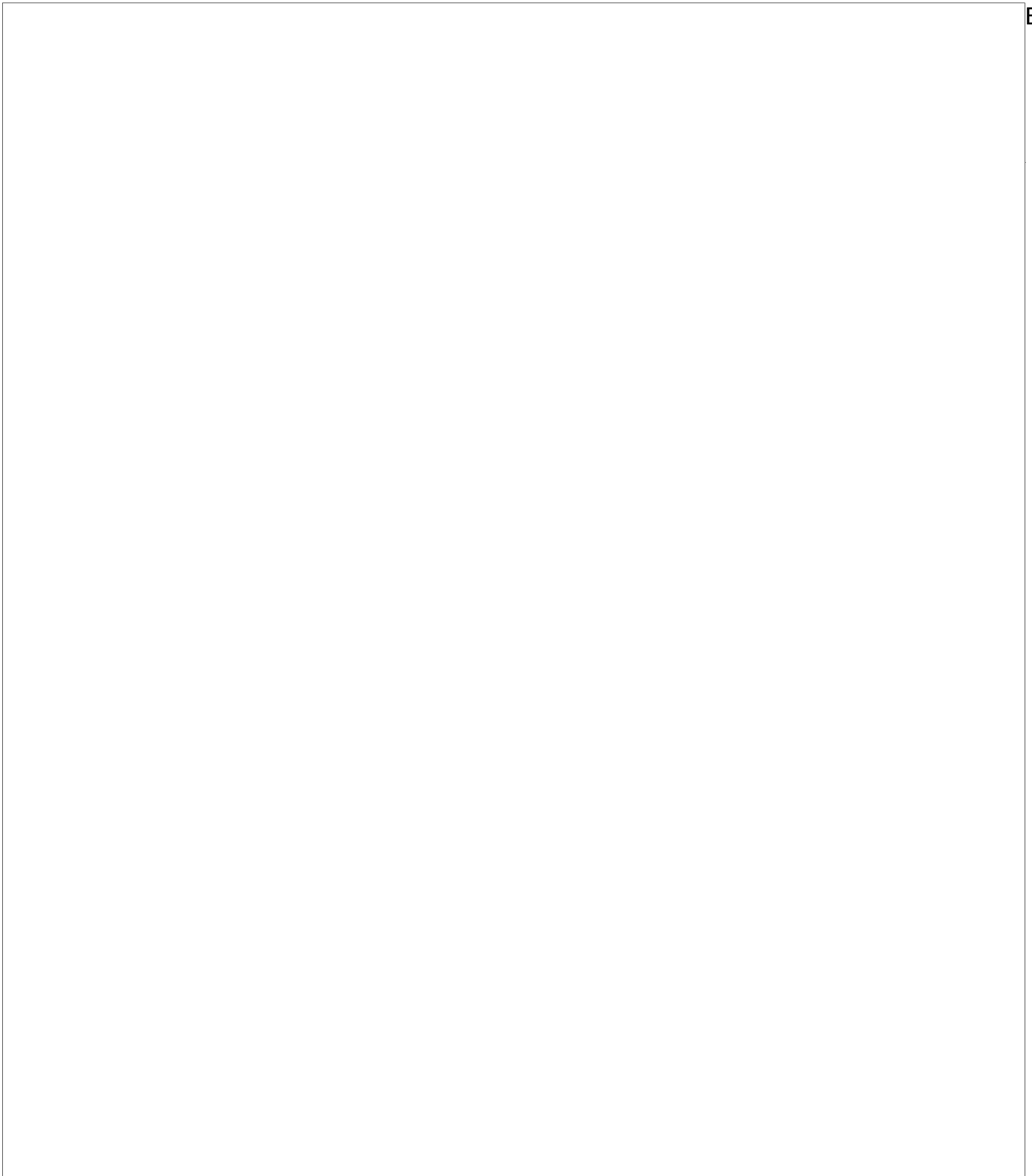
Thanks
Dan



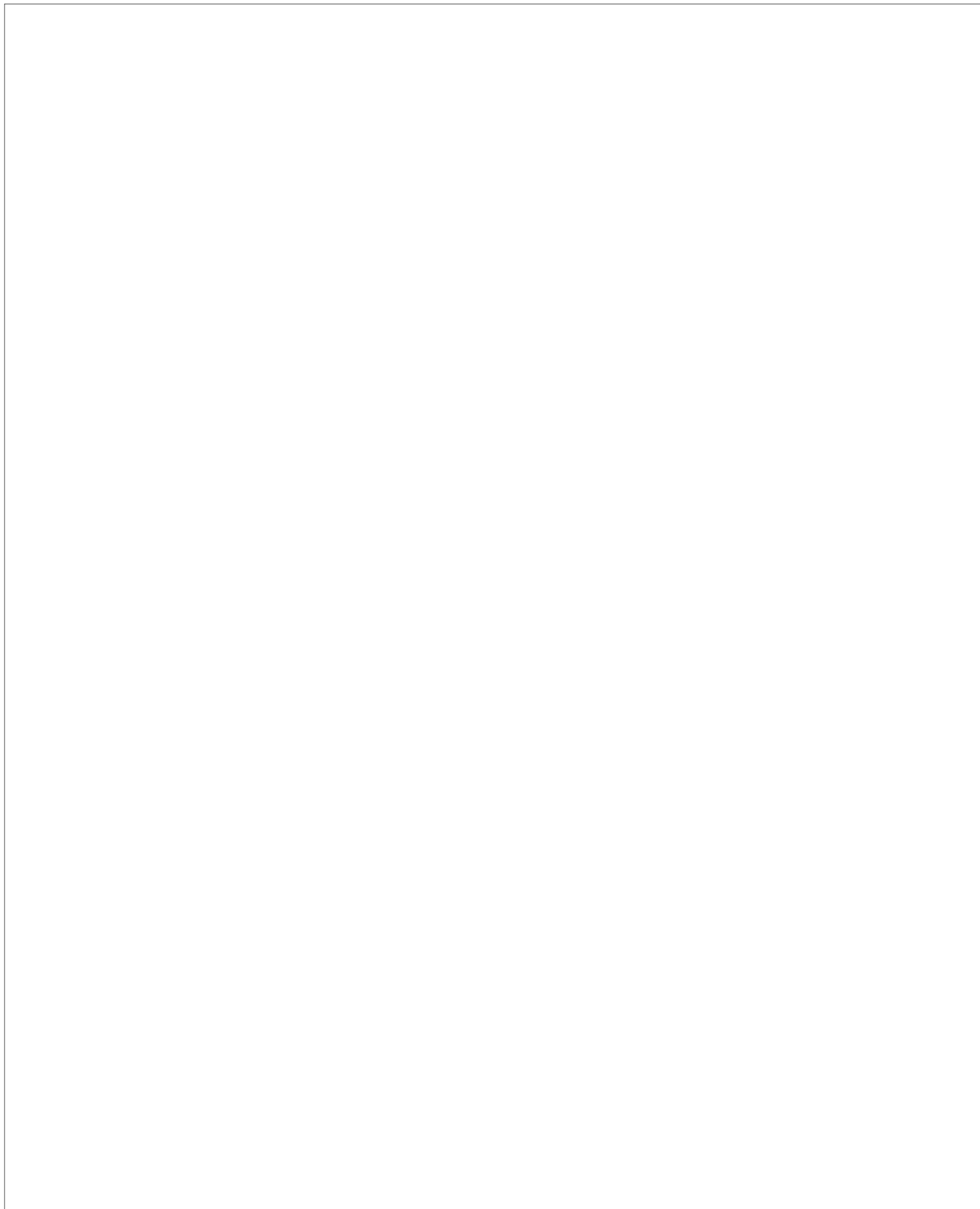
SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS ON THE MAGHREB IN TRANSITION
AT THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
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OCTOBER 12, 2012

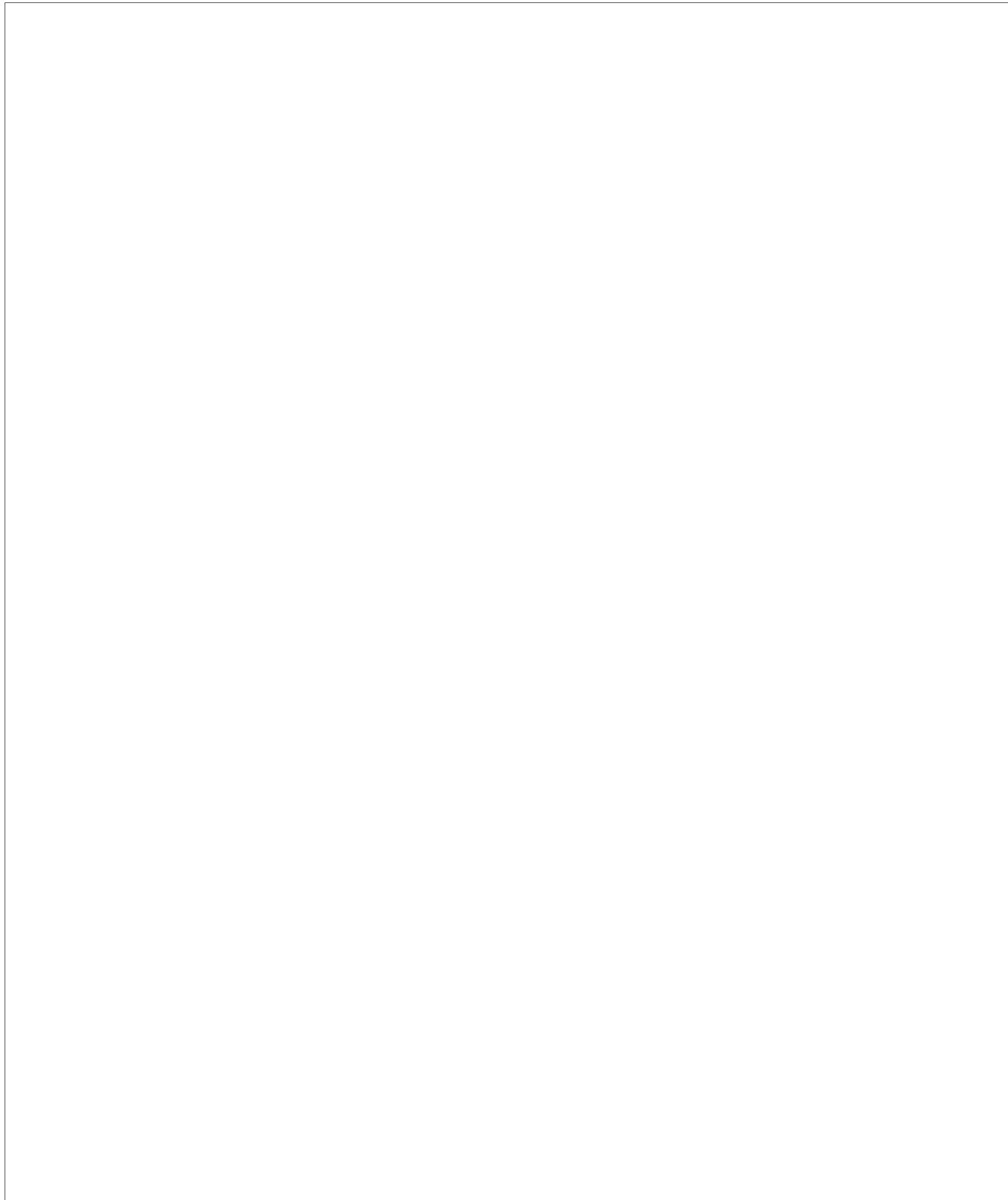


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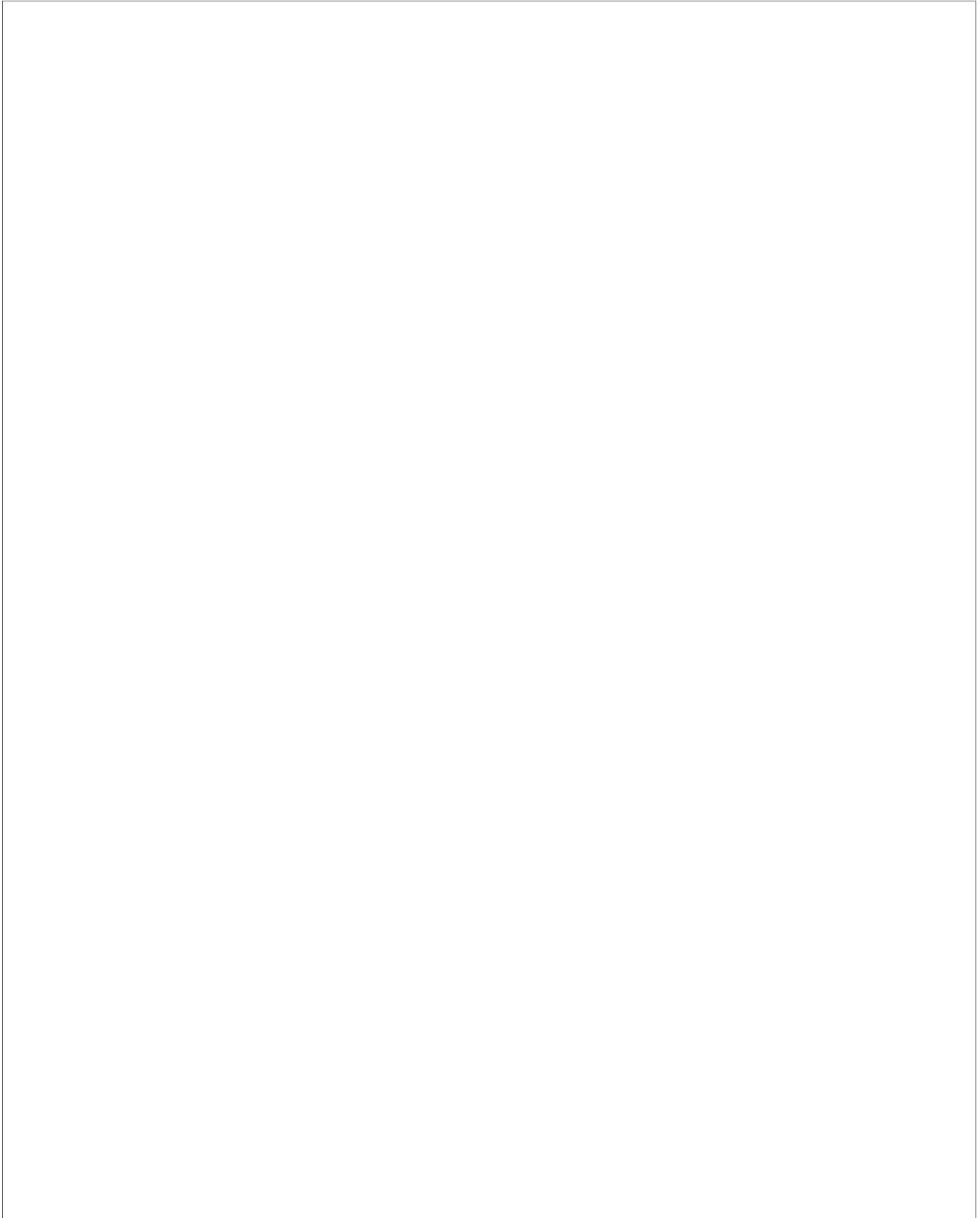


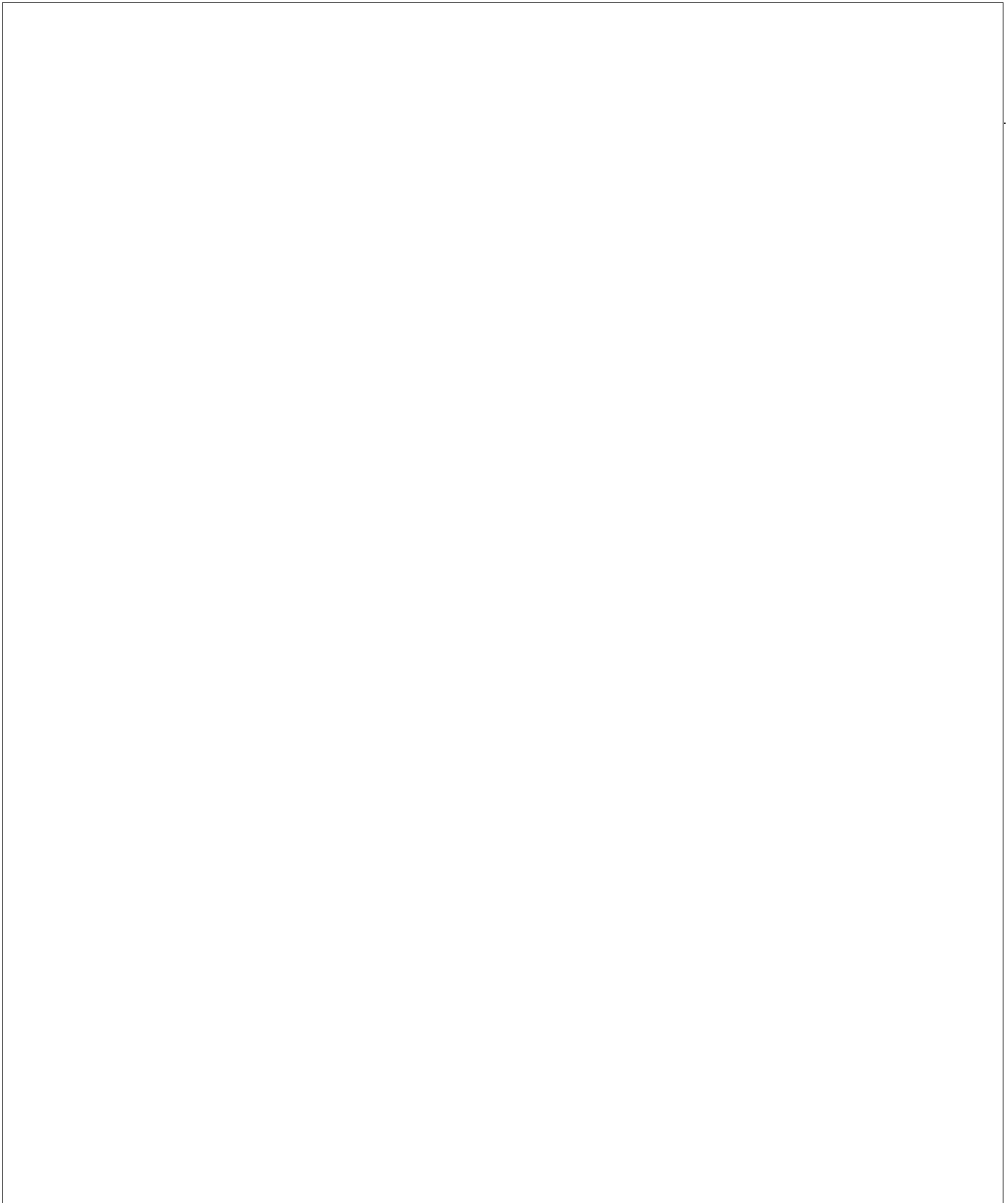


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RELEASE IN PART
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From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 7:12 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: HRC @ CSIS - v8
Attachments: HRC @ CSIS - v8.doc

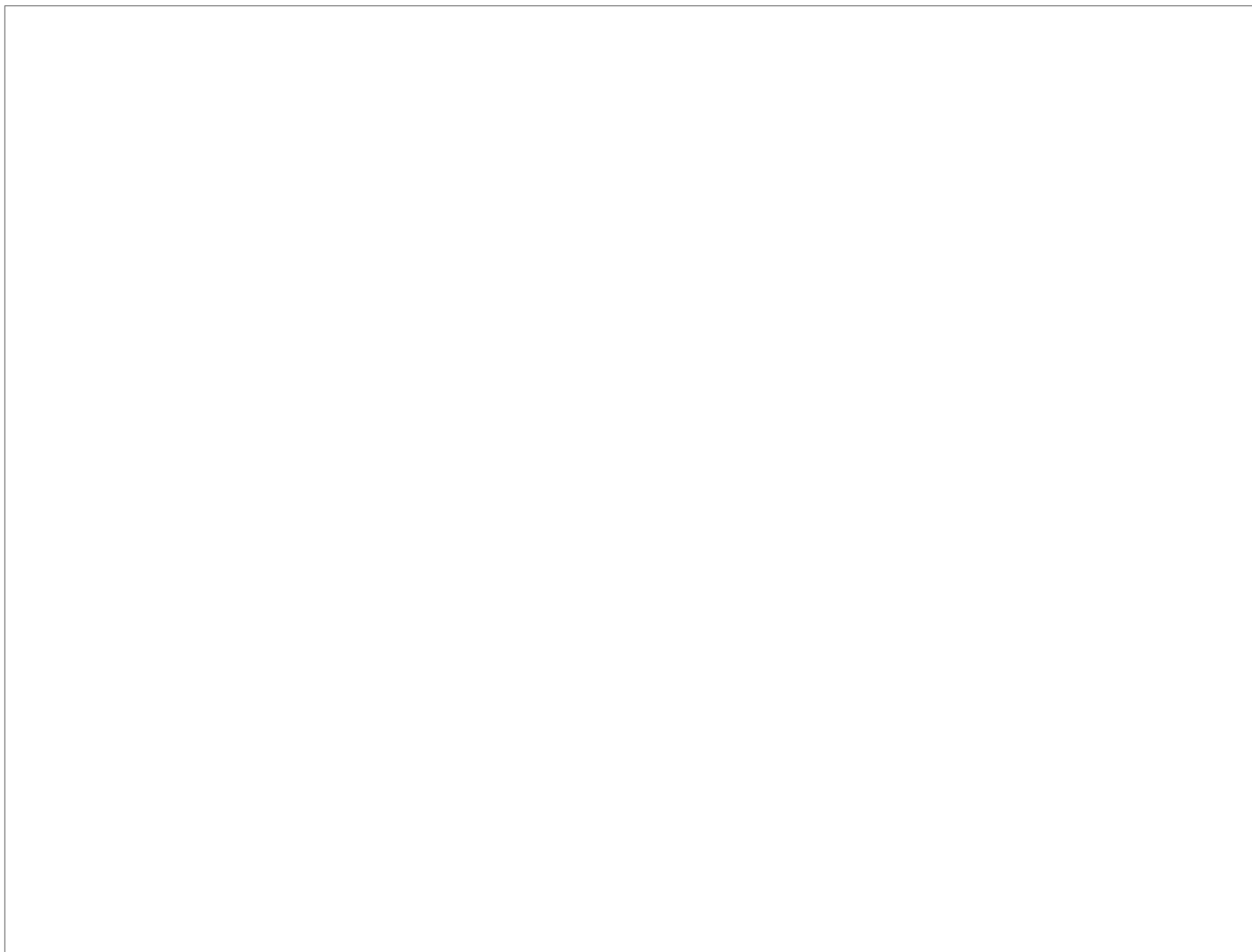
Here you go

From: Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 01:30 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: HRC @ CSIS - v8



SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS ON THE MAGHREB IN TRANSITION
AT THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
WASHINGTON, DC
OCTOBER 12, 2012

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RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 30, 2012 10:17 PM
To: Oscar Flores
Subject: Fw: Benhazi/protest statements
Attachments: Compiled protest and Benghazi statements.docx

Pls print.

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2012 10:16 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Benhazi/protest statements

Attached is full compilation. You never said spontaneous or characterized the motives. In fact you were careful in your first statement to say we were assessing motive and method. The way you treated the video in the Libya context was to say that some sought to *justify* the attack on that basis.

From: Valliani, Amira
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2012 10:08 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Benhazi/protest statements

Attached

Statement on the Attack in Benghazi

September 11, 2012

I condemn in the strongest terms the attack on our mission in Benghazi today. As we work to secure our personnel and facilities, we have confirmed that one of our State Department officers was killed. We are heartbroken by this terrible loss. Our thoughts and prayers are with his family and those who have suffered in this attack.

This evening, I called Libyan President Magariaf to coordinate additional support to protect Americans in Libya. President Magariaf expressed his condemnation and condolences and pledged his government's full cooperation.

Some have sought to justify this vicious behavior as a response to inflammatory material posted on the Internet. The United States deplores any intentional effort to denigrate the religious beliefs of others. Our commitment to religious tolerance goes back to the very beginning of our nation. But let me be clear: There is never any justification for violent acts of this kind.

In light of the events of today, the United States government is working with partner countries around the world to protect our personnel, our missions, and American citizens worldwide.

Statement on the Death of American Personnel in Benghazi, Libya

September 12, 2012

It is with profound sadness that I share the news of the death of four American personnel in Benghazi, Libya yesterday. Among them were United States Ambassador to Libya Chris Stevens and Foreign Service Information Management Officer, Sean Smith. We are still making next of kin notifications for the other two individuals. Our hearts go out to all their families and colleagues.

A 21 year veteran of the Foreign Service, Ambassador Stevens died last night from injuries he sustained in the attack on our office in Benghazi.

I had the privilege of swearing in Chris for his post in Libya only a few months ago. He spoke eloquently about his passion for service, for diplomacy and for the Libyan people. This assignment was only the latest in his more than two decades of dedication to advancing closer ties with the people of the Middle East and North Africa which began as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Morocco. As the conflict in Libya unfolded, Chris was one of the first Americans on the ground in Benghazi. He risked his own life to lend the Libyan people a helping hand to build the foundation for a new, free nation. He spent every day since helping to finish the work that he started. Chris was committed to advancing America's values and interests, even when that meant putting himself in danger.

Sean Smith was a husband and a father of two, who joined the Department ten years ago. Like

Chris, Sean was one of our best. Prior to arriving in Benghazi, he served in Baghdad, Pretoria, Montreal, and most recently The Hague.

All the Americans we lost in yesterday's attacks made the ultimate sacrifice. We condemn this vicious and violent attack that took their lives, which they had committed to helping the Libyan people reach for a better future.

America's diplomats and development experts stand on the front lines every day for our country. We are honored by the service of each and every one of them.

Remarks on the Deaths of American Personnel in Benghazi, Libya
September 12, 2012

Yesterday, our U.S. diplomatic post in Benghazi, Libya was attacked. Heavily armed militants assaulted the compound and set fire to our buildings. American and Libyan security personnel battled the attackers together. Four Americans were killed. They included Sean Smith, a Foreign Service information management officer, and our Ambassador to Libya Chris Stevens. We are still making next of kin notifications for the other two individuals.

This is an attack that should shock the conscience of people of all faiths around the world. We condemn in the strongest terms this senseless act of violence, and we send our prayers to the families, friends, and colleagues of those we've lost.

All over the world, every day, America's diplomats and development experts risk their lives in the service of our country and our values, because they believe that the United States must be a force for peace and progress in the world, that these aspirations are worth striving and sacrificing for. Alongside our men and women in uniform, they represent the best traditions of a bold and generous nation.

In the lobby of this building, the State Department, the names of those who have fallen in the line of duty are inscribed in marble. Our hearts break over each one. And now, because of this tragedy, we have new heroes to honor and more friends to mourn.

Chris Stevens fell in love with the Middle East as a young Peace Corps volunteer teaching English in Morocco. He joined the Foreign Service, learned languages, won friends for America in distant places, and made other people's hopes his own.

In the early days of the Libyan revolution, I asked Chris to be our envoy to the rebel opposition. He arrived on a cargo ship in the port of Benghazi and began building our relationships with Libya's revolutionaries. He risked his life to stop a tyrant, then gave his life trying to help build a better Libya. The world needs more Chris Stevenses. I spoke with his sister, Ann, this morning, and told her that he will be remembered as a hero by many nations.

Sean Smith was an Air Force veteran. He spent 10 years as an information management officer in the State Department, he was posted at The Hague, and was in Libya on a brief temporary assignment. He was a husband to his wife Heather, with whom I spoke this morning. He was a father to two young children, Samantha and Nathan. They will grow up being proud of the service their father gave to our country, service that took him from Pretoria to Baghdad, and finally to Benghazi.

The mission that drew Chris and Sean and their colleagues to Libya is both noble and necessary, and we and the people of Libya honor their memory by carrying it forward. This is not easy. Today, many Americans are asking – indeed, I asked myself – how could this happen? How could this happen in a country we helped liberate, in a city we helped save from destruction? This question reflects just how complicated and, at times, how confounding the world can be.

But we must be clear-eyed, even in our grief. This was an attack by a small and savage group – not the people or Government of Libya. Everywhere Chris and his team went in Libya, in a country scarred by war and tyranny, they were hailed as friends and partners. And when the attack came yesterday, Libyans stood and fought to defend our post. Some were wounded. Libyans carried Chris' body to the hospital, and they helped rescue and lead other Americans to safety. And last night, when I spoke with the President of Libya, he strongly condemned the violence and pledged every effort to protect our people and pursue those responsible.

The friendship between our countries, borne out of shared struggle, will not be another casualty of this attack. A free and stable Libya is still in America's interest and security, and we will not turn our back on that, nor will we rest until those responsible for these attacks are found and brought to justice. We are working closely with the Libyan authorities to move swiftly and surely. We are also working with partners around the world to safeguard other American embassies, consulates, and citizens.

There will be more time later to reflect, but today, we have work to do. There is no higher priority than protecting our men and women wherever they serve. We are working to determine the precise motivations and methods of those who carried out this assault. Some have sought to justify this vicious behavior, along with the protest that took place at our Embassy in Cairo yesterday, as a response to inflammatory material posted on the internet. America's commitment to religious tolerance goes back to the very beginning of our nation. But let me be clear – there is no justification for this, none. Violence like this is no way to honor religion or faith. And as long as there are those who would take innocent life in the name of God, the world will never know a true and lasting peace.

It is especially difficult that this happened on September 11th. It's an anniversary that means a great deal to all Americans. Every year on that day, we are reminded that our work is not yet finished, that the job of putting an end to violent extremism and building a safe and stable world continues. But September 11th means even more than that. It is a day on which we remember

thousands of American heroes, the bonds that connect all Americans, wherever we are on this Earth, and the values that see us through every storm. And now it is a day on which we will remember Sean, Chris, and their colleagues.

May God bless them, and may God bless the thousands of Americans working in every corner of the world who make this country the greatest force for peace, prosperity, and progress, and a force that has always stood for human dignity – the greatest force the world has ever known. And may God continue to bless the United States of America.

Thank you.

Statement on the Deaths of Tyrone S. Woods and Glen A. Doherty in Benghazi, Libya
September 13, 2012

The attack on our diplomatic post in Benghazi, Libya on Tuesday claimed the lives of four Americans. Yesterday, I spoke about two: Ambassador Chris Stevens and Information Management Officer Sean Smith. Today, we also recognize the two security personnel who died helping protect their colleagues. Tyrone S. Woods and Glen A. Doherty were both decorated military veterans who served our country with honor and distinction. Our thoughts, prayers, and deepest gratitude are with their families and friends. Our embassies could not carry on our critical work around the world without the service and sacrifice of brave people like Tyrone and Glen.

Tyrone's friends and colleagues called him "Rone," and they relied on his courage and skill, honed over two decades as a Navy SEAL. In uniform, he served multiple tours in Iraq and Afghanistan. Since 2010, he protected American diplomatic personnel in dangerous posts from Central America to the Middle East. He had the hands of a healer as well as the arm of a warrior, earning distinction as a registered nurse and certified paramedic. All our hearts go out to Tyrone's wife Dorothy and his three sons, Tyrone Jr., Hunter, and Kai, who was born just a few months ago.

We also grieve for Glen Doherty, called Bub, and his family: his father Bernard, his mother Barbara, his brother Gregory, and his sister Kathleen. Glen was also a former Navy SEAL and an experienced paramedic. And he put his life on the line many times, protecting Americans in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other hotspots. In the end, he died the way he lived – with selfless honor and unstinting valor.

We condemn the attack that took the lives of these heroes in the strongest terms, and we are taking additional steps to safeguard American embassies, consulates, and citizens around the world. This violence should shock the conscience of people of all faiths and traditions. We appreciate the statements of support that have poured in from across the region and beyond.

People of conscience and goodwill everywhere must stand together in these difficult days against violence, hate, and division.

I am enormously proud of the men and women who risk their lives every day in the service of our country and our values. They help make the United States the greatest force for peace, progress, and human dignity that the world has ever known. We honor the memory of our fallen colleagues by continuing their work and carrying on the best traditions of a bold and generous nation.

Remarks at the Opening Plenary of the U.S.-Morocco Strategic Dialogue
September 13, 2012

SECRETARY CLINTON: Good morning. Well, let me welcome our friends and colleagues from Morocco here to the Benjamin Franklin Room on the eighth floor of the State Department for this very important first session of the U.S.-Morocco Strategic Dialogue. Before I begin to address the significance of this Strategic Dialogue and the next step in our long relations with Morocco, I want to say a few words about the events unfolding in the world today.

We are closely watching what is happening in Yemen and elsewhere, and we certainly hope and expect that there will be steps taken to avoid violence and prevent the escalation of protests into violence.

I also want to take a moment to address the video circulating on the Internet that has led to these protests in a number of countries. Let me state very clearly – and I hope it is obvious – that the United States Government had absolutely nothing to do with this video. We absolutely reject its content and message. America's commitment to religious tolerance goes back to the very beginning of our nation. And as you know, we are home to people of all religions, many of whom came to this country seeking the right to exercise their own religion, including, of course, millions of Muslims. And we have the greatest respect for people of faith.

To us, to me personally, this video is disgusting and reprehensible. It appears to have a deeply cynical purpose: to denigrate a great religion and to provoke rage. But as I said yesterday, there is no justification, none at all, for responding to this video with violence. We condemn the violence that has resulted in the strongest terms, and we greatly appreciate that many Muslims in the United States and around the world have spoken out on this issue.

Violence, we believe, has no place in religion and is no way to honor religion. Islam, like other religions, respects the fundamental dignity of human beings, and it is a violation of that fundamental dignity to wage attacks on innocents. As long as there are those who are willing to shed blood and take innocent life in the name of religion, the name of God, the world will never know a true and lasting peace. It is especially wrong for violence to be directed against diplomatic missions. These are places whose very purpose is peaceful: to promote better understanding across countries and cultures. All governments have a responsibility to protect

those spaces and people, because to attack an embassy is to attack the idea that we can work together to build understanding and a better future.

Now, I know it is hard for some people to understand why the United States cannot or does not just prevent these kinds of reprehensible videos from ever seeing the light of day. Now, I would note that in today's world with today's technologies, that is impossible. But even if it were possible, our country does have a long tradition of free expression which is enshrined in our Constitution and our law, and we do not stop individual citizens from expressing their views no matter how distasteful they may be.

There are, of course, different views around the world about the outer limits of free speech and free expression, but there should be no debate about the simple proposition that violence in response to speech is not acceptable. We all – whether we are leaders in government, leaders in civil society or religious leaders – must draw the line at violence. And any responsible leader should be standing up now and drawing that line.

I wanted to begin with this statement, because, as our Moroccan friends and all of you know, this has been a difficult week at the State Department. I very much appreciate, Minister, the condolences your government expressed to our Embassy in Rabat. And even though that tragedy happened far away in Benghazi, we found a reminder of the deep bonds that connect Morocco to the United States. It was in the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco that one of the Americans we lost this week, Ambassador Chris Stevens, fell in love with the region when he served as a Peace Corps volunteer there. That experience set him on a decades-long career of service. So in the memory of fallen friends and colleagues, let us remind ourselves of the many ways in which not just our governments but the people of our two nations have worked together to build a better future.

In many ways, the United States looks to Morocco to be a leader and a model. His Majesty King Mohammed deserves great credit for the work you've undertaken. In fact, after my visit to Rabat earlier this year, I told my team: "We need to start a Strategic Dialogue with Morocco." No country has been a friend of the United States longer than Morocco. You were the first nation to recognize us back in 1777. But we're not satisfied with simply having a friendship that is longstanding. We want one that is dynamic, growing, looking toward the future. So let me highlight a few of the areas we should focus on today.

On political reform, we have all seen remarkable changes taking place across North Africa and the Middle East. I commend Morocco and your government for your efforts to stay ahead of these changes by holding free and fair elections, empowering the elected parliament, taking other steps to ensure that the government reflects the will of the people. Today, our political working group will discuss how the United States can continue to support your efforts to translate commitments into actions. Because as we all know, democracy, real reform, require that people themselves feel the changes in their everyday lives: the courts reformed, the government more

open and transparent, universal human rights of all Moroccans – men and women alike – respected.

I'm especially pleased by Morocco's commitments to take on the deeply troubling problem of child marriage. We know that child brides are less likely to get an education, more likely to face life-threatening problems, particularly around child birth and delivery, which not only shortchanges them but can even rob them and their communities of their lives and talents. So we want to encourage the government and civil society to continue their important work together on this issue.

With regard to the Western Sahara, the United States continues to support efforts to find a peaceful, sustainable, mutually agreed-upon solution. U.S. policy toward the Western Sahara has remained consistent for many years. We have made clear that Morocco's autonomy plan is serious, realistic, and credible, and that it represents a potential approach that could satisfy the aspirations of the people in the Western Sahara to run their own affairs in peace and dignity. We continue to support the negotiations carried out by the United Nations and hope parties can work toward resolution.

With respect to the economy, our second working group will focus on what more can be done to deliver tangible economic benefits. Morocco's economy is relatively healthy, but you face the same problem that is now endemic across the world – unemployment is still too high, especially among young people.

That's why the United States is providing \$1.5 million to support an effort to attract foreign investors, foster local economic development, and combat corruption across the region. And I'm pleased to announce that later this year we will hold a Morocco business development conference here in Washington to connect businesses from both countries.

Today, we should discuss ways to build on all of these efforts by increasing bilateral trade, a particular goal of mine since so much trade from Morocco goes to Europe. I'd like to increase the amount of trade coming to the United States, and also to improve economic integration across North Africa, which could greatly benefit Morocco because of Morocco's stability and Morocco's very strong economic foundation. The greater integration there is, the greater the benefits for Moroccans.

Third, the attack in Benghazi this week reminds us that security remains a vital issue. Through our work together on the Global Counterterrorism Task Force, the United States and Morocco already share crucial information and best practices, and I thank Morocco for hosting a Global Counterterrorism Task Force workshop on threats in the South Atlantic next month.

We are also collaborating through USAID, the Peace Corps, and other agencies to help provide Moroccan youth with alternatives to criminal and extremist organizations. And so we are partnering to help strengthen Morocco's criminal justice system and law enforcement.

There will be a lot to discuss in the meeting today. And let me add, the United States greatly appreciates the constructive role Morocco is playing on the UN Security Council, especially your support for the effort to end the violence and bloodshed in Syria and help to usher in a new democratic future for that country. I commend Morocco for offering to host the next ministerial meeting of the Friends of the Syrian People, and we look forward to continuing to work closely together as close partners even after your term on the Security Council has ended.

Finally, our education and cultural ties are reason for much celebration. This year marks the 30th anniversary of our official program to facilitate academic exchanges and other bonds between us. There are more than 5,000 Moroccan alumni of these programs. Two are with us today – Dr. Benjelloun and Dr. Ouaouicha – and we thank them. But among all our work on this front, from preserving Morocco's historic sites to empowering youth, there's one area I particularly hope we can focus on today and receive your advice and counsel – namely, interfaith dialogue.

In these tense and turbulent times, it's more important than ever for people of different faiths to exchange ideas, to build understanding, to promote religious tolerance. It's one of the great challenges of the 21st century, and it's one that we must address together.

So we have a lot of work to do, Minister, but our friendship runs long and deep, and as the treaty our nations signed in 1786 says, and I quote, "Trusting in God, it will remain permanent." I'm confident that we will continue to solve problems and produce results that make our nations stronger, more peaceful, more secure, more prosperous, and also contribute to doing the same for the world.

So again, let me welcome you, Minister. It's been a great pleasure for me to get to know you, to work with you, to be your colleague bilaterally, regionally, and globally, and also welcome your distinguished delegation.

Thank you. (Applause.)

Remarks at Reception Marking Eid ul-Fitr
September 13, 2012

SECRETARY CLINTON: Good evening, and although I am many weeks overdue in saying it: Eid Mubarak. No matter how belated we are honoring Eid and the end of Ramadan, this is a cherished tradition here at the State Department. And I would like to thank all of you for being here, including the many members of the Diplomatic Corps.

Tonight, our gathering is more somber than any of us would like. This comes during sad and difficult days for the State Department family. We lost four Americans. They were good and brave men. They were committed to the cause of building a brighter future for the people of Libya. And we condemn the violence in the strongest terms, the violence against our posts in Benghazi, in Egypt, and now in Yemen.

The Libyan ambassador is with us tonight, and I want to take a moment to thank him for the support that his government and the Libyan people have shown to the United States in this tragedy, particularly the outpouring of feelings of grief and loss because of the killing of our ambassador.

Ambassador Aujali, would you mind saying a few words?

AMBASSADOR AUJALI: [redacted]

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you very much, Ambassador. I know that that was a very personal loss for you, as it was for me. I'm the one who sent Chris to Benghazi during the revolution to show support and be able to advise our government about what we could do to bring freedom and democracy and opportunity to the people of Libya.

Religious freedom and religious tolerance are essential to the stability of any nation, any people. Hatred and violence in the name of religion only poison the well. All people of faith and good will know that the actions of a small and savage group in Benghazi do not honor religion or God in any way. Nor do they speak for the more than one billion Muslims around the world, many of whom have shown an outpouring of support during this time.

Unfortunately, however, over the last 24 hours, we have also seen violence spread elsewhere. Some seek to justify this behavior as a response to inflammatory, despicable material posted on the internet. As I said earlier today, the United States rejects both the content and the message of that video. The United States deplores any intentional effort to denigrate the religious beliefs of others. At our meeting earlier today, my colleague, the foreign minister of Morocco, said that all prophets should be respected because they are all symbols of our humanity, for all humanity.

But both of us were crystal clear in this paramount message: There is never any justification for violent acts of this kind. And we look to leaders around the world to stand up and speak out against violence, and to take steps to protect diplomatic missions from attack.

Think about it. When Christians are subject to insults to their faith, and that certainly happens, we expect them not to resort to violence. When Hindus or Buddhists are subjected to insults to their faiths, and that also certainly happens, we expect them not to resort to violence. The same goes for all faiths, including Islam.

When all of us who are people of faith – and I am one – feel the pain of insults, of misunderstanding, of denigration to what we cherish, we must expect ourselves and others not to resort to violence. That is a universal standard and expectation, and it is everyone's obligation to meet that, so that we make no differences, we expect no less of ourselves than we expect of others. You cannot respond to offensive speech with violence without begetting more violence.

And I so strongly believe that the great religions of the world are stronger than any insults. They have withstood offense for centuries. Refraining from violence, then, is not a sign of weakness in one's faith; it is absolutely the opposite, a sign that one's faith is unshakable.

So tonight, we must come together and recommit ourselves to working toward a future marked by understanding and acceptance rather than distrust, hatred, and fear. We can pledge that whenever one person speaks out in ignorance and bigotry, ten voices will answer. They will answer resoundingly against the offense and the insult, answering ignorance with enlightenment, answering hatred with understanding, answering darkness with light; that if one person commits a violent act in the name of religion, millions will stand up and condemn it out of strength.

In times like these, it can be easy to despair that some differences are irreconcilable, some mountains too steep to climb; we will therefore never reach the level of understanding and peacefulness that we seek, and which I believe the great religions of the world call us to pursue. But that's not what I believe, and I don't think it's what you believe either here tonight. Part of what makes our country so special is we keep trying. We keep working. We keep investing in our future. We keep supporting the next generation, believing that young people can keep us moving forward in a positive direction.

So tonight I think it's important that we talk not just about that better tomorrow that we all seek, but also about some of the things – the real, practical, tangible things – that young people are doing to help shape that better future.

Two years ago in this room, at our Eid reception, we launched a program called Generation Change to lead a grassroots agenda of positive engagement with Muslim communities. And I asked the young Muslim leaders in the audience that night to be our unofficial ambassadors, to help build personal connections, seek out partners in other countries. And I can report to you tonight they did not disappoint. In a few minutes, you're going to meet some of these young leaders, each with a powerful story to tell.

The Generation Change network that started in this room now circles the globe. We are building an international alliance of young people who want to drive change in their own communities. They act as mentors, spark respectful debates, simply offer words of encouragement when needed. But most importantly, they inspire others to keep expanding the circle of mutual understanding and respect, one person at a time.

Even as we work to spread tolerance more broadly, we also are working to deepen our appreciation for the experiences of others. Our 2012 Hours Against Hate initiative encourages young people to put themselves in another person's shoes through service projects. So far, young people from all over the world have pledged thousands of volunteer hours to help people from a different background, to see them as a fellow human being, not a stereotype, not a caricature, but another real live person – people who don't look like you, live like you, pray like you, but with whom we will share this planet. And therefore, we have work to do.

People of faith and conscience are called to be the leaders of tolerance. In my tradition, like all traditions, we are expected to love one another. And together, we have to translate that into better understanding and cooperation. I'm particularly pleased that the young people you will hear from tonight are really setting an example, not only for young people elsewhere in the world but, frankly, for us who are older as well.

Let me now call to the stage someone who has been a tremendous assistance to me in these efforts. Farah Pandith is the Department's first Special Representative to Muslim Communities. And from the beginning, she has made reaching out to young people and civil society her top priority. Farah will introduce you to three young leaders who I am very proud of.

Remarks at the Transfer of Remains Ceremony to Honor Those Lost in Attacks in Benghazi, Libya
September 14, 2012

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you very much, Chaplain. Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Secretary Panetta, Ambassador Rice, Secretary Powell and Mrs. Powell, family members of the four patriots and heroes we bring home, members of the State Department family, ladies and gentlemen, today we bring home four Americans who gave their lives for our country and our values. To the families of our fallen colleagues, I offer our most heartfelt condolences and deepest gratitude.

Sean Smith joined the State Department after six years in the Air Force. He was respected as an expert on technology by colleagues in Pretoria, Baghdad, Montreal, and The Hague. He enrolled in correspondence courses at Penn State and had high hopes for the future. Sean leaves behind a loving wife Heather, two young children, Samantha and Nathan, and scores of grieving family, friends, and colleagues. And that's just in this world. Because online in the virtual worlds that Sean helped create, he is also being mourned by countless competitors, collaborators, and gamers who shared his passion.

Tyrone Woods, known to most as Rone, spent two decades as a Navy SEAL, serving multiple tours in Iraq and Afghanistan. Since 2010, he protected American diplomatic personnel in dangerous posts from Central America to the Middle East. He had the hands of a healer as well as the arms of a warrior, earning distinction as a registered nurse and certified paramedic. Our hearts go out to Tyrone's wife Dorothy, and his three sons Tyrone, Jr., Hunter, and Kai, born just a few months ago, along with his grieving family, friends, and colleagues.

Glen Doherty, who went by Bub, was also a former SEAL and an experienced paramedic. He too died as he lived, serving his country and protecting his colleagues. Glen deployed to some of the most dangerous places on Earth, including Iraq and Afghanistan, always putting his life on the line to safeguard other Americans. Our thoughts and prayers are with Glen's father Bernard, his mother Barbara, his brother Gregory, his sister Kathleen, and their grieving families, friends, and colleagues.

I was honored to know Ambassador Chris Stevens. I want to thank his parents and siblings, who are here today, for sharing Chris with us and with our country. What a wonderful gift you gave us. Over his distinguished career in the Foreign Service, Chris won friends for the United States in far-flung places. He made those people's hopes his own. During the revolution in Libya, he risked his life to help protect the Libyan people from a tyrant, and he gave his life helping them build a better country.

People loved to work with Chris. And as he rose through the ranks, they loved to work for Chris. He was known not only for his courage but for his smile – goofy but contagious – for his sense of fun and that California cool.

In the days since the attack, so many Libyans – including the Ambassador from Libya to the United States, who is with us today – have expressed their sorrow and solidarity. One young woman, her head covered and her eyes haunted with sadness, held up a handwritten sign that said “Thugs and killers don't represent Benghazi nor Islam.” The President of the Palestinian Authority, who worked closely with Chris when he served in Jerusalem, sent me a letter remembering his energy and integrity, and deploring – and I quote – “an act of ugly terror.” Many others from across the Middle East and North Africa have offered similar sentiments.

This has been a difficult week for the State Department and for our country. We've seen the heavy assault on our post in Benghazi that took the lives of those brave men. We've seen rage and violence directed at American embassies over an awful internet video that we had nothing to do with. It is hard for the American people to make sense of that because it is senseless, and it is totally unacceptable.

The people of Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Tunisia did not trade the tyranny of a dictator for the tyranny of a mob. Reasonable people and responsible leaders in these countries need to do everything they can to restore security and hold accountable those behind these violent acts. And we will, under the President's leadership, keep taking steps to protect our personnel around the world.

There will be more difficult days ahead, but it is important that we don't lose sight of the fundamental fact that America must keep leading the world. We owe it to those four men to continue the long, hard work of diplomacy. I am enormously proud of the men and women of the State Department. I'm proud of all those across our government, civilian and military alike, who

represent America abroad. They help make the United States the greatest force for peace, progress, and human dignity the world has ever known. If the last few days teach us anything, let it be this: That this work and the men and women who risk their lives to do it are at the heart of what makes America great and good.

So we will wipe away our tears, stiffen our spines, and face the future undaunted. And we will do it together, protecting and helping one another, just like Sean, Tyrone, Glen, and Chris always did. May God bless them and grant their families peace and solace, and may God continue to bless the United States of America.

And now, let me have the great honor of introducing someone who came to the State Department earlier this week to grieve with us. He well understands and values the work that these men were doing for our country. The President of the United States.

Remarks With Mexican Secretary of Foreign Relations Patricia Espinosa After Their Meeting
September 18, 2012

SECRETARY CLINTON: Good afternoon, everyone. And it is such a pleasure for me to welcome my friend and colleague, Secretary Espinosa, along with a very distinguished delegation of officials from the Mexican Government for this continuation of consultation at the highest levels of each of our governments.

Before I turn to the matters discussed today, let me give a brief update on the ongoing U.S. response to the protests in the Middle East and elsewhere. I'm sure as you know already, we are taking aggressive steps to protect our staffs in embassies and consulates worldwide. That includes reviewing our security posture at every post and augmenting it where necessary. And we are working closely with the Libyan Government in our efforts to bring to justice those who murdered our four American colleagues in Benghazi.

The FBI is now in Tripoli to join the investigation with Libyan officials, and there is nothing more important to us than ensuring the safety of our American representatives worldwide. At the same time, as I have said to State Department employees, the incidents of the past week highlight how important our work is. The United States must and will remain strongly engaged in the world. Our men and women risk their lives in service to our country and our values, because they know that the United States must be a force for peace and progress. That is worth striving and sacrificing for, and nothing that happened last week changes this fundamental fact.

Now, turning to our friends and partners in Mexico, we are always pleased to have a chance to discuss matters of mutual interest and concern between us. Mexico is one of our closest friends as well as partner on dozens of critical issues. So we talk about every kind of issue you can imagine, from education and healthcare to poverty alleviation to the environment. But today, we focused on a top priority for us both – security.

We just co-chaired the fourth meeting of the U.S.-Mexico Merida High-Level Consultative Group. This is the last one we will hold during the Calderon Administration. And I want to offer my personal appreciation to President Calderon and to Foreign Secretary Espinosa for their leadership and commitment to this partnership and to all on both sides of the border in our governments who have been deeply engaged and committed to it. The Merida Initiative represents an unprecedented level of security cooperation between Mexico and the United States.

As our countries continue to deal with the serious challenge of transnational criminal organizations, including drug traffickers, illegal arms traffickers, money launderers, and violent gangs that threaten people on both sides of the border, we well know there is no quick and easy way to stop these criminals and bring them to justice. But nevertheless, during the past now nearly four years, our countries have collaborated to an extraordinary and unprecedented degree. We have brought together policy makers and experts from across our governments and societies who have worked hand in hand to keep our people safe. And I think the habits of cooperation we have built are among our most important achievements, and we will rely on them for a long time to come.

Today, our delegations reviewed the gains we've made on key priorities, including improving law enforcement coordination, reducing the demand for drugs, modernizing our border infrastructure, strengthening the rule of law, and building more resilient and empowered communities. We also discussed the lessons we've learned and the work that lies ahead in these and other areas, which our joint statement will reflect. I want to underscore how important our security relationship with Mexico is to the United States.

The Government of Mexico and the Mexican people have faced the threat posed by these criminals with courage and resolve, and we remain committed to doing everything we can to support Mexico as it continues to work to bring those criminals to justice. This is a transnational problem, and it calls for a transnational solution, and the United States believes this is a matter of shared responsibility. That was the first message I brought as Secretary of State when I came to Mexico, and it continues to be the hallmark of our efforts together. Making sure our people are safe and our neighbors are safe is of the utmost importance to us.

Now, our two countries share many other priorities, and one of them, empowering women and girls, was also addressed today. We took the opportunity, the Foreign Secretary and I, to sign a Memorandum of Understanding between our countries to work together to advance gender equality, empower girls and women, promote their human rights, and enhance their security.

So again, Secretary Espinosa, let me thank you for years of work and effort, for our productive conversations in many places around the world and again today, and for being such a valuable colleague and partner. The United States deeply, deeply values our relationship with Mexico and the ties of family and friendship that connect so many millions of our people.

And we look forward to the future. We believe strongly that presidential administrations may change, elections will come and go, but we have established a firm foundation for cooperation that has already benefited both our countries and which will continue to benefit both of our countries for many years ahead. So thank you very much.

MS. NULAND: We'll take (inaudible), Margaret Brennan, CBS News.

QUESTION: Madam Secretary, thanks for your time. Are you any closer to finding who killed Ambassador Chris Stevens? Libya's President says this attack was planned for months. Are you confident he's wrong and that security measures were appropriate? And will you leave justice to the Libyans?

SECRETARY CLINTON: As I said at the outset, we are taking aggressive steps to protect our people and our consulates and embassies around the world. We are reviewing our security posture at every post and working with host governments to be sure they know what our security needs are wherever necessary. We are also working closely with the Libyan Government to bring the perpetrators to justice so that we can be assured that we have found who murdered our four colleagues and under what circumstances. As I said, the FBI has joined the investigation inside Libya, and we will not rest until the people who orchestrated this attack are found and punished.

It is also important to look at this strategically and understand what is going on across the region. In a number of places where protests have turned violent, we are seeing the hand of extremists who are trying to exploit people's inflamed passions for their own agendas. But overwhelmingly, we have found that the people of Egypt, of Libya, of Yemen and Tunisia are not prepared to trade the tyranny of a dictator for the tyranny of a mob. They want to turn their attention to the future to provide better opportunities for themselves and their children, and they want a strong partnership with the United States and the American people based on mutual interests and mutual respect.

This is part of a larger debate that is going on inside these societies. In Libya, for example, in their first free elections, moderates were successful at the polls. But look, there are extremists in all of these societies and on the outside who are working to take advantage of broad outrage in order to incite violence and specifically incite violence against Americans and American facilities.

And as I have said to many of the leaders I have spoken to over the past week, these extremist efforts are a threat to the people of the societies and the governments of those societies as well as to the region and the United States. And I think it's important at this moment for leaders to put themselves on the right side of this debate – to speak out clearly and unequivocally against violence, whoever incites it or conducts it.

And in a struggle like this, there can be no doubt where the United States must stand. We support those who are fighting for the same values and rights that we believe in – in democracy, in

freedom, in universal rights for men and women, for justice and accountability. And I want to underscore that the United States will continue to work with partners and allies in the region and around the world to help bring security to these nations so that the promise of the revolutions that they experienced can be realized.

And finally, on your specific point about Benghazi, we obviously never talk publicly about security at any of our missions for obvious reasons. But that said, let me assure you that our security in Benghazi included a unit of host government security forces, as well as a local guard force of the kind that we rely on in many places around the world. In addition to the security outside the compound, we relied on a wall and a robust security presence inside the compound. And with all of our missions overseas, in advance of September 11th, as is done every year, we did an evaluation on threat streams. And the Office of the Director of National Intelligence has said we had no actionable intelligence that an attack on our post in Benghazi was planned or imminent.

But let me state the obvious again. Our diplomats engage in dangerous work, and it's the nature of diplomacy in fragile societies and conflict zones to be aware of the necessity for security but to also continue the important diplomatic work that has to go on. There is risk inherent in what we do and what these brave men and women representing the United States are up against every single day, and we do our very best to limit that risk by ensuring that our security protocols reflect the environments in which diplomats work and the threats that they are presented with.

Thank you.

**Remarks With Indonesian Foreign Minister Raden Mohammad Marty Muliana
Natalegawa After Their Meeting
September 20, 2012**

SECRETARY CLINTON: Good afternoon, everyone. And it's such a pleasure, as always, to welcome the Indonesian Foreign Minister, and I believe the largest delegation that has ever come from Indonesia, for the purpose of our third meeting of the U.S.-Indonesia Joint Commission.

This commission is the result of a vision by our two presidents for a comprehensive partnership, and the agreement to that effect was signed in 2010. Thanks to this partnership, the United States and Indonesia are working more closely than ever on a range of issues from global security to clean energy and climate to regional trade and commerce.

And today, Marty and I had the chance to take stock of where our teams have come in the time of the last year, because we had our meeting in Bali a year ago. And I must say, I was very impressed. We covered a great deal today.

But before I start, I'd like to say a few words about the protests in several countries around the world. We have condemned in the strongest possible terms the violence that has erupted from these protests. And as I have said, the video that sparked these protests is disgusting and reprehensible, and the United States Government, of course, had absolutely nothing to do with it.

But there is no justification for violence, and I want to thank the Foreign Minister and his government for speaking out against violence. We have to look to reasonable people and responsible leaders everywhere to stand up to extremists who would seek to take advantage of this moment to commit violent acts against embassies and their fellow countrymen.

Today's meetings have highlighted the strong foundation that we have built together. And one of our most important concerns is promoting peace and stability in the Asia Pacific. Today, I'm announcing that the Obama Administration has informed Congress of the potential sale of eight AH-64D Apache Longbow helicopters to the Indonesian Government. This agreement will strengthen our comprehensive partnership and help enhance security across the region.

On growth and prosperity, we are increasing our trade relationship that topped \$26 billion last year. Investments in transportation, energy, and infrastructure are creating jobs and supporting economic growth in both countries. For example, the deal between Lion Air and Boeing alone represents \$21 billion in trade over the next decade. Indonesia's Government has announced half a trillion dollars in infrastructure improvements, and we recently signed a memorandum of understanding to make it easier for American companies to bid on these projects.

And yesterday, we signed an agreement for implementing our Millennium Challenge Corporation Compact with Indonesia. Over the next five years, the United States will invest \$600 million in clean energy development, child health and nutrition programs, and efforts to help make Indonesia's Government more transparent and open.

The United States is also looking forward to Indonesia hosting APEC in 2013, and we are confident that Indonesia will come to this role with a commitment to promote greater economic integration across the Asia Pacific.

Both the Foreign Minister and I believe that strong education is essential to compete in a modern global economy. That's why the United States has expanded the Fulbright Program and supported partnerships between dozens of American and Indonesian universities. Academic exchanges between our countries are up and applications from Indonesian students to visit the United States have increased by one third. USAID has recently expanded its basic education program to provide \$83 million for teacher training and literacy programs for young children. And we're providing \$20 in scholarship funding for Indonesian graduate students.

I also thanked the Minister for Indonesia's leadership in ASEAN. The Foreign Minister's personal leadership has helped lay the groundwork for diplomacy between ASEAN and China as it relates to the South China Sea. And we continue to support ASEAN's six-point principles, which we believe will help reduce tensions and pave the way for a comprehensive code of conduct for addressing disputes without threats, coercion, or use of force.

Finally, Indonesia and the United States have stood together on a range of global challenges, from democratic reform in Burma to combating climate change, to working to end the violence in Syria. We are also coordinating efforts to further develop south-south and triangular cooperation, such as enhancing disaster preparedness in Burma and convening a conference on women's empowerment.

We believe that as the second and third-largest democracies in the world, the United States and Indonesia have a special responsibility to promote democracy and human rights. And for the last four years, Indonesia has hosted the Bali Democracy Forum to promote peaceful, democratic transitions through example and open dialogue. Last year, more than 80 countries attended. And once again, the United States will be sending a high-level delegation.

So, Minister, thank you for everything. Thank you for the great partnership we've had between us and between our countries.

MS. NULAND: We'll take two questions today, we'll start with Ros Jordan of Al Jazeera English.

QUESTION: Thank you, Madam Secretary, Mr. Foreign Minister. Madam Secretary, my question is about the ongoing investigation into last week's attack at the consulate in Benghazi. You are meeting this afternoon with members of Congress to discuss the progress and the concerns that they understandably have. First, there is the federal mandate to establish an accountability review board. Have you done so? Who would you like to see chair it? Are there certain questions that you desperately want to have answered in order to safeguard the safety of Foreign Service Officers around the world?

And related to this, given the political instability and the successes of the past year and a half, are you satisfied that in light of those political changes, enough was done to protect those working in the Middle East and North Africa? And then finally – and this is perhaps going into the area of rumor and speculation – but there is at least one report suggesting that Ambassador Stevens felt that he was on a, quote, “al-Qaida hit list.” Is this a scurrilous rumor? Is this gallows humor when one is working in a period of difficulty and great challenge, or is there something more to what he allegedly – and I stress that word – said?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, first, let me say I'm looking forward to the opportunity to go up to the Congress today. I will be briefing in two separate sessions, the House and the Senate, in a classified setting, along with my interagency colleagues, as we continue to work together, and with governments around the world, to ensure that our people and our facilities are safe. I will be joined today by the Director of National Intelligence, General Clapper, by the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Ash Carter, by the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Sandy Winnefeld, along with experts from the FBI, the State Department, and elsewhere in the government.

Now, I anticipate that this briefing will cover our security posture before and during the events, and the steps we have taken since to do everything we can with host governments to protect our people and our embassies and consulates. The Director of National Intelligence will speak to the intelligence issues surrounding these events in Libya. Deputy Secretary Carter will brief on the superb support we have had from the U.S. military in the wake of these events, and we are at the very early stages of an FBI investigation. The team from the FBI reached Libya earlier this week. And I will advise Congress also that I am launching an accountability review board that will be chaired by Ambassador Thomas Pickering.

I will also talk about the importance of the broader relationships with these countries in light of the events of the past days. There are obviously very real challenges in these new democracies, these fragile societies, but as I said last week, the vast majority of the people in these countries did not throw off the tyranny of a dictator to trade it for the tyranny of a mob. And we are concerned first and foremost with our own people and facilities, but we are concerned about the internal security in these countries because ultimately, that puts at risk the men, women, and children of these societies on a daily ongoing basis if actions are not taken to try to restore security and civil order.

And let me just conclude by saying that there can be no doubt where the United States stands. We continue to support those who are fighting for universal values – values that we see at work in Indonesia – the third largest democracy in the world. We believe that these values of universal rights, of justice and accountability, of democracy, are there for every person regardless of where that person might live. So I will look forward to having a chance to talk with members of Congress.

As to your final question, I have absolutely no information or reason to believe that there's any basis for that.

QUESTION: Thank you.

MS. NULAND: Last question. Victoria Sidjabat from *Tempo Magazine*, please.

QUESTION: Yes, Madam, thank you. My question is: Starting today, U.S. Embassy and Consulate are closed in Indonesia as the Muslim movie become wild fireball, which could be

designed as a weapon to attack U.S. by raising sentiment anti-U.S. from the countries which has Muslim majority population like Indonesia.

Madam Clinton, how do you see this threat as on the long run? If it's continuing happen, it's -- obviously could give impact to the implementation of (inaudible) program in Indonesia. What is the reason U.S. Government closed the Embassy and Consulate in Indonesia? What is your expectation from Indonesia Government, for my Minister Marty Natalegawa? How Indonesia Government respond to the closing of this Embassy and Consulate, it's starting today? Is U.S. -- Indonesia Government has capability to protect U.S. Embassy and Consulate. So the (inaudible) program implemented -- could be implemented successfully in Indonesia. Thank you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, let me begin by saying how grateful we are for the excellent cooperation we have received from the Government of Indonesia, and in particular, from the law enforcement and security institutions in Indonesia. We are very grateful for not only the cooperation and protection that has been provided to our facilities, but also to the strong statements condemning violence from the President, the Foreign Minister, and others.

In consultation with the Government of Indonesia, we have temporarily, for tomorrow, closed our facilities. We want to be sure that law enforcement in Indonesia has the ability to do what it needs to do to make sure that there is no disruption of civil order and security. So we are cooperating completely, and we're very grateful for the strong leadership provided by Indonesia.

FOREIGN MINISTER NATALEGAWA: Hello, (inaudible), if I may just also respond. Precisely as the Secretary had said, the decision by the United States Government to close temporarily its embassies and consulates tomorrow in Indonesia is a decision that's been made based on communication and conversation between the authorities in Indonesia and the United States as well. So in other words, it is an informed decision, a decision that is not intended to show any unfriendly intent on the part of anyone, but it is what it is, and it's quite some -- it's the kind of step that governments actually carry out when situations requires it, even in our case. Some of our embassies abroad, when the situation requires us to have a temporary closing of the embassy, we do that as well. So it is something that is quite regular and something that is actually coordinated as well.

But if I may just broaden the subject matter, I think as our President had said in the past, Indonesian Government -- the Indonesian people, even, obviously cannot and would not condone the -- any acts of violence against diplomatic premises, against diplomatic personnel, because that is, truly -- would be a challenge to the efficient and a proper conduct of relations among states. So that's our point of departure.

At the same time, of course, beyond the immediate issue of protection of the embassies, we have still ahead of us the challenge of how to prevent the kind of situations where we are now at in

terms of the kind of incendiary and the kind of statements or, in this instance, films that cause – that is now we have all deplored and condemned for these kind of activities not to be repeated. So we have a lot of homework to work towards in the future as well.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you all very much.

FOREIGN MINISTER NATALEGAWA: Thank you.

**Remarks With Pakistani Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar Before Their Meeting
September 21, 2012**

Good afternoon, and let me begin by welcoming Foreign Minister Khar on her first visit to Washington as foreign minister. We've had the opportunity to meet in Islamabad and other settings, but I am very pleased that we would have this chance to exchange views on our bilateral relationship as well as regional and global issues.

I want to begin by addressing the events of the day and the past week. Today, we've once again seen protests in several cities in Pakistan. Unfortunately, some of those protests have turned violent and, sadly, resulted in loss of life. I want to thank the Government of Pakistan for their efforts to protect our Embassy in Islamabad and consulates in Lahore, Peshawar, and Karachi.

And I want to be clear, as I have said on numerous occasions, the violence we have seen cannot be tolerated. There is no justification for violence. Of course, there is provocation, and we have certainly made clear that we do not in any way support provocation. We found the video that's at the core of this series of events offensive, disgusting, reprehensible.

But that does not provide justification for violence, and therefore it is important for responsible leaders, indeed responsible people everywhere, to stand up and speak out against violence and particularly against those who would exploit this difficult moment to advance their own extremist ideologies.

Yesterday afternoon when I briefed the Congress, I made it clear that keeping our people everywhere in the world safe is our top priority. What happened in Benghazi was a terrorist attack, and we will not rest until we have tracked down and brought to justice the terrorists who murdered four Americans. And we are taking aggressive measures at all of our posts to protect our staffs and their families along with locally employed people who provide so many important contributions to the work of our missions.

The Foreign Minister and I will have a chance to cover a full range of subjects today, and it is no secret that the past year and a half has been challenging for Pakistan and the United States. And we still have work to do to get our bilateral relationship to the point where we would like it to be, but we both recognize that we can achieve more when we work together on a focused agenda. So

today is the latest in a series of high-level meetings. Ambassador Marc Grossman has just returned from consultations in Islamabad. I look forward to seeing President Zardari next week at the UN General Assembly. At each meeting, we are working to identify the strategic goals we share – and there are many – and the concrete actions we can each take to accomplish them.

Our number one shared priority remains pursuing our joint counterterrorism objectives to ensure the security of American and Pakistani citizens alike. We face a common threat from a common enemy, and we must confront terrorism and extremism together. Earlier this month, I designated the Haqqani Network as a Foreign Terrorist Organization so we could make full use of every available legal authority to end their deadly attacks. Pakistan's parliament has called for expelling foreign fighters so that Pakistan's territory can be fully under control of the Pakistani Government and cannot be used to launch attacks against other nations.

And the follow-through on this is challenging but necessary, and we look forward to working with Pakistan as they continue to address these problems. We have both pledged to support a secure, stable, and prosperous Afghanistan, which is vital for the security of the region. And I want to thank Foreign Minister Khar for Pakistan's reopening of the NATO supply lines to allow the movement of goods to Afghanistan.

We will discuss the successful first meeting of the Safe Passage Working Group in Islamabad which brought together Afghan, Pakistani, and U.S. representatives to advance the peace process in Afghanistan. The Pakistani Government's public call for insurgents to come forward and talk with the Afghan Government was particularly important. We are ready to work together to build on these steps, and we will continue our discussions through bilateral consultations and the U.S.-Afghanistan-Pakistan Core Group.

Now, of course, our relationship goes far beyond our shared security concerns, and today we will discuss the many other ways in which we work together, particularly to create economic opportunity for Pakistanis. Foreign Minister Khar and I agree that we need to shift our economic relationship from aid to trade and investment. We are working to help Pakistan attract more private sector investment. We hope to finalize a bilateral investment treaty soon. And we've created a Pakistan private investment initiative to help more of Pakistan's small and medium sized companies get access to capital.

Over the past few years, we have seen Pakistan's civilian government begin to put down stronger roots. And if elections proceed as planned next year, it will mark the first time in Pakistan's history that a civilian-led government has served its full term. The United States supports Pakistan's economic development, and we have said many times that we want to see democracy succeed in Pakistan.

We also support Pakistan's sovereignty, but we are clear that all sovereign nations carry certain obligations to protect the human rights of their citizens, to control their territory, to prevent threats to their neighbors and the international community.

So we know that there is still much to be done, but I can assure the people of Pakistan that the United States remains committed to this important relationship and we are confident we can continue to move forward together one step at a time to reach our shared strategic objectives.

Thank you very much.

**Remarks With Tunisian Foreign Minister Rafik Abdessalem Before Their Meeting
September 21, 2012**

SECRETARY CLINTON: Good morning. I am pleased to welcome the Foreign Minister from Tunisia. I'm looking forward to our meeting. We obviously have a great deal to discuss, and I want to thank the Foreign Minister and the Government of Tunisia for their efforts over the last week to help secure our Embassy and the American Cooperative School of Tunis following the violent assaults of last Friday.

We are monitoring events closely today. There is no higher priority for President Obama and myself than the safety of our people. We've taken a number of steps around the world to augment security and to protect our personnel at diplomatic posts. And we are working closely with host governments in this effort.

As I have said before and as is embodied in the Vienna Convention and other international agreements, all governments have the duty, the solemn duty, to defend diplomatic missions. They must be safe and protected places so that governments can exchange views and work on many important issues, and leaders across the world must stand up and be counted in rejecting violence and holding violent actors accountable.

We are working closely with the Government of Tunisia. They have assisted us in enhancing the security of our facilities. We've also discussed with them the imperative of bringing to justice those responsible for these violent attacks. And we have offered and will continue to look for ways that we can assist the new Government of Tunisia in ensuring the rule of law throughout their country, first and foremost for the people of Tunisia themselves. We look forward to continuing to build our new partnership with the Tunisian Government and people. Our relationship is built around the shared principles of all democracies – a commitment to nonviolence, to tolerance, and inclusivity for all people, and to upholding the rule of law.

The Tunisian people have bravely put themselves on the road to democracy. They were the first of the Arab revolutions and they have made important progress in a very short period of time. They have worked too hard and sacrificed too much over too many years to see their progress hijacked or derailed by extremists with their own agenda. And those extremists, not only in

Tunisia but in too many places around the world, look for opportunities to exploit this current situation or other situations, and all people and leaders must stand against them.

So as the Tunisian Government takes steps to strengthen security and protect the Tunisian people and economy from extremism and violent agendas, the United States stands ready to help. We also are working closely with Tunisia on the broader shared threat of terrorism, including from groups like al-Qaida and its affiliates.

So Minister, please know the United States remains committed to supporting Tunisia as you deal with this current situation, as you continue your democratic transition, and we want to be with you as you confront challenges and help seize opportunities together for the betterment of the future of Tunisia.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, October 1, 2012 3:37 PM
To: H
Subject: RE: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

Will do.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, October 01, 2012 3:34 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Monday, October 01, 2012 10:13 AM
To: H
Subject: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

http://www.salon.com/2012/10/01/gops_october_surprise/

Monday, Oct 1, 2012 09:30 AM EDT

GOP's October surprise?

They're calling it the "Jimmy Carter Strategy": Exploit Libya attack to paint Obama as weak on terrorism

By Craig Unger



(Credit: AP/Al Behrman/Salon)

According to a highly reliable source, as Mitt Romney and President Barack Obama prepare for the first presidential debate Wednesday night, top Republican operatives are primed to unleash a new two-pronged offensive that will attack Obama as weak on national security, and will be based, in part, on new intelligence information regarding the attacks in Libya that killed U.S. ambassador Chris Stevens on September 11.

The source, who has first-hand knowledge of private, high-level conversations in the Romney camp that took place in Washington, DC last week, said that at various times the GOP strategists referred to their new operation as the Jimmy Carter Strategy or the October Surprise.

He added that they planned to release what they hoped would be "a bombshell" that would make Libya and Obama's foreign policy a major issue in the campaign. "My understanding is that they have

come up with evidence that the Obama administration had positive intelligence that there was going to be a terrorist attack on the intelligence."

The source described the Republicans as chortling with glee that the Obama administration "definitely had intel" about the attack before it happened. "Intelligence can be graded in different ways," he added, "and sometimes A and B don't get connected. But [the Romney campaign] will try to paint it to look like Obama had advance knowledge of the attack and is weak on terrorism."

He said they were jubilant about their new strategy and said they intended to portray Obama as a helpless, Jimmy Carter-like president and to equate the tragedy in Libya with President Carter's failed attempt to rescue American hostages in Iran in 1980. "They are so excited about it," he said. "Over and over again they talked about how it would be just like Jimmy Carter's failed raid. They feel it is going to give them a last-minute landslide in the election."

The source, however, said he was dubious about the tactic. "To me, it is indicative that they have lost touch with a huge portion of the electorate," he said.

The source declined to reveal the names of the GOP operatives who were present. But he said, "These were the top guys in the party. It was a private, unguarded planning conversation." He further described participants in the meeting as consisting of well-known names tied to the big Republican super PACs and people who had access to high-level national security intelligence.

"As usual, Karl Rove wasn't present," he said, "but some were close to Rove."

The source said that "there was quite a bit more" to the operation than simply revealing the intelligence regarding Libya. He declined to discuss what he described as the second phase of the operation.

However, already there is evidence that the first phase of the operation is underway. On Wednesday, September 26, on Fox News, Karl Rove called Obama's reaction to what happened in Libya "inexplicable" and added that Obama is "more intent on campaigning than meeting his responsibilities as commander-in-chief." He went on to warn that Obama's policies in Libya endangered the U.S. with regard to Iran. "I am astonished," Rove said. "We are projecting weakness when we need to be projecting strength."

Similarly, former New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a one-time GOP presidential hopeful who became known as the mayor of 9/11, followed Rove in criticizing Obama on the attack in Libya. "This is a deliberate attempt to cover up the truth, from an administration that claimed it wanted to be the most transparent in history," he told Fox News. "And it's the worst kind of cover-up: the kind of cover-up that involves our national security. This is a cover-up that involves the slaughter of four Americans."

Giuliani added that the Obama White House wanted to dismiss the role played by al-Qaeda because it seemed to diminish the triumph of having killed Osama bin Laden. "I think it's because they have this narrative that they defeated al-Qaeda," he said. "They never say the words 'Islamic fundamentalist terrorism'. They want to wish it away. The president was moving on to Asia - he was going to declare this a great victory for himself and unfortunately, this terrible act of terror intervened in their very convenient narrative."

Likewise, Bob Corker, Republican senator from Tennessee, described the administration's response to "the terrorist attack" in Libya as "bizarre." And on Sunday, September 30, both Mitt Romney and vice-presidential nominee Paul Ryan joined in the attacks. "I think they want to do their very best to keep the people of America from understanding exactly what happened. We expect candor, we expect transparency, particularly as it relates to terrorism," Romney said.

Added Ryan, "Why is he (Obama) not on the same page with his own administration officials who are saying that this is a terrorist attack? We'll leave it up to you to decide whether it's a cover-up or not."

In an apparently related development, a Politico article posted last night said Romney advisers were divided over how aggressively to attack President Obama over his handling of the events in Libya. One unnamed Romney adviser described them as "a huge gift" to the campaign. "Across the board - domestic, economic and foreign-policy issues - President Obama has been outmatched by events," he said. "He's an observer of events, not a shaper of events. Everywhere you look, he's been outmatched."

But other Romney advisers, led by media strategist Stuart Stevens, wanted to stick to the economy as the central issue. "They'll tell you that you've got to focus people on the fact that their economic prospects are not very good and all that," the aide told Politico. "Well, Romney's been trying to do that now since he clinched the nomination at the end of April — and he's failed. The president is better at deflecting attention from the bad news than Romney is at driving home the impact of the bad news on individual voters."

Craig Unger is the New York Times bestselling author of "House of Bush, House of Saud," and a frequent analyst on CNN, ABC Radio, Air America, The Charlie Rose Show, NBC's Today Show and other broadcast outlets. He has written for The New Yorker, Esquire and many other publications and is currently a contributing editor at Vanity Fair.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@dintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 8:03 AM
To: 'millsd@state.gov'
Subject: Re: FOX from Caitlin

Huma called him and Graham. Also, someone should call Greta VS to thank her for "knowing the truth."

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 07:59 AM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Subject: FW: FOX from Caitlin

FYSA

From: Laszczych, Joanne
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 7:57 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: FOX from Caitlin

VAN SUSTEREN: Senator, there is a report from the State Department that Secretary of State Hillary Clinton will testify on Benghazi before the middle of January. There has been some criticism of whether or not she has a concussion. I believe she has a concussion. What do you think?

MCCAIN: I know that in my view, Secretary Clinton, when she said she assumed full responsibility, she certainly has a lot of responsibility for what happened in Benghazi. That's -- that report made that very clear. **But I must say, I have never seen Secretary Clinton back down from a fight. And I have never seen her back down. And I believe that she is now not physically well enough to testify and she will testify the middle of January.**

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Monday, October 1, 2012 3:51 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

More info.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Monday, October 01, 2012 03:47 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

Romney has an op-ed in today's Wall Street Journal playing off Stevens' murder to say Obama has put "security at risk," etc.

According to Politico yesterday, there was an internal argument within the Romney campaign over Libya. Obviously, the neocons and the Rove oriented faction (Ed Gillespie, Rove's surrogate is now a Romney campaign adviser) beat Stuart Stevens.

Romney is careening from tactic to tactic, hoping something will catch.

I wouldn't be surprised to see Romney raise the specter of the Muslim Brotherhood in charge of Egypt & Libya as a bogeyman. I have heard him do this within the last week.

B6

-----Original Message-----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: []
Sent: Mon, Oct 1, 2012 3:34 pm
Subject: Re: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

Thanks. I'm pushing to WH.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Monday, October 01, 2012 10:13 AM
To: H
Subject: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

http://www.salon.com/2012/10/01/gops_october_surprise/

Monday, Oct 1, 2012 09:30 AM EDT

GOP's October surprise?

They're calling it the "Jimmy Carter Strategy": Exploit Libya attack to paint Obama as weak on terrorism

By Craig Unger



(Credit: AP/Al Behrman/Salon)

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Similarly, former New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a one-time GOP presidential hopeful who became known as the mayor of 9/11, followed Rove in criticizing Obama on the attack in Libya. "This is a deliberate attempt to cover up the truth, from an administration that claimed it wanted to be the most transparent in history," he told Fox News. "And it's the worst kind of cover-up: the kind of cover-up that involves our national security. This is a cover-up that involves the slaughter of four Americans."

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terrorism'. They want to wish it away. The president was moving on to Asia – he was going to declare this a great victory for himself and unfortunately, this terrible act of terror intervened in their very convenient narrative."

Likewise, Bob Corker, Republican senator from Tennessee, described the administration's response to "the terrorist attack" in Libya as "bizarre." And on Sunday, September 30, both Mitt Romney and vice-presidential nominee Paul Ryan joined in the attacks. "I think they want to do their very best to keep the people of America from understanding exactly what happened. We expect candor, we expect transparency, particularly as it relates to terrorism," Romney said.

Added Ryan, "Why is he (Obama) not on the same page with his own administration officials who are saying that this is a terrorist attack? We'll leave it up to you to decide whether it's a cover-up or not." In an apparently related development, a Politico article posted last night said Romney advisers were divided over how aggressively to attack President Obama over his handling of the events in Libya. One unnamed Romney adviser described them as "a huge gift" to the campaign. "Across the board – domestic, economic and foreign-policy issues – President Obama has been outmatched by events," he said. "He's an observer of events, not a shaper of events. Everywhere you look, he's been outmatched." But other Romney advisers, led by media strategist Stuart Stevens, wanted to stick to the economy as the central issue. "They'll tell you that you've got to focus people on the fact that their economic prospects are not very good and all that," the aide told Politico. "Well, Romney's been trying to do that now since he clinched the nomination at the end of April – and he's failed. The president is better at deflecting attention from the bad news than Romney is at driving home the impact of the bad news on individual voters."

Craig Unger is the New York Times bestselling author of "House of Bush, House of Saud," and a frequent analyst on CNN, ABC Radio, Air America, The Charlie Rose Show, NBC's Today Show and other broadcast outlets. He has written for The New Yorker, Esquire and many other publications and is currently a contributing editor at Vanity Fair.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, October 18, 2012 5:53 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: UPDATE: Libyan Islamist says he was at U.S. consulate during attack (Reuters)

From: OpsNewsTicker@state.gov [mailto:OpsNewsTicker@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, October 18, 2012 5:50 PM
To: NEWS-Libya; NEWS-Mahogany
Subject: UPDATE: Libyan Islamist says he was at U.S. consulate during attack (Reuters)

BENGHAZI (Reuters) - A Libyan militia commander who U.S. officials say is under investigation in connection with the attacks on the American consulate in Benghazi which led to the death of the ambassador said he was present during the incident but was not one of the ringleaders.

Some American newspapers have quoted unnamed Libyan officials as pointing to Ahmed Abu Khattala as the leader of the attacks on Sept. 11. The newspapers also reported that the officials said Abu Khattala's whereabouts were unknown.

U.S. government sources told Reuters that Abu Khattala is being investigated as a suspect in the Benghazi consulate attacks though U.S. investigators are not clear at this point if he played a role in leading or organising the attacks.

In an interview, Abu Khattala told Reuters he had only heard he was a suspect through news media and was surprised that officials had told journalists he was at large.

"These reports say that no one knows where I am and that I am hiding," he said. "But here I am in the open, sitting in a hotel with you. I'm even going to pick up my sister's kids from school soon."

Sitting with a friend in the restaurant of a Benghazi hotel, the 41-year-old, sporting a red felt hat and a full salt-and-pepper beard, laughed gently.

"There were many people there from Ansar al-Shariah, from other brigades and from the general public," the official, who refused to be named, said, referring to the hardline Islamist militia group which has been blamed for the attack.

"Just because someone is there doesn't mean they were behind it."

Abu Khattala denied being a leader of Ansar al-Shariah, but said he was friendly with the group and knew its membership well.

A U.S. official said there may be more than person taking a lead role in the group.

"Ansar al-Shariah is a factionalised militant group without one home address," the official told Reuters. "There may be several military commanders playing a role in its activities."

Abu Khattala said that on the night of Sept. 11, he received a phone call telling him that an attack on the U.S.

consulate was in progress and that he then went to the scene.

"I arrived at the street parallel to the consulate and waited for other brigade leaders to show me the way to the buildings," he said. "I arrived at the scene just like the others did -- to see what was happening."

He said that after he arrived at the consulate, he began to help direct traffic with other militia leaders.

"People were crashing into each other because of the chaos and there was sporadic shooting," he said.

Abu Khattala said he called the commanders of Benghazi's security forces -- the February 17 brigade and the Supreme Security Committee -- and told them to remove their cars and people from the consulate to avoid clashes.

"Soon after I made my calls, one of the guards told me that four men were detained in a building inside the compound who had been shooting at the demonstrators," he said.

"By the time I arrived at the building the men had already escaped. At that point I left the scene and didn't return."

Little is known about Abu Khattala, who hails from Benghazi.

Abu Khattala, who is unmarried, said he went to public schools in Libya but did not attend university or community college. He said he was imprisoned for a total of 10 years for "knowing suspected personalities". He refused to elaborate.

"I've also never left the country," he said when asked if he received any education or training abroad.

Abu Khattala said he formed the Obeidah al-Jarrah brigade at the beginning of the armed revolt which toppled Muammar Gaddafi last year.

The shadowy armed militia was blamed in the killing last July of military chief Abdelfattah Younes, a former Gaddafi loyalist who had defected to the rebels.

Younes was involved in the 1969 coup that brought Gaddafi to power. He was interior minister before he defected and took a senior position in the rebellion in February.

Some rebels, especially hard-line conservative Islamist fighters who were persecuted under Gaddafi, were never happy to serve under a man who had been so close to Gaddafi.

Abu Khattala was questioned by Libyan authorities but released because no evidence directly linked him to the killing. He said he later broke up his militia group.

"After the revolution Obeidah al-Jarrah was disbanded because we were a fighting group and the war was over in Benghazi," he said.

But many members of Obeidah al-Jarrah are known to have joined other brigades, including Ansar al-Shariah in Benghazi.

NewsTickers alert senior Department officials to breaking news. This item appears as it did in its original publication and does not contain analysis or commentary by Department sources.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2012 7:37 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: The Hill: Issa targets Hillary: Big mistake

From: Nuland, Victoria J
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2012 05:20 PM
To: Reines, Philippe I; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: FW: The Hill: Issa targets Hillary: Big mistake

From: PA Clips [mailto:paclips@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2012 5:19 PM
To: PA-Monitoring-Group-DL; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Balenger, De'Ara N; Masonis, Melinda J; NEA-Press-DL; DS PA Media; Shore, Rhonda H; Atchison, Mark C; Moe, Grace T
Subject: The Hill: Issa targets Hillary: Big mistake

Issa targets Hillary: Big mistake

By Brent Budowsky - 10/10/12 04:03 PM ET

Don't miss the story in The Hill "Issa closes in on Clinton" about Rep. Darrell Issa (R-Calif.) aiming at his biggest target yet, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. The story is correct. The Issa strategy will backfire. It will prove to be a disaster. House Republicans, whose brand is not exactly soaring with voters, are making a huge mistake using congressional hearings as a partisan weapon to exploit a national tragedy to attack one of the most admired and respected public servants in the nation.

There is now an independent and nonpartisan investigation of exactly what happened in Libya. A partisan witch-hunt by Republicans using taxpayer money against Secretary Clinton, as a partisan weapon in the closing days of an election, to exploit a tragedy to score political points is exactly what the American people believe has gone wrong with Washington, and is exactly why the Republican brand is in such disrepute with many voters.

Many independent voters will be offended. Many female voters will be offended. Many voters tired of their taxpayer money being wasted for political shenanigans will be offended.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, October 17, 2012 9:14 PM
To: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: Fwd: [Salon] The Death of Ambassador Chris Stevens, the Need for "Expeditionary Diplomacy, " and the Real Lessons for U.S. Diplomacy

Pls print.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, October 15, 2012 10:27 AM
To: H
Subject: Fwd: [Salon] The Death of Ambassador Chris Stevens, the Need for "Expeditionary Diplomacy, " and the Real Lessons for U.S. Diplomacy

Helpful article. Sid

Sent from my Verizon Wireless 4G LTE DROID

B6

----- Original Message -----

Subject: [Salon] The Death of Ambassador Chris Stevens, the Need for "Expeditionary Diplomacy, " and the Real Lessons for U.S. Diplomacy
From: Chas Freeman <[REDACTED]>
To: " [Salon] " <[REDACTED]>
CC:

The Death of Ambassador Chris Stevens, the Need for "Expeditionary Diplomacy," and the Real Lessons for U.S. Diplomacy

By Anthony H. Cordesman

Oct 11, 2012

http://csis.org/publication/death-ambassador-chris-stevens-need-expeditionary-diplomacy-and-real-lessons-us-diplomacy?utm_source=The+Death+of+Ambassador+Chris+Stevens+and+Real+Lessons+for+U.S.+Diplomacy&utm_campaign=The+Death+of+Ambassador+Chris+Stevens+and+Real+Lessons+for+U.S.+Diplomacy&utm_medium=email

It is almost inevitable in an election year that Republicans use every possible opportunity to attack the Obama Administration. Part of these attacks have been effort to embarrass the President by turning the killing of Ambassador Stevens into a "gotcha" contest where the President is somehow blamed for largely local security decisions and "intelligence failures." The Administration, in turn, has fumbled the situation by going into a state of confused denial – focusing on the uncertain chronology of events that led to Ambassador Chris Stevens' death.

The Republicans seem to be “winning” in political terms, largely because so few Americans in think tanks and the media realize that virtually all intelligence and security post-mortems on such events uncover the same problems. Once the event is over and clear patterns emerge, there are always warning indicators that could have been heeded in retrospect. If one ignores that vast amount of “noise” from other conflicting indicators, and looks back with 20-20 hindsight, every such event is always an “intelligence” failure.

Moreover, competent security officers always are asking for more support and coverage in any area where risks exist. There is never enough security even in the best funded times, and these are not the best funded times. Almost every aspect of U.S. diplomacy has been subject to budget cuts at a time of upheaval in the Arab world and global economic crisis.

A recent article by Dana Milbank in the Washington Post notes that the same Republican dominated House that now critiques events in Libya cut State Department operations by \$300 million in 2009 and eliminated funds for some 30 more security positions along with it. The House cut security funding by \$128 million in FY2011 and \$331 million in FY2012, although the Senate restored \$88 million. Under at least one of Congressman Ryan’s proposals to amend the budget, State Department funding would be cut by an additional 20% million in 2014 – which means another \$400 million cut in security.

It is no tribute to the Obama Administration that it did far too little to push back against these cuts, and even less to articulate the need to fund stronger U.S. “expeditionary diplomacy” efforts. Indeed, at a time when far too many countries are in crisis and the U.S. faces increased challenges to its regional goals, more funds, stronger country teams, increased humanitarian aid, beefed-up military assistance, and on-the-scene diplomacy is needed to support U.S. interests.

In fairness to Secretary Clinton and the large number of dedicated diplomatic professionals, State has tried to deal with these challenges by refocusing its diminishing resources, strengthening its ability to provide on-the-scene aid, and creating civil efforts that can deal with crises like Syria and the need to provide stronger U.S. aid and advisory teams if dictators like Assad fall.

So far, both the Republican “gotcha” efforts and the Administration’s failure to make the case for strong “expeditionary diplomacy” have totally failed to serve the U.S. national interest, and have been the worst possible memorial to Ambassador Chris Stevens, a man who clearly knew that America’s success required risk taking and action in the field.

It is time we come to grips with the world we actually live in. We can’t deal with the political upheavals in a single Arab country, the impact of Transition in Afghanistan, the internal struggle for the future of Islam, energy and trade security, the various national crises in Latin America and Africa, or the competition for the future of Asia by speeches in the U.S., quick visits by senior U.S. officials, outside radio and TV programs, and empty rhetoric about taking stronger stands or exporting U.S. values.

We need strong country teams, and teams that are active and take risks. We need men and women on the scene who accept the realities on the ground in the countries they operate in. We need strong country teams that can work with the full range of factions, provide help in forming political parties and changing governance, provide carefully selected aid and advisory efforts to catalyze reform, and provide military and security advisors that can help countries move towards stability without excessive repression and threatening their neighbors.

We need to protect our embassies, consulates, and military advisory groups, but we cannot afford to turn them in to fortresses that lock our diplomats, aid teams, and military on the scene away from events and the people they are trying to influence. If there are any real lessons from Libya —or Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Yemen, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and all the other nations on the long list of cases where American diplomats, advisors and security teams died to serve their country —it is that projecting any form of

smart power is done on the ground, is done by moving throughout the country, is done by taking risks, and will inevitably incur casualties.

Some will be ambassadors, some will be aid team personnel or experts in public diplomacy, and some will be CIA or men and women in uniform. Every one of them will be a tragedy. But we cannot let either false economies or extremist and terrorist threats defeat such efforts. The cost of properly funded expeditionary diplomacy —people, military and civil aid funds, and fully funded security efforts —is going to be cheaper even on a global level than losing contact and U.S. influence in a single country like Egypt, or being unprepared to deal with the flow of events in a nation like Syria or Iraq.

It is also already all too clear that extremist elements throughout the world realize that attacks on U.S. diplomats and military advisors or partners are one of the cheapest and most effective ways to gain immediate visibility, strike at the heart of U.S. public opinion, drive the U.S. out of a country, or limit its influence. No one needs to defeat U.S. military forces — which can only be deployed to a handful of countries at most —if they can expel or paralyze American diplomacy, support for U.S. businesses and investment, support for U.S. NGOs, and effective U.S. military and security advisory efforts.

This threat is already all too real in far too many parts of the world, and it has effectively eliminated one of the key differences between “hard” and “soft” power. “Soft” power cannot survive where it is not protected by “hard” power. Moreover, there are few if any crises cases where advice and aid in politics, governance, economics and rule of law can be separated from a matching need for advice and aid in addressing military, security, counterterrorism, and national police concerns.

In short, we do not need “gotcha” post-mortems or half-formed defenses. The tribute we really owe Ambassador Chris Stevens is to undertake the following eight steps:

- Understand that diplomacy will often be a form of asymmetric warfare in crisis countries, particularly those with crumbling regimes or new unstable governments. Accept the fact there can be no success without taking increased risk and suffering casualties.
- Set realistic and achievable goals country-by-country and give the ambassador and country team as much discretion as possible. Don’t set impossible goals for instant democracy, human rights, rule of law or stability. Accept the need for evolutionary action and “doing it their way.” Don’t try one size fits all ideological solutions or efforts from Washington.
- Stop focusing on narrow budget cuts and examine the costs and benefits of effective, well-funded country team efforts. If properly funded diplomacy and country team efforts only win support for the U.S. in one crisis country over the next decade, or avoid even one armed intervention, they will still more than pay for their costs in terms of the U.S. budget, and the overall effort will be immensely more valuable in terms of gains (and tax revenues) in U.S. trade and investment.
- Reexamine how to create all of the elements of “expeditionary diplomacy” efforts, including strong country teams, and the ability to suddenly boost teams in countries in crises, with the full range of tools an ambassador needs. This includes adequate staff, operating and security funds, and flexible aid funds that can be applied quickly to deal with changing needs and circumstances.
- Fully fund security but find the best ways to change existing procedures to emphasize mobility and move to high-risk areas. Refocus intelligence to help reduce risks, and restructure protection efforts to provide specially trained and equipped U.S. and foreign national security. Stop doing pointless security post-mortem blame games and focus on the future.
- Reward and encourage necessary risk taking. Make it clear that this is a key part of a successful career path, that it will be fully supported by State and other agencies deploying U.S. personnel, and reorient security efforts in country to protect such efforts in the best ways possible rather than creating rules that either make effective action impossible or force diplomats and advisors to violate such rules without protection. Anyone who works with U.S. diplomats, aid workers, and military advisory teams overseas

knows that we have strong cadres ready and willing to take such risks. The challenge is to properly support them in country and reward them for their service.

- Reexamine the insurance coverage, benefits, and salaries of such risk takers. Don't sustain the present situation in Afghanistan and earlier in Iraq where contractors get massive wage increases and diplomats and aid workers lack the full equivalent of combat pay and protection for them and their families if they are killed or disabled. Ensure adequate lasting medical care for lasting injuries.

Finally, see if there is some way the U.S. Congress can address these issues realistically in a way that actually focuses on U.S. national interests even in a time of petty partisan feeding frenzies. These efforts not only need the next Administration to fully fund and support them at a time of growing budget pressures, they need bipartisan support in both Houses of Congress.

There will be a need for outside review, for new reporting requirement and for hearings. But, they need to look forward. U.S. efforts must serve national interests rather than personal or partisan advantage, accept the complexity and time needed to deal with country-by-country efforts, and focus on pragmatic ways of dealing with the future rather than dissecting the past.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, October 3, 2012 12:05 PM
To: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: Fwd: Benghazi was obama's 3 am call

Pls print.

From: Cheryl Mills [mailto:]
Sent: Monday, October 01, 2012 08:27 PM
To: H
Subject: Fwd: Benghazi was obama's 3 am call

B6

cdm

Begin forwarded message:

From: Caitlin Klevorick []
Date: October 1, 2012, 8:10:03 PM EDT
To: Cheryl Mills []
Subject: Benghazi was obama's 3 am call

B6

B6

- GLOBAL VIEW
 - October 1, 2012, 7:17 p.m. ET
- Stephens: Benghazi Was Obama's 3 a.m. Call

Libya was a failure of policy and worldview, not intelligence.

Why won't the Libya story go away? Why can't the memory of U.S. Ambassador Chris Stevens and his staff be consigned to the same sad-and-sealed file of Americans killed abroad in dangerous line of duty? How has an episode that seemed at first to have been mishandled by the Romney camp become an emblem of a feckless and deluded foreign policy?

The story-switching and stonewalling haven't helped. But let's start a little earlier.

The hour is 5 p.m., Sept. 11, Washington time, and the scene is an Oval Office meeting among President Obama, the secretary of defense, the national security adviser and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The U.S. diplomatic mission in Benghazi has been under assault for roughly 90 minutes. Some 30 U.S. citizens are at mortal risk. The whereabouts of Ambassador Stevens are unknown.

What is uppermost on the minds of the president and his advisers? The safety of Americans, no doubt. So what are they prepared to do about it? Here is The Wall Street Journal's account of the meeting:

"There was no serious consideration at that hour of intervention with military force, officials said. Doing so without Libya's permission could represent a violation of sovereignty and

inflame the situation, they said. Instead, the State Department reached out to the Libyan government to get reinforcements to the scene."

So it did. Yet the attack was far from over. After leaving the principal U.S. compound, the Americans retreated to a second, supposedly secret facility, which soon came under deadly mortar fire. Time to call in the troops?

"Some officials said the U.S. could also have sent aircraft to the scene as a 'show of force' to scare off the attackers," the Journal reported, noting that there's a U.S. air base just 450 miles away in Sicily. "State Department officials dismissed the suggestions as unrealistic. 'They would not have gotten there in two hours, four hours or six hours.'"

The U.S. security detail only left Washington at 8 a.m. on Sept. 12, more than 10 hours after the attacks began. A commercial jet liner can fly from D.C. to Benghazi in about the same time.

All this is noted with the benefit of hindsight, and the administration deserves to be judged accordingly. But it also deserves to be judged in light of what it knew prior to the attack, including an attack on the mission in June and heightened threat warnings throughout the summer.

So how did the administration do on that count? "That the local security did so well back in June probably gave us a false sense of security," an unnamed American official who has served in Libya told the New York Times last week.

The logic here is akin to supposing that because the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center failed to bring down the towers, nobody need have been concerned thereafter. But let's still make allowances for the kind of bureaucratic ineptitude that knows neither administration nor political party.

The more serious question is why the administration alighted on the idea that the attack wasn't a terrorist act at all. Also, what did the White House think it had to gain by adopting the jihadist narrative that a supposedly inflammatory video clip was at the root of the trouble?

Nobody can say. All the administration will acknowledge is that it has "revised [its] initial assessment to reflect new information that it was a deliberate and organized terrorist attack."

That's from James Clapper, the director of national intelligence. It suggests that our intelligence agencies are either much dumber than previously supposed (always a strong possibility) or much more politicized (equally plausible).

No doubt the administration would now like to shift blame to Mr. Clapper. But what happened in Benghazi was not a failure of intelligence. It was a failure of policy, stemming from a flawed worldview and the political needs of an election season.

Let's review:

The U.S. ignores warnings of a parlous security situation in Benghazi. Nothing happens because nobody is really paying attention, especially in an election year, and because Libya is supposed to be a foreign-policy success. When something does happen, the administration's concerns for the safety of Americans are subordinated to considerations of Libyan "sovereignty" and the need for "permission." After the attack the administration blames a video, perhaps because it would be politically inconvenient to note that al Qaeda is far from

defeated, and that we are no more popular under Mr. Obama than we were under George W. Bush. Denouncing the video also appeals to the administration's reflexive habits of blaming America first. Once that story falls apart, it's time to blame the intel munchkins and move on.

It was five in the afternoon when Mr. Obama took his 3 a.m. call. He still flubbed it.

RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2012 1:08 PM
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Valmoro, Lona J; Abedin, Huma
Subject: FW: Mark - quick Reuters query

From: Klevorick, Caitlin B
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2012 12:16 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Toner, Mark C; Lieberman, Dean; Reines, Philippe I; Adams, David S
Cc: Nuland, Victoria J; Hammer, Michael A; PA Libya
Subject: RE: Mark - quick Reuters query

Here's what fox has up now:

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton will testify before Congress on the September 11 terror attacks on the US consulate in Benghazi, Libya, Fox News has learned. The testimony will be open and will happen in December.

At a hearing on Capitol Hill today, Foreign Affairs Committee Chairwoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) told the committee that Secretary of State Hillary Clinton would be testifying before them in early December.

"I would like to note that I have spoken to Secretary Clinton's Counselor and Chief of Staff, Cheryl Mills, and the Secretary has committed to testifying before our Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the Accountability Review Board's report, which is expected to be concluded by early to mid-December," she said.

Read more: <http://nation.foxnews.com/benghazi-gate/2012/11/15/secretary-state-hillary-clinton-testify-congress-benghazi-terror-attacks-december#ixzz2CJC112ZI>

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2012 10:58 AM
To: Toner, Mark C; Lieberman, Dean; Reines, Philippe I; Adams, David S
Cc: Nuland, Victoria J; Hammer, Michael A; PA Libya
Subject: RE: Mark - quick Reuters query

Yes

I spoke with Rep Ros-Lehtinen yesterday.

Advised that S is committed to speaking to her committees of jurisdiction once the arb is completed.

And the target date for completion of the Arb was in December.

Tell me what you need so I can help you with any points.

cdm

From: Toner, Mark C
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2012 10:40 AM
To: Lieberman, Dean; Reines, Philippe I; Mills, Cheryl D; Adams, David S
Cc: Nuland, Victoria J; Hammer, Michael A; PA Libya
Subject: RE: Mark - quick Reuters query

+ Dave

From: Lieberman, Dean
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2012 10:37 AM
To: Toner, Mark C; Reines, Philippe I; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Nuland, Victoria J; Hammer, Michael A; PA Libya
Subject: RE: Mark - quick Reuters query

At the HFAC public hearing, Ros-Lehtinen just said in her opening statement: "Secretary Clinton is committed to testifying before our committee and SFRC on the ARB report which is expected to be completed by early to mid December."

From: Toner, Mark C
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2012 10:29 AM
To: Reines, Philippe I; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: Nuland, Victoria J; Hammer, Michael A; PA Libya
Subject: FW: Mark - quick Reuters query

Hi all - Do we know where this is coming from?

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2012 10:28 AM
To: Toner, Mark C
Subject: Mark - quick Reuters query

B6

We see FOX reporting: Urgent: Hillary Clinton to testify before Congress on Benghazi in early DEC.

Can you confirm this? Any details.

Thanks and regards,

Paul Eckert
Reuters Asia Correspondent
1333 H Street NW
Washington, DC 20005
Tel 202 789-8578
Cell [REDACTED]

B6

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 8:00 AM
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Subject: FW: FOX from Caitlin

FYSA

From: Laszczycz, Joanne
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 7:57 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: FOX from Caitlin

VAN SUSTEREN: Senator, there is a report from the State Department that Secretary of State Hillary Clinton will testify on Benghazi before the middle of January. There has been some criticism of whether or not she has a concussion. I believe she has a concussion. What do you think?

MCCAIN: I know that in my view, Secretary Clinton, when she said she assumed full responsibility, she certainly has a lot of responsibility for what happened in Benghazi. That's -- that report made that very clear. **But I must say, I have never seen Secretary Clinton back down from a fight. And I have never seen her back down. And I believe that she is now not physically well enough to testify and she will testify the middle of January.**

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 7:40 AM
To: H
Subject: RE: Thank you so much

So nice

-----Original Message-----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 7:38 AM
To: Burns, William J; Nides, Thomas R
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Thank you so much

Dear Bill and Tom,

I'm sorry that I cannot be on the Hill today as we had long planned, but very grateful that you both will be. The Department and I appreciate your leadership everyday.

So, I'll be nursing my cracked head and cheering you on as you "remain calm and carry on"!

Happy Holidays---H

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, November 13, 2012 3:02 PM
To: H; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: RE: How are the hearings going?

Just starting – had to have a little come to with some of our colleagues but folks now on board.

PIR is up there with them

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, November 13, 2012 3:01 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: How are the hearings going?

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2012 3:06 PM
To: Nides, Thomas R; H
Cc: Adler, Caroline E
Subject: Re: Monica Langley Transcript

+Hrc

Tom, she moved that yellow chair as close as it went. Knee to knee. Amazed she didn't try knee in between knee. And if that wasn't enough, she leaned forward. More like a pivot, as far as her torso could fold forward to minimize the space between their heads. Was like the dental hygienist rolling around the floor to get the best access to your mouth depending on what tooth she was trying to get access to. I've never seen a Westerner invade her space like that. And even the non-Westerners I've seen do it based on cultural differences have been only briefly to greet. This went on like that for 51 minutes - unacceptable in any culture. I don't even think you see that behavior among any type of mammal.

The touching the leg and repeatedly calling her 'Hillary' was just gravy.

But it was wonderful. One of the best interviews I've ever witnessed. Wish it were on live tv.

From: Nides, Thomas R
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2012 02:39 PM
To: Adler, Caroline E
Cc: Reines, Philippe I
Subject: RE: Monica Langley Transcript

I may go and throw up since I am laughing so hard

From: Adler, Caroline E
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2012 1:00 PM
To: Nides, Thomas R
Cc: Reines, Philippe I
Subject: RE: Monica Langley Transcript

This will be exciting when it's FOIA'd ...but will give you a sense of the interaction:

HRC: Monica, have a seat
::HRC motions toward a chair situated an appropriate distance from her preferred spot on the couch::

Monica: !!!!Sure!!!!
::Monica proceeds to drag her chair within inches of the Secretary --leaning in even further::

Interview proceeds...and about midway:

Monica: Oh Hillary...2016 '16 '16
:: Monica grabs HRC's knee::

HRC laughs awkwardly -- glances at Philippe

Monica: ::leaning in further::
Oh Hillary...what do you eat? drink? dream about when you sleep?

:: Monica again touches HRC's leg::

::Everybody laughs awkwardly -- Philippe hardly able to contain himself::

Monica: They think I'm so funny (looking at Philippe and me.) HILL, can I ride on your lap to the White House?

...this went for about 51 minutes. And I agree with Philippe- whatever she does, it works. It was a really great interview.

From: Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2012 12:38 PM
To: Nides, Thomas R
Cc: Adler, Caroline E
Subject: Re: Monica Langley Transcript

Tom, was an awesome interview. Hrc was great, but I was really impressed by how good of an interviewer Monica is. One of the best I've ever seen. But she was her usual wacky self and pulled one move that I can't even describe so I'll let Caroline do - since you'll appreciate it given your familiarity with Monica Langley, Hillary Clinton, and the Secretary's chair arrangement in her outer office.

From: Adler, Caroline E
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2012 12:25 PM
To: Nides, Thomas R
Cc: Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Monica Langley Transcript

Hi Tom --
Below is the transcript from yesterday's interview with Monica and the Secretary.
Enjoy!
Caroline

UNEDITED - FOR INTERNAL USE

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Monica Langley of The Wall Street Journal

October 10, 2012
Department of State

QUESTION: Oh, so you've had a fun morning.

SECRETARY CLINTON: It's been a busy morning.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah.

QUESTION: So what did you do besides Desmond Tutu? I saw that one -- (laughter) -- but I know there's been much more.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, we did a lot of internal meetings which are kind of in preparation for everything to come the last three months. So talking about all of the issues. I had everybody do a --

QUESTION: I'm moving closer.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Sure. (Laughter.) Had everybody do memos about what they wanted to get done and what they needed from me to get done, so we've been kind of going through all of that, and --

QUESTION: To get done before you actually leave (inaudible)?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Before I actually leave. And also to set up for some post-election memos for the President about not only what we do here at State and --

QUESTION: Are we recording this for sure? You know it's working? Okay.

PARTICIPANT: For sure, yes.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- USAID, but also for how it interacts with the rest of government, DOD, USTR, Commerce, HHS, you name it. So there's a lot of that work going on. Obviously, we're working hard to be responsive to the Congress in their requests on our terrible tragedy in Benghazi, and give them information, and try to run an effective, accurate, investigation so we can get to the bottom of what happened. And then I did have this long, funny meeting with Desmond Tutu and about 10 other people about the International Day of the Girl, first ever.

QUESTION: I thought that was great.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Isn't that terrific?

QUESTION: As a mother of an only daughter --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Me too, me too.

QUESTION: Like you, exactly.

SECRETARY CLINTON: And I --

QUESTION: And Barbara was one of my daughter and Langley Grace's (ph) teachers.

SECRETARY CLINTON: You're kidding.

QUESTION: Yeah, who is Chelsea's --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, yeah.

QUESTION: -- best friend's mother.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Nicole --

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- is Chelsea's, yes, best friend.

QUESTION: Yeah, so I found out about that long ago.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, she's a wonderful teacher.

QUESTION: Yes, she is. She's one of my daughter's favorite.

SECRETARY CLINTON: The whole family is fabulous. In fact, Nicole and Chelsea have remained such good friends, they live in the same building in New York, and they're just great friends.

QUESTION: Oh gosh, isn't that great?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah.

QUESTION: Okay. So let me tell you about this story. It started as a personality profile of you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Okay.

QUESTION: Ordered at the highest level of *The Wall Street Journal* – (laughter) – believe it or not. And I do page one profiles, but this came down as like, “You are the star of the Obama Administration.”

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, my goodness.

QUESTION: So I said, “Okay, fine.” I had fun covering you in your campaigns.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, yeah.

QUESTION: And so I would love to do it even though I know very little about foreign policy and State – (laughter). I thought, okay, this will be good for – this will be a good personality profile. Well, it morphed into – now it’s become the action profile.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Okay.

QUESTION: Because your life –

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- is just constant action.

QUESTION: Totally. I mean, you just about killed me over the last (inaudible) – (laughter). I’ve got nothing. I’ve got nothing except gained five pounds. Anyway, I don’t know how you do it. So – and then I thought, for a graphic for this story, all we need to do is show the countries you visited, we can put that in one color on a map of the globe.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, yeah.

QUESTION: And then if we colored in every country you’ve talked to or person you’ve touched, you’ve been all over the – you’ve talked to like almost every country.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I think that’s probably right.

QUESTION: In the last five weeks.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes.

QUESTION: I mean, it’s been unbelievable.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, it’s been pretty jam-packed.

QUESTION: It is.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Starting with August, coming all the way to mid-October.

QUESTION: Exactly. So I thought this story was going to be kind of your easy glide-out. It’s turned out to be much –

SECRETARY CLINTON: I don’t think there is such a thing. I think in today’s world, there is nothing easy or potentially gliding for this job. There is just too much going on, and you know everything that’s going on because we are hyper-connected. So there’s no doubt in my mind I will work to the last minute before I leave the building.

QUESTION: Has this, though – since I’m focused on this last 4-5 week period – has it been your most challenging part of your tenure, or not?

SECRETARY CLINTON: It’s been among the most challenging. There’s no doubt about that. And it’s been challenging on many levels. Of course, the terrible events in Benghazi, but also in other parts of the Middle East and North Africa that didn’t get as much attention because, thankfully, no one was killed or injured. But we’ve had to keep a close watch on a lot of different places. We’ve spent – I’ve spent time, as you know, in the Far East, in China and Vladivostok, and working on trying to manage what are always complicated relationships, but made more so because of changes in leadership and challenges like who owns what rock where.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: And working hard with the ASEAN nations to support their efforts for peaceful resolution of their disputes. UNGA is always exhausting. It is a non-stop dawn-to-midnight marathon.

QUESTION: Can I back you up to –

SECRETARY CLINTON: Sure.

QUESTION: Because I've joined you in Jakarta and Beijing.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right.

QUESTION: That's all I could handle of your trip. (Laughter.) So in Jakarta, I watched you talk to the embassy folks there and noticed one person said to you, "I can't wait to vote for you in four years."

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh.

QUESTION: You said, "Bless your heart," or something like that. (Laughter.) Okay, so -- but I want to try to get -- I want to put -- string together these anecdotes.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Okay.

QUESTION: So I want to get your perspective on some of the things I saw. Now, in Beijing, a similar thing came up. I heard, at the dinner -- that dinner 'til 1 a.m. So -- did the Foreign Minister say to you -- somebody told me he said to you, "You will be so young when you are President." Do you remember his saying that?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, it wasn't the Foreign Minister.

QUESTION: Oh, who said it?

SECRETARY CLINTON: It was the State Counselor --

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- Dai Bingguo, who has become a very good partner for me as I've worked with China. He was my counterpart in the Strategic and Economic Dialogue, and he was kidding me because he's retiring.

QUESTION: Are you sure he was kidding you?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I think so. That's my interpretation. He's retiring and he's probably at least ten years older than I am. And he's saying to me, "Why are you retiring? You're so young!" I said, "Boy, I'd travel a thousand miles to anywhere to be told I was so young." (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: But it was more along the lines of, he will be leaving with the change in leadership in China, and I will be voluntarily leaving, as I announced a year ago.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, yeah, more on that later.

Okay, so then, the next day, you have Xi cancel on you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. I'm not --

QUESTION: Now, he cancelled on others, too.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right.

QUESTION: But you were told -- were you told it was the back injury?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. But that -- we were told the night before, and I took it at face value, really, because from our perspective, I had a very good set of discussions with him both here in Washington and in my previous trip to Beijing. And as you know, he was unable to keep his schedule for ten days.

QUESTION: Right, he'd not been seen in public, exactly.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, so I didn't really think anything other than what I was told.

QUESTION: Did it frustrate you, though? 'Cause you were all the way over there, and --

SECRETARY CLINTON: No, because I had so many other meetings.

QUESTION: Okay. Okay, okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I mean, I didn't go specifically to see him. I went to continue our dialogue.

QUESTION: Did they get a little ticked off that we reported that it was a back injury, since they like to keep things so close to the vest?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I don't -- I don't know that.

QUESTION: Okay. And then at your press conference, I sat in the front row right in front of you because I was a pool reporter.

PARTICIPANT: Just like this. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Yes, you know me. I like to be very touchy-feely. If I could've touched you, I would.

Anyway, so I sat there, and you as a politician came through to me loud and clear. You took control of that press conference, okay. I mean, you said your little pleasantries, he said his pleasantries, and then you took charge. And it wasn't just about the South China Seas. You hit all the things, Syria, Iran, not -- and all the others. North Korea.

So then he was on his heels. And he's like -- he was wanting to get in. So tell me: What was your thinking? Was it purposeful? Was that your strategy going in? I'd like to -- I want to describe that, because to me, you clearly had the political savvy over your counterpart.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, we have very different systems. He's an incredibly accomplished diplomat, and as you rightly point out, we both made our points. And I --

QUESTION: He did make his points, but only after he was on his heels.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, that's your interpretation.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I had a very clear understanding of what I needed to say because there were all these issues that we were talking about. And they are complicated, challenging issues. So I wanted to be sure that I put it out there, and I didn't want to say anything other than what my assessment was at the time. Some people say, "Well, you're in a foreign country, you shouldn't do this," or whatever.

QUESTION: Yeah, exactly.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Now, I mean, I think we're living in a world where everybody knows what you say everywhere.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: And I believe you have to say the same thing, you have to be consistent, repetitive, make the case knowing full well that there's a resistance on the part of China and Russia to be more constructive in the Security Council. But insofar as I could break through in their mass media as well as the international mass media, I was going to make that effort.

QUESTION: Which goes to this point which I was going to get to a little bit later about -- one way you've tried to change, I think, the Secretary of State -- you've changed the terms of what it means, is this public diplomacy. You are knowing you're reaching a different audience. You're not just playing right there at that press conference.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right. A hundred percent right, Monica. I mean, I believe I am the chief public diplomat of the State Department, and as well as the chief diplomat. But there's the public role to it, which is increasingly important, because you can't just go somewhere, have your meeting behind closed doors, do a controlled readout, and go on to the next capital. Because in every society now, you have to recognize there is a public audience as well as an official audience.

So I am conscious of that from the very first trip I made in early February 2009. I've been trying to talk about America's values and our interests and our security everywhere I can.

QUESTION: Is that in part – did you have a vision that you also have to remake America's brand?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I think we – I think our brand was battered for a lot of reasons. We came into office in the midst of the economic crisis, which was very dangerous, and I thought that – and still do – that confidence is a commodity, and we had to show confidence. We had to be making smart decisions. We had to reassure leaders and markets and people, and that was part of my job on that first trip that I made and every trip since.

I was in Hong Kong when the debate over the debt was going on, and I had all of these very wealthy, distinguished, high-ranking people from Hong Kong lining up to say, "What's going to happen in America? What are they doing over there?" And I said, "Oh, don't worry about it. We will get to a decision." Because I had to be, at that moment, displaying the kind of confidence that our country has, and our ability to make decisions, even hard decisions, in order to keep leading the world economically and politically, and I believe that.

QUESTION: Okay. Let me then jump – you came – well, of course, there's the campaign. On September 6th, you watch your husband at the convention.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right.

QUESTION: Okay. What did you feel at that moment?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, I was thrilled. It was so odd for me not to be there. I've been at every convention for decades, and there I was in East –

QUESTION: Did you miss it?

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- in Timor-Leste.

QUESTION: Yeah. Yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I missed a lot of what goes with conventions – seeing people from all over the country, having that sense of purpose that a convention is supposed to give you to go out in the election and work your heart out for your candidate. But on the other hand, I also believed and knew that what I was doing was very important for my country. So I certainly didn't miss –

QUESTION: And did you hear you were a big topic of conversation there about whether Hillary –

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes, well –

QUESTION: -- 2016?

SECRETARY CLINTON: That seems to be a topic of conversation for a lot of people, which is –

QUESTION: Everywhere, okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- which is fine.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: But it was thanks to the hard work of Philippe and others that we were able to see in nearly real time. I mean, we had to wait till it was recorded, because I had a schedule that I had to keep, but then we were able to watch the whole speech. It was great.

QUESTION: Yeah. Okay. Now, you came back home September 11th. So let's talk about how you faced that day, just a couple key moments, because I don't want to relive the whole thing.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right.

QUESTION: But what were the key moments to you? Was it when you first were told the Ambassador's missing? Was it when you found out he was actually – they had found him?

SECRETARY CLINTON: No. It predated that, because I take September 11th very seriously. I was a senator from New York on September 11th.

QUESTION: Right. And I lived in New York on September 11th at the time.

SECRETARY CLINTON: And it was a searing, painful experience in every way, and so every September 11th I'm on hyper alert for what's going on around the world. And we always have discussions in our security – among our security experts – okay, September 11th is coming up. Because we pick up intelligence, we pick up chatter that people might want to do something somewhere in the world. So everybody is watching. That's – but we had a very strong set of standards that we've tried to follow around the world.

And then simultaneously, we had this video coming out, which we were getting lots of feedback from our posts that this was a problem, that people were reacting to it. So there was a lot swirling around. And clearly, when we started hearing about what was happening in Cairo, what was happening in Tunisia, what was happening in Benghazi and other places – because there were demonstrations going on in many places, and they were being, to some extent, hijacked by extremists with other agendas.

But then when we were alerted to what was going on in Benghazi, we were all just totally focused on trying to find out what we could under quite difficult circumstances, and we're still trying to get to the bottom of what happened when. But that day, it was all consuming. We were all just as active as we could given the distance, trying to manage everything that was happening, and be responsive in real time. And of course, it was primarily the duty of the security experts who have those responsibilities, but I was here and others were here trying to sort through all the information as it was coming in.

QUESTION: Do you – today the front page of the *Post* says this is now going to mar your – what had been your great record at State. I mean, are you ultimately, Hillary, going to have to take responsibility for this?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, I take responsibility. That's not even – that's not a question. I take responsibility. I'm the Secretary of State. I have 60,000-plus employees around the world, and this is like a big family. I mean, these Foreign Service and Civil Service officers, many of whom have worked with each other, they know each other, I have – I'm working with people today that I first met when I was First Lady, and they were a young diplomat somewhere that I showed up. I sent Chris Stevens to Benghazi in the height of the Libyan conflict.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: And he was eager to go, and he was very effective, and then I recommended him to be our ambassador, and I had the highest regard for him.

QUESTION: Gosh, that must make it that much –

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, it's painful, Monica. It's absolutely painful, because it's not just a faceless person.

QUESTION: Yeah, exactly.

SECRETARY CLINTON: It's people who, if I didn't know them personally, somebody close to me in this building knew them, had worked with them, was at the same post five or ten years ago. So there's an extraordinary sense of loss and responsibility. Every one of us who had any responsibility, from the security experts on up, we all feel like we have to figure out what happened, because we clearly want to make sure it doesn't happen again. But there is an inherent risk in this job.

When I okayed sending Robert Ford to Hama at the beginning of the Syrian conflict, that was a risk. We said, "Robert, do you want to go there? It's dangerous. We can't guarantee your safety, because we have to rely on host nations."

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: But you think it's the right thing to do. It clearly sends a message about where the United States' values are.

Or when I was in Egypt, and we were protested against in Cairo, and then the security people came to me and said, "You're supposed to go to Alexandria. It's a much less fortified position than we have in Cairo. Maybe you shouldn't go." I said, "No." I said, "I'm going to go." I went. But, I mean, we had people throwing shoes and tomatoes.

This is an inherently risky world. It is a dangerous world. And we will do our very best, as our military and intelligence colleagues do, to try to think through how to provide as much security as possible, but you can't keep people behind 20-foot walls and expect

them to do their jobs. And whether it's the Marine barracks in Beirut being blown up or a CIA outpost in Afghanistan, Americans need to realize that it's not only our soldiers; it's our civilians serving our country who are also putting their lives on the line to --

QUESTION: Well, that's been the wakeup call of this incident.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- to do the job that we ask them to do.

QUESTION: So one thing that a lot of people have said in this is another -- somebody from the White House told me they thought watching you and Obama at the Andrews Air Force Base, there was a new bond between you two, that everybody knows you all aren't buddy-buddy, but you all clearly respect each other and work together. Do you feel that you had a new bond? I mean, I saw that you touched his hand -- on watching the -- watching it, you touched his hand after he spoke, and then when you all walked back to the families that he put his arm around your waist. Do you feel this gave some -- did you feel that at that moment? Somebody at the White House saw it, and then somebody at the State Department also thought so.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I feel like there have been a number of moments -- maybe not public moments -- that have been very, very precious to me in my relationship with the President. I was in that very small group that made the decision about bin Ladin and was there in that Sit Room, and --

QUESTION: Right, which we've all seen that picture.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes, going up and down the emotional rollercoaster. And walked with him across the Colonnade in the White House for him to address the nation. I mean, there are a lot of moments, but that was a particularly poignant time for both of us because we live every day -- he as President, I as Secretary -- with the knowledge that decisions we make, sending a Chris Stevens to Libya, are ones that have risk and danger attached to them. And so I --

QUESTION: When he came here that --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes.

QUESTION: -- next day, did you call him and say, "I'd love you to come over?"

SECRETARY CLINTON: I did. I did.

QUESTION: Do you call him, like, on the secure phone?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, yes.

QUESTION: Where's the secure phone?

SECRETARY CLINTON: In my office.

QUESTION: Oh.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, yeah, we have a secure phone. Yeah.

QUESTION: I know. Did you call him on the secure phone?

SECRETARY CLINTON: We wanted --

QUESTION: Or do you only do that if there's, like, a real emergency?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. We communicate in lots of different ways. But I thought it was important if he could, but it was -- I knew that he has a lot of other demands on his time, and I was going over to the Rose Garden and then I said, "Mr. President, can -- do you have time to come by and see our people if we can get them gathered?" And he didn't hesitate, absolutely. And it was --

QUESTION: Do you say Mr. President or do you say Barack?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I do. I say Mr. President. I believe strongly in saying Mr. President.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I think it's a sign of respect for the person and for the office.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I mean, I called him Barack when I was a senator with him, but --

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- now he's the President and I respect that.

QUESTION: Okay. Now let's start going toward UNGA. The -- on September 15th, I think the Saturday before Netanyahu was going to be on Meet The Press, you had a private call with him.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I did, I did.

QUESTION: Okay. And that -- the Mideast thing and Iran, it's kind of been in tumult. So the relationship -- do you feel that you need to work your -- work on that with your past relationship with him? I mean, this is -- as two politicians to one another, what's -- show me how this works.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, look. I've known Bibi a long time, and I consider him a friend. He is somebody who I've spent a lot of time talking to in New York, in Washington, in Jerusalem. We have had long in-person conversations, long telephone conversations. And I respect the fact that he is trying to protect Israel, that -- I often tell people, put yourself into the position of the Prime Minister of Israel at a time of great tumult and uncertainty. And so I guess I would say, on a pretty regular basis, we -- I check in with him.

QUESTION: Does that help, though, given that, kind of, people view his relationship with the President as rocky, that you all --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well --

QUESTION: -- are in kind of -- have your own relationship?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, here's -- I think he's been around so long he has good relationships with a lot of people, and I think he has a relationship of mutual respect with the President. And his concerns about what's going to happen are totally legitimate. They're concerns that the President shares, which is why the President has said our policy is prevention, not containment. And he's been very, very clear about that.

QUESTION: Okay. Now then you go to New York for UNGA. But I talked to Betsy, your friend from Park Ridge.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right, right.

QUESTION: Okay. So she brought this up on her own about your hair.

SECRETARY CLINTON: (Laughter.)

QUESTION: She said --

STAFF: I'm amazed you got -- what --

QUESTION: (Laughter.) The pizza party --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, right.

QUESTION: At the pizza party --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right, right.

QUESTION: -- she said to you she likes your hair long, and she said it suits where you are in your life right now. Do you remember her saying this to you?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Honestly, I don't, but --

QUESTION: Okay. I don't even bring this up.

SECRETARY CLINTON: No, I don't. I mean --

QUESTION: You hear about this all the --

STAFF: I can't believe you're using poor Betsy as a device.

QUESTION: I know. This is great.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I would be happy to talk to you sometime about all of -- all that, all that stuff.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, but not that. But she said that. Okay. All right.

SECRETARY CLINTON: (Laughter.)

QUESTION: So anyway, so you have the pizza party, then -- and your husband and your daughter are there.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right.

QUESTION: At least that was a nice break.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right, right.

QUESTION: Okay. Then you go into full-scale work.

SECRETARY CLINTON: UNGA, UNGA, UNGA.

QUESTION: Okay. But you first appeared at the Clinton Global Initiative, which was a key --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, no. I started working on Sunday.

QUESTION: Oh, okay, okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I was at the Clinton Global Initiative Monday morning, but I started having what we call bilats on Sunday.

QUESTION: Okay. Yeah. And I wrote down you did -- it looks like you had 29 bilats, you had 54 meetings or events that week. And I don't know if you noticed, but I was running in as a little pool reporter just to see any glimpse of you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: (Laughter.)

QUESTION: And I would try to hang to hear what they were saying. The Yemen President said you work nonstop, you're shuttling around the world, you're on TV every day.

SECRETARY CLINTON: (Laughter.) Yeah.

QUESTION: I mean, your public image is really fascinating --

SECRETARY CLINTON: For people all over the world.

QUESTION: -- to all these foreign leaders.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, I know.

QUESTION: I mean, they really, like, admire that.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well --

QUESTION: Don't you think -- what does that tell you?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, look. I think in today's world, America has to show up. We have to show up in a lot of places to make the case for what we believe are the right choices for us and for partners and the world. So I'm constantly being told by leaders, presidents, prime ministers, foreign ministers, "I'm exhausted watching you."

QUESTION: Exactly. I once heard -- they'll say that.

SECRETARY CLINTON: They're the very same people who get quite unhappy if I don't show up.

QUESTION: Exactly.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Like, "Oh, can you come to this?" "Gee, I'm so sorry I can't." "Okay, I'll change the date. When can you come?" So -- and I know that it might not have been quite as important in times past, but now, because you're covered on broadcast television, you're covered on the internet, people know you're there and you're making a case. And you're respecting another country and another country's leaders enough to be in their palace, in their office, in their parliament.

And I have found that it eases the way for building interpersonal relations, which at the end of the day are at the root of much of what we do in foreign relations. Doesn't mean that people are going to give up their self-interest or change their human nature. That's not going to happen. But that there may be an opening that you can take advantage of to make a case that might otherwise not have been heard if you were just barking orders at them from a thousand miles away.

QUESTION: Yeah. I know. You know what? I'm all about relationships, not transactions, and I see that in you --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah.

QUESTION: -- in how you do your job.

SECRETARY CLINTON: It really matters. It matters. It's always mattered.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: But it especially matters in the world today.

QUESTION: I see that loud and clear. Okay. And then in the week of October, I noticed on your schedule -- well, is there anything about the UN, was there any key -- you also met with people that are higher than you --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes, right.

QUESTION: -- because Obama left all that to you. Was there any key meeting that I should focus on?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I mean, gosh, there were so many. I mean --

QUESTION: I mean, the bulk of it was unbelievable, but was there one moment that was the one I should pick out --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, I don't --

QUESTION: -- that was particularly sensitive or --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Let me think about that, Monica.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Because, I mean, we had very intense conversations with the presidents of Afghanistan and Pakistan and Egypt and --

QUESTION: Yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- Yemen and Libya and -- (laughter) --

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I mean, it was a --

QUESTION: Well, maybe you could tell Philippe --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, yeah.

QUESTION: -- what would be the best one to single out from that time period.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Okay. We'll go through -- yeah.

QUESTION: I mean, the bulk of it -- and then --

STAFF: We'll rank all 24.

QUESTION: (Laughter.) And then on October 1st, that week, you led the U.S.-Afghanistan Bilateral Commission.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right, right.

QUESTION: Is that important?

SECRETARY CLINTON: It's very important.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: It's part of -- we negotiated something called a Strategic Partnership Agreement with Afghanistan as a way of both committing ourselves to an enduring partnership with the Afghans, having an agenda that we would both follow so that there wouldn't be second-guessing and finger-pointing. We would say, "Look, here's what we want to work on together, and here's how we have to proceed." And this was the first of those meetings. And I found it to be much desired on the Afghan side, and on ours as well because we wanted to clarify what we were going to be focusing on together.

QUESTION: Even after the -- what's been happening with the suicide --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, right.

QUESTION: -- acts and all that? Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right, right, right.

QUESTION: Okay. Okay. Now, what do you want to be your legacy?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, gosh. I have not stopped to think about that.

QUESTION: Really?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Again, I will stop to think about it maybe in three months.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I'm so in the moment. People say to me, "What are you going to do next? Looking back, what's your legacy?"

QUESTION: Yeah, that's coming to -- yeah, yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Honestly, I can't answer those questions because I just haven't allowed myself to stop and think them through. And I don't want to divert my mind from what's going on right now. There's too much going on right now that I have to be focused on, so I'll let the rest work itself out.

QUESTION: Do you think, given the way the world is right now and how tough this last few weeks has been, have you even given a thought to maybe staying as Secretary of State?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, a lot of people have talked to me about that, but I --

QUESTION: But has the President?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I'm not going to go into any conversations with anybody, but I would be unlikely to do that. I really made up my mind -- now, at least a year or so ago -- and I want to follow through on that. Because I think it's important for me

to just step off the incredibly high wire that I've been on for the last four years -- actually for the last 20 years -- just to take stock of the rest of my life which is before me.

QUESTION: Yeah. And do you -- I know you haven't given a lot of thought, but is there something that you just can't wait to do?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, yeah, sleep. Sleep would be good.

QUESTION: How do you balance all this? I mean, you do go nonstop.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes, I do.

QUESTION: I mean, I've gained five pounds just travelling with you. (Laughter.) No joke. On that travel, it was an excuse to eat shit. (Laughter.)

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, there's a lot of it around. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Yeah. I mean, you just grab food. They're like, oh, well I need this to get through the day. And I wasn't even performing like you are; I just sit here and do nothing. So I blame you for this. So how do you do it?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I take responsibility for that too. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, exactly. (Laughter.) How do you, like, balance --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, first --

QUESTION: -- this physically and also to be, like, a strong leader but also then have the compassion and the person? I mean, how do you pull it off?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. Well, I mean, first, it's just who I am. And I don't think about it being anything other than going about my business. But look, I do try to exercise, I do try to eat right. I fall off the wagon on both. I do try to get enough sleep.

QUESTION: Yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Not easy to do. Try to catch up it with whenever I can. But the work is so consuming, intellectually demanding, with such high stakes -- literally life and death at stake --

QUESTION: Yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- that I am constantly thinking and planning and reacting, trying to manage this extraordinary panoply of issues around the world that I think are going to affect my country, my daughter, the future that I would like to see, and so it gets me up every day and keeps me going till late at night.

QUESTION: And do you -- your colleagues here tell me -- you've got a great team, by the way -- I have so much fun with them --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you.

QUESTION: -- and they're all very talented.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you.

QUESTION: But do you -- they all tell me how you're always searching for the next best organizer.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes.

QUESTION: Saying you're always looking for the next best binder or -- so what is this about you that you --

SECRETARY CLINTON: (Laughter.) It's almost a game that I play with myself. When you have as much coming at you as I do every day, it's kind of a constant joke we have. Okay, our cards or paper or our boxes or some other form of storage -- I mean, it's just a way of kind of keeping it light, because there's so much serious that we have to do all the time.

QUESTION: And do you -- is it true that the President gave you, like, an inscribed iPad cover or something?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, he gave me a great iPad cover that has my initials on it, which was really very welcome because it's hard, so when you travel as much, it doesn't get knocked around.

QUESTION: Was it for a particular occasion? Or did you see one that he had or what?

SECRETARY CLINTON: We were just talking one day. We do that. I mean, I gave --

QUESTION: I know you're going to see him after me.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Very -- yeah, very shortly, yeah.

QUESTION: I'll be happy to go with you. (Laughter.)

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, I know. I gave him an espresso machine one time. We were talking about good espresso and how hard it was to find. And I really enjoy my time with him, and I also know probably better than anybody because of what -- the positions that I've had, and the respect I have for how hard -- how impossible the job has always been, but certainly is today. It's not all bad news. I mean, there's a lot of bad news I have to deliver, a lot of difficult issues I have to raise, a lot of hard questions he has to grapple with. So it's nice every so often to -- like when Bo the dog came in to see Aung San Suu Kyi, when I went to see --

QUESTION: Oh, well, I wanted to ask about that --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, when I went to see her in Burma, I brought her gifts, which you do when you travel through protocol. But I brought a gift for her dog -- she adores her dog -- and the dog was such good company when she was under house arrest. And so when she went to the White House to see the President, she really wanted to meet Bo the dog who she had heard about, and the President was so great.

QUESTION: Oh, that's cool.

SECRETARY CLINTON: He had Bo outside the Oval Office and when the meeting ended he said, "Oh, wait, one more person I want you to meet," right? And in came Bo the dog. She was so thrilled. I mean, we try to make it not just a grind because it could be with everything going on in the world, literally just debilitating -- trying to figure out the right thing to do, how best to protect America, how to get our values across, how to deal with intractable situations like the ones we face in so many places. So every so often, we kind of lighten it up.

QUESTION: Which I forgot to mention in my little timetable of the action profile about you -- you did see her when she was here and you said you know something about being kind of an icon and becoming a politician, what that entails.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes, yes, yes, yes.

QUESTION: And you had her to your home for a dinner.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I did. I did.

QUESTION: And can you tell me a little about that and what that meant to you?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I --

QUESTION: Had she been to your home before?

SECRETARY CLINTON: No, no.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: She hadn't been in the United States in, I think, 40 years.

QUESTION: Oh, wow.

SECRETARY CLINTON: We can check that, but I think it's like 40 years. She had me in her home, and it was such an emotional experience, and obviously I wanted to reciprocate. And so I had her in my home and we had a very small dinner. And before the dinner, I spent about an hour with her just talking like two old friends, because I had felt when I met her for the first time that we'd been friends forever. And I just so highly admire her, but I also have such affection for her.

QUESTION: Now you did talk about what it's like to be a politician and things like that --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right, right, right

QUESTION: -- and get into the nitty-gritty. Now your approval rating right now is close to 70 percent. So a lot of people are asking the obvious question: What about 2016? And people -- do you think now people --

STAFF: I thought the obvious question was: Who are the other 30? (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Well, yeah. What happened with the other 30? How are they not approving? (Laughter.) So do you -- I mean, do you think that -- why do you think people see you now differently than when you were running for office, or --

SECRETARY CLINTON: I can't even speculate on that, Monica, because I feel like I've always been the same, other than perhaps my hairstyles, which have changed over the last 65 years.

QUESTION: (Laughter.) Haven't we all, though? Yeah, even men's.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes, indeed.

QUESTION: It's not just women.

SECRETARY CLINTON: But I feel like I've been the same person but in different roles over time. And I appreciate the fact that people are favorably inclined and supporting what I'm trying to do as Secretary, but I can't really venture a theory as to why or why not. I just have to get up every day and do the best I can.

QUESTION: Do you think there's a difference, Hillary, in seeing you running and campaigning versus governing? Or --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Could be. Could be.

QUESTION: But you -- do you have a -- do you give it any thought?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I really don't. I really don't.

QUESTION: Okay. Well, you're too busy to even think about it. So there we have -- a lot of people think you've got to run in 2016 and that service is so important to you that, ultimately, if it's there, they can't imagine you would say no. Now of course, it's not as easy as everybody thinks it's going to be. (Laughter.) They think it's going to be there for the taking for you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right, right. Well, but I have always believed in service, but I did not for -- what, 53 years of my life -- ever believe I would run for office. I respected people who did like my husband and supported a lot of candidates over the course of my adulthood and -- actually even before -- I was a Goldwater girl when I was -- I don't know -- whatever grade I was.

So I don't know why it would be surprising that I said, look, I intend to do service, but I intend to do service in a different capacity -- going back to the advocacy community, working on women and girls, working in the Clinton Foundation, Clinton Global Initiative --

QUESTION: So you wouldn't start your own foundation since you've got that big apparatus there that's so successful.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, yeah. I mean, I think -- I mean, and it seems to me that there's just a great opportunity to expand what we're doing, to deepen it in areas that I'm interested in. But again, I haven't made any decisions. I just know that I will always want to be of service. I believe in service. And one of my mentors, Marian Wright Edelman, and -- used to quote all the time that service is the rent we pay for living on this earth, and I think that's exactly right.

QUESTION: But you're not ruling it out?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I have ruled it out. I have ruled it out. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Oh, my God. I don't want you to say that. I think it would be more fun if you said -- (laughter) -- I've not ruled it out. (Laughter.)

SECRETARY CLINTON: That's funny.

QUESTION: Seriously. Okay. So is there anything else that -- in this action profile about you that you think I've got to include that I'm missing.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, my gosh. I don't know.

QUESTION: Of course, I wanted to talk to the President and Chelsea, but Philippe said no.

STAFF: I did.

QUESTION: And he did. (Laughter.)

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. He's a hard taskmaster.

QUESTION: Isn't he?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I don't know. I'll think about it. I mean, I -- that period was so --

QUESTION: It was so jam-packed.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- jam-packed.

STAFF: (Inaudible) you have to be more specific. What did you actually want?

QUESTION: What do you mean?

STAFF: Tell her what you actually asked for.

QUESTION: Oh. Oh, I wanted -- you mean, like, just hang out? Like, go on a --

STAFF: No. You wanted --

QUESTION: Oh, I wanted to have dinner in New York with you and the President and Chelsea.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: That's what I asked for. Or breakfast.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I want to do that. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Or coffee. (Laughter.) That's what I asked for. And then I said I just want to hang out with Hillary and just know what it's like to be Hillary. I asked for all kinds of things, and he thought I was like a nutcase.

STAFF: She wanted to take a walk with you.

QUESTION: Oh, yeah. I said I could go for a walk. Oh, God. I did once. When I did the profile of Michele Bachmann, I went for a walk with her. Oh, my God, she like freaking wanted to kill me. Do you know what I mean? She does this fast walk. And so I was carrying my little recorder, and then all I could hear when I played it back was like me like that. (Laughter.) You know what I mean? She was, like, going to run me into the damn ground.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, my gosh. You did a profile on her?

QUESTION: Back when she -- the two week period she was surging in Iowa at the start of the Republican's -- and then she was gone as all the Republicans popped up and then were gone.

SECRETARY CLINTON: That's funny.

QUESTION: Do you know what I mean? But anyway -- (laughter) -- all right, now, let's see. And then the other thing I was going to get into was just the -- how you have to be a leader and the muscular part of you versus the compassionate, the pragmatic part of you, but the lofty goals part of you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right.

QUESTION: So is there anything in this last few five weeks that you think kind of puts you there?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, yeah. I mean, I think – look, I mean, what happened in Benghazi, but also elsewhere in the Middle East. I mean, I had to get on the phone and really strongly demand that governments do more to take care of our people. I had to be present for the State Department family when we lost four colleagues and do it in a way that was respectful but demonstrating the emotion that we all felt. So –

QUESTION: Would that be like that video hookup you did with – in –

SECRETARY CLINTON: In Libya? In Tripoli? Probably, yeah.

QUESTION: Would that be one? Or here?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, yeah. I mean, we did so much. We reached out to so many people. I personally did.

QUESTION: And then you of course talked to his sister on the phone and stuff like that.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. So Chris's sister and then went over to – we went out to Andrews early and met all the family members.

QUESTION: And before you got – somebody told me before you got out of the car on your way to Andrews, you were on the phone to – which country were you on the phone and said, "Get your people there"? Oh, Tunisia, because there were attacks still continuing there and saying, "Get your people out there. No excuses." Was it something like that?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, we had –

QUESTION: Was it something like that? Would that be accurate?

SECRETARY CLINTON: There were a lot of calls like that. We had a lot of threats.

QUESTION: So you had to be kind of a hard-ass.

SECRETARY CLINTON: We had a lot of threats everywhere. So – and remember, in a lot of these places, the security systems just disappeared after the dictators disappeared. And so there's a difference between some countries where they did not have the capacity, but they had the will and countries that don't have either the will or the capacity and countries that have the capacity but without the will. So you have to zero in on what the right message is to each of those.

QUESTION: Well, what can you do if they have the capacity but not the will?

SECRETARY CLINTON: You just have to up the pressure as much as you can.

QUESTION: And how do you do that?

SECRETARY CLINTON: You get everybody you can on the phone, you get everybody calling everybody who needs to be on the phone, and you basically both appeal to them doing the right thing and threaten them if they don't.

QUESTION: Which country would that have been?

SECRETARY CLINTON: No. No further than that. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Okay. All right. Okay. And then –

STAFF: That piece of paper was the –

QUESTION: That said she has to go? Because I could keep going to get more detail, more detail, more detail. (Laughter.)

STAFF: It's polite. We just set it up that she comes in and gets a blank piece of paper with this – (laughter) –

QUESTION: No, no. I saw it does have something written on it.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. I have to leave for the White House –

QUESTION: I couldn't read it.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- in about five minutes.

QUESTION: Oh, okay. (Laughter.) I did look. There was something on it, but I couldn't read it, unfortunately, through it.

SECRETARY CLINTON: That's funny.

QUESTION: Anyway, okay. And then on your legacy, since you didn't really get into that, the one thing is public diplomacy to me seems to be one part of it -- your town interviews and then the secretary of cool thing where you came that -- it's all kind of this public persona.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. Yeah.

QUESTION: The brand of Secretary of State in America. The economic statecraft seemed to me to be part of your --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right. That's a big part of it.

QUESTION: Okay. And in that --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Internet freedom. I mean, we have a long list we could give you, which I'm sure you could --

QUESTION: And the Asia focus, like going to Beijing, it was one of your last trips, and it was your first trip.

SECRETARY CLINTON: My first trip, absolutely.

QUESTION: And then on the Arab Spring, that was something that you all were involved in and out of. Do you feel a little bit's come back to bite you?

SECRETARY CLINTON: No.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: No. Because I do think that it's -- it would be a contortion of who we are not to support people seeking democracy and freedom and free markets.

QUESTION: Well, everybody said, actually, the day after September 11th that you had the star tone and did better than Obama. I mean, all the critics thought you -- everybody that we talked to thought that, that you had struck the right tone.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, look, I believe strongly that democracy is hard. It is a never-completed journey. I mean, we are still working hard to make sure we live up to our own ideals and values, and I want to contextualize what's going on in the world. I mean, these countries have gone from oppression of decades without any democratic history into a burst of revolutionary energy to try to do something they've never done before.

And so it is hard. It's something that is going to take time, and I think the United States remains a beacon of hope and opportunity, an example of freedom and dignity and human rights, but that doesn't mean we can control everything that happens in every country, particularly within a revolutionary transition. But I would never have imagined that after something as horrific as the murder of our four colleagues and the injury of others that you would have a protest -- a pro-American protest in Libya demanding that those who killed Chris Stevens and his colleagues were not the future that Libya wanted. I think that's a remarkable turn of events.

And so we just have to be resolved that we're going to do the best we can to stand for our values, protect ourselves in a dangerous, fast-changing world, and manage as best we can this enormous flood of change that is sweeping across the globe. But with that, I'm going to have to --

QUESTION: Okay. I understand.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- head to the White House.

QUESTION: Gotcha.

SECRETARY CLINTON: All right, my dear.

QUESTION: Okay. Thank you very much.

SECRETARY CLINTON: All right. Thank you very much.

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RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Monday, October 1, 2012 3:34 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Monday, October 01, 2012 10:13 AM
To: H
Subject: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

http://www.salon.com/2012/10/01/gops_october_surprise/

Monday, Oct 1, 2012 09:30 AM EDT

GOP's October surprise?

They're calling it the "Jimmy Carter Strategy": Exploit Libya attack to paint Obama as weak on terrorism

By Craig Unger 

(Credit: AP/Al Behrman/Salon)

According to a highly reliable source, as Mitt Romney and President Barack Obama prepare for the first presidential debate Wednesday night, top Republican operatives are primed to unleash a new two-pronged offensive that will attack Obama as weak on national security, and will be based, in part, on new intelligence information regarding the attacks in Libya that killed U.S. ambassador Chris Stevens on September 11.

The source, who has first-hand knowledge of private, high-level conversations in the Romney camp that took place in Washington, DC last week, said that at various times the GOP strategists referred to their new operation as the Jimmy Carter Strategy or the October Surprise.

He added that they planned to release what they hoped would be "a bombshell" that would make Libya and Obama's foreign policy a major issue in the campaign. "My understanding is that they have come up with evidence that the Obama administration had positive intelligence that there was going to be a terrorist attack on the intelligence."

The source described the Republicans as chortling with glee that the Obama administration "definitely had intel" about the attack before it happened. "Intelligence can be graded in different ways," he added, "and sometimes A and B don't get connected. But [the Romney campaign] will try to paint it to look like Obama had advance knowledge of the attack and is weak on terrorism."

He said they were jubilant about their new strategy and said they intended to portray Obama as a helpless, Jimmy Carter-like president and to equate the tragedy in Libya with President Carter's failed

attempt to rescue American hostages in Iran in 1980. "They are so excited about it," he said. "Over and over again they talked about how it would be just like Jimmy Carter's failed raid. They feel it is going to give them a last-minute landslide in the election."

The source, however, said he was dubious about the tactic. "To me, it is indicative that they have lost touch with a huge portion of the electorate," he said.

The source declined to reveal the names of the GOP operatives who were present. But he said, "These were the top guys in the party. It was a private, unguarded planning conversation." He further described participants in the meeting as consisting of well-known names tied to the big Republican super PACs and people who had access to high-level national security intelligence.

"As usual, Karl Rove wasn't present," he said, "but some were close to Rove."

The source said that "there was quite a bit more" to the operation than simply revealing the intelligence regarding Libya. He declined to discuss what he described as the second phase of the operation.

However, already there is evidence that the first phase of the operation is underway. On Wednesday, September 26, on Fox News, Karl Rove called Obama's reaction to what happened in Libya "inexplicable" and added that Obama is "more intent on campaigning than meeting his responsibilities as commander-in-chief." He went on to warn that Obama's policies in Libya endangered the U.S. with regard to Iran. "I am astonished," Rove said. "We are projecting weakness when we need to be projecting strength."

Similarly, former New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a one-time GOP presidential hopeful who became known as the mayor of 9/11, followed Rove in criticizing Obama on the attack in Libya. "This is a deliberate attempt to cover up the truth, from an administration that claimed it wanted to be the most transparent in history," he told Fox News. "And it's the worst kind of cover-up: the kind of cover-up that involves our national security. This is a cover-up that involves the slaughter of four Americans."

Giuliani added that the Obama White House wanted to dismiss the role played by al-Qaeda because it seemed to diminish the triumph of having killed Osama bin Laden. "I think it's because they have this narrative that they defeated al-Qaeda," he said. "They never say the words 'Islamic fundamentalist terrorism'. They want to wish it away. The president was moving on to Asia – he was going to declare this a great victory for himself and unfortunately, this terrible act of terror intervened in their very convenient narrative."

Likewise, Bob Corker, Republican senator from Tennessee, described the administration's response to "the terrorist attack" in Libya as "bizarre." And on Sunday, September 30, both Mitt Romney and vice-presidential nominee Paul Ryan joined in the attacks. "I think they want to do their very best to keep the people of America from understanding exactly what happened. We expect candor, we expect transparency, particularly as it relates to terrorism," Romney said.

Added Ryan, "Why is he (Obama) not on the same page with his own administration officials who are saying that this is a terrorist attack? We'll leave it up to you to decide whether it's a cover-up or not."

In an apparently related development, a Politico article posted last night said Romney advisers were divided over how aggressively to attack President Obama over his handling of the events in Libya. One unnamed Romney adviser described them as "a huge gift" to the campaign. "Across the board – domestic, economic and foreign-policy issues – President Obama has been outmatched by events," he said. "He's an observer of events, not a shaper of events. Everywhere you look, he's been outmatched." But other Romney advisers, led by media strategist Stuart Stevens, wanted to stick to the economy as the central issue. "They'll tell you that you've got to focus people on the fact that their economic prospects are not very good and all that," the aide told Politico. "Well, Romney's been trying to do that now since he clinched the nomination at the end of April – and he's failed. The president is better at deflecting attention from the bad news than Romney is at driving home the impact of the bad news on individual voters."

Craig Unger is the New York Times bestselling author of "House of Bush, House of Saud," and a frequent analyst on CNN, ABC Radio, Air America, The Charlie Rose Show, NBC's Today Show and

other broadcast outlets. He has written for The New Yorker, Esquire and many other publications and is currently a contributing editor at Vanity Fair.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, October 27, 2012 6:45 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: WSJ Editorial - The Other Embassy Attack

From: PA Clips [mailto:paclips@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, October 26, 2012 09:04 PM
To: PA-Monitoring-Group-DL; NEA-Press-DL; DS PA Media; Shore, Rhonda H; Atchison, Mark C; Moe, Grace T; Coordination; Mills, Cheryl D; Toiv, Nora F; SARB
Subject: WSJ Editorial - The Other Embassy Attack

The Other Embassy Attack
Wall Street Journal Review & Outlook
Friday, October 26, 2012, 6:43 p.m. EDT

Tehran tries to turn Yemen into another Lebanon.

Government emails from Libya released this week show Foggy Bottom's finest knew within hours that an Islamist terror group was behind the September 11 attacks that killed four Americans. Maybe this truth drip will force President Obama to explain why his Administration so strenuously downplayed a terrorist connection and insisted an anti-Islamic video was to blame. But amid media and Congressional efforts to uncover the truth about Benghazi, it's worth paying attention to another attack on a U.S. diplomatic mission last month.

On September 13, several hundred people, mostly young men, stormed the Embassy in Yemen's capital of Sanaa. The American staff had been evacuated, but the compound was overrun. In the melee four Yemenis died. At the time the event was lumped in with other anti-American protests in Tunisia, Pakistan and Egypt that week.

Yet it has since become clear that the Yemen assault was also well coordinated, likely by one or more militias. More alarming is an Iranian connection that signals that Tehran is expanding its long and quiet war on America to a new front.

The U.S. isn't ruling out the possible complicity of a Yemeni army faction loyal to ousted President Ali Abdullah Saleh. He stepped down from power in February as part of a U.S.-backed political transition. Since his departure, the military has been divided amid jockeying for control in this tribal society. The Salehs deny the accusation.

During months of anti-government protests in 2011, al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) also gained control of territory in central Yemen. The group has several times tried to strike the U.S. mainland, and it may have been behind the assassination this month of a Yemeni security officer employed at the U.S. Embassy.

However, the leading culprit is a Shiite rebel force backed by Tehran. Taking their name from a deceased commander, the Houthi militia have since the mid-1990s fought against the Sunni-dominated government in Sanaa. According to Western officials in Yemen, Iran has provided assistance for a Houthi resurgence in the past year. Their fighters have gone to Iran and Lebanon for training, and money and arms have flowed from both into Yemen, officials say. The Houthis run a satellite TV channel, al-Maseera, from Beirut.

In July the Yemeni government said it had uncovered an Iranian spy ring in Sanaa. That got the attention of the Saudis, who are anxious about Iranian efforts to stir up their co-religionist Shiites in Bahrain, Yemen and most of all in the Kingdom itself.

Tehran's strategy in Yemen calls to mind Lebanon in the 1980s, when Iran built up Hezbollah into what has become the leading political power in Lebanon. The Iran-backed terrorists burst onto the scene by bombing the U.S. embassy and Marine barracks in Beirut. If the Houthis were in the lead last month, the command and control chain runs straight to Tehran.

The interim Yemeni government is also grappling with a separatist armed uprising in the south. One of the leaders of the fractured rebel force lives in Beirut and has tried to build a pro-Iran movement in the south, according to a Western diplomat in Sanaa.

The Houthis and the southerners are separate groups with somewhat different agendas. But Iran may be facilitating a partnership, as well as reaching out to al Qaeda. They have one goal in common: To bring down the pro-American government in Sanaa. "Despite the fact that they're on opposite ends of the religious spectrum, al Qaeda and Iran will cooperate," a Western diplomat says. "You see indications that Iran is helping al Qaeda by trying to forge relations between AQAP, Houthis and southern rebels."

The U.S. supports a "national dialogue" to stabilize Yemen, while waging a drone campaign against the AQAP. Both are commendable goals. Yet Tehran has emerged as a new threat to Yemen's future and is fighting the U.S. through terror proxies. Congress can seek more clarity about Iran's designs with an inquiry into the Sanaa attacks.

Harry Edwards • Press Officer • Press Desk • U.S. Department of State

2201 C St, NW Rm 2109, Washington, DC 20520 | 📠:BB: | edwardshg@state.gov

B6

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, December 24, 2012 8:39 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Thank You

From: Secretary Clinton [mailto:SMSGS@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, December 21, 2012 06:18 PM
Subject: Thank You

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

Dear Colleagues –

I wanted to reach out to you directly after this challenging week, and express my gratitude for everything you do to advance our nation's interests and values. That is how we keep faith with those we serve and honor those we've lost. Even after four years, I continue to be amazed by your dedication, energy, and talent. It is a privilege to be part of your team.

I also want to thank everyone who is working so hard to provide all our people and posts with the best possible leadership, security and support. As Deputy Secretaries Burns and Nides told Congress on Thursday, our colleagues in Diplomatic Security, Near Eastern Affairs, and in every bureau across the Department, at home and abroad, get it right countless times a day, for years on end, in some of the toughest circumstances imaginable. We need to learn from the tragedy in Benghazi, and make every possible improvement -- and we will. We also need to recognize the extraordinary service of our security professionals. They are courageous patriots and consummate professionals. And like you, I trust them with my life.

I want to thank Ambassador Pickering, Admiral Mullen, and all the members of the Accountability Review Board. Their report takes a clear-eyed look at serious and systemic problems that we are already working to fix. I have accepted every one of the Board's recommendations. I asked the Deputy Secretary for Management and Resources to spearhead the effort to implement them, and to take those additional steps above and beyond those recommendations that make sense and make us stronger. To do this well, we need your help. All of us have to work together to take these reforms to heart and build on and improve the way we do business.

I am determined to leave the State Department and USAID stronger, safer, and more secure than I found them. I owe that to each of you. And I am delighted that President Obama has chosen Senator John Kerry to continue that work. Earlier today, I spoke with John and congratulated him on his nomination to be the next Secretary of State. I have been privileged to know him for many years, and to call him a friend, colleague, and partner. He is the son of a career Foreign Service Officer, a decorated war hero, and an accomplished statesman. I know that he shares our deep commitment to diplomacy and development. You deserve the highest caliber leadership, and that is exactly what you'll get with Senator Kerry.

It has been one of the great honors of my life to serve with you over the past four years. We have a lot more to do together in the coming days and weeks. So I hope you have a wonderful holiday and a joyous new year.

Sincerely,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, November 28, 2012 9:43 AM
To: H
Subject: FW: Make Up Turned Break Up

From: Nora Toiv [mailto:]
Sent: Wednesday, November 28, 2012 9:06 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Make Up Turned Break Up



November 27, 2012

Make Up Turned Break Up

By MAUREEN DOWD

WASHINGTON

Are the Republican senators unreasonable? Or is the secretary of state-manqué undiplomatic? Did the senators sandbag Susan Rice? Or did Rice further inflame a tense situation? Is it a case of shooting the messenger and playing politics? Or is national security dangerously infected with politics?

It seems as if it would have been simple enough for Rice to quickly admit that the administration talking points she used on the Sept. 16 Sunday shows about the slaughter in Benghazi were misleading. But she went silent. She has no wartime consigliere and, aside from the president's angry postelection defense of Rice, the White House — perhaps relieved that she was taking the heat rather than the president — wasn't running a strong damage control operation that clarified matters.

Still, on last Sunday's talk shows, John McCain and Lindsey Graham softened their tone a bit. "She's not the problem," McCain said. "The problem is the president of the United States," for failing to swiftly tell Americans what his intelligence agencies had confirmed: that Benghazi was a terrorist attack involving Al Qaeda affiliates.

When Rice asked to come to the Hill to meet with some of her Republican critics, it seemed détente was nigh. But somehow the hour-and-a-half powwow caused an escalation, with McCain, Graham and Senator Kelly Ayotte of New Hampshire emerging to say they had more reservations than before. Senator Bob Corker of Tennessee, who's scheduled to meet with Rice on Wednesday, suggested that she would be better suited to run the Democratic National Committee than State. If Rice can't soothe the egos of some cranky G.O.P. pols, how would she negotiate with China?

B6

Senator Susan Collins of Maine, the soft-spoken ranking member on the homeland security committee, hasn't been part of this shrill debate. Though they had met only once or twice, Collins agreed to introduce Rice to the Foreign Relations Committee in 2009 when Rice was nominated as the U.S. ambassador to the U.N. Rice's grandparents immigrated from Jamaica to Portland, Maine.

"I don't bear any animus to her at all," the senator said. "In fact, to the contrary."

But she said she is "troubled" by Rice's role. "If I wanted to be secretary of state," Collins observed, "I would not go on television and perform what was essentially a political role."

Collins drew up a list of questions to ask Rice at their one-on-one hourlong meeting slated for Wednesday. She wants Rice to explain how she could promote a story "with such certitude" about a spontaneous demonstration over the anti-Muslim video that was so at odds with the classified information to which the ambassador had access. (It was also at odds with common sense, given that there were Al Qaeda sympathizers among the rebel army members that overthrew Muammar el-Qaddafi with help from the U.S. — an intervention advocated by Rice — and Islamic extremist training camps in the Benghazi area.)

The F.B.I. interviewed survivors of the attack in Germany and, according to some senators, had done most of the interviews of those on site by Sept. 15, the day before Rice went on TV, and established that there was no protest. Collins wants to learn if the F.B.I. had failed to communicate that, or if they had communicated it and Rice went ahead anyway?

When Rice heard the president of the Libyan National Congress tell Bob Schieffer on "Face the Nation," right before her appearance, that 50 people had been arrested who were either foreign or affiliated with or sympathized with Al Qaeda, why did she push back with the video story? "Why wouldn't she think what the Libyan president said mattered?" Collins wondered.

Why did Rice say on ABC News's "This Week," that "two of the four Americans who were killed were there providing security"? Rice was referring to the two ex-Navy SEAL team members who were C.I.A. security officers working on a base about a mile away. "They weren't there to protect Ambassador Stevens," Collins said. "That wasn't their job."

Rice also said that "we had a substantial security presence with our personnel" — which was clearly not the case. Collins wants to know Rice's basis for saying on ABC that the attacks were "a direct result of a heinous and offensive video." And why did she say "a small number of people" came to the consulate to protest, when that phrase is not in her talking points? Collins is curious why Rice is not angrier, if, as she insists, she was repeating what she was told. "I'd be furious at the White House and F.B.I. and intelligence community for destroying my credibility," the senator said.

Collins said that before she would support Rice for secretary of state, she needs to ascertain what was really going on. "Did they think admitting that it was an Al Qaeda attack would destroy the narrative of Libya being a big success story?" Collins asked. As one of the administration champions of intervening in Libya, Rice was surely rooting for that success story herself.



More in Opinion (4 of 22 articles)

Editorial: The Pace of Leaving Afghanistan

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RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 6:28 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Q re HbJ

FYI

From: Jones, Beth E
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 6:26 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Ford, Robert S; Dibble, Elizabeth L
Subject: Q re HbJ

Jake,

The Secretary asked me this afternoon about timing for a call/meeting with HbJ on the Syrian opposition. I told her we wanted to consult with Robert to double check on this:

Robert agrees that HbJ remains quite involved in the Syria issue. For instance, when he was in the London meeting on the Syria opposition just before UNGA, the Qatari rep got HbJ on the phone in minutes during the meeting to weigh in on a Q re the SNC – and HbJ's view carried the day.

We are now sending to Amb Susan Ziadeh the list of organizations that we want to Qataris to contact inside Syria to ask them to choose reps to send to Doha. We are also sending her the list of names we are socializing for consideration for the "political council." Susan can discuss these lists in Doha on Sunday, so it would make sense for S to wait until Monday or Tuesday to engage with HbJ on some of these ideas for managing the conference and its outcomes.

Robert confirms that there is a lot of talk about the Doha meeting being postponed for a few days, but there is no new firm date. We are quite comfortable with a delay as it gives us (and others) time to press for good representation/participation and a better outcome. The idea of a follow-on conference in Cairo is still very much alive.

She suggested she might also check with HbJ on whether he is planning a trip here anytime soon. Meeting him in person would be great if he's planning a trip here.

I'll send a note up on Monday with some ideas on the Libya meeting that the Secretary asked about.

Beth

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Monday, October 8, 2012 7:32 AM
To: 'millsd@state.gov'
Subject: Re: The Cable: Romney to compare Benghazi to original 9/11 attacks

Can you call me?

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, October 08, 2012 07:26 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: The Cable: Romney to compare Benghazi to original 9/11 attacks

From: Blumenfeld, Joshua R
Sent: Monday, October 08, 2012 07:21 AM
To: Coordination
Cc: Reines, Philippe I; Mills, Cheryl D; Adams, David S
Subject: Fw: The Cable: Romney to compare Benghazi to original 9/11 attacks

Fyi.

From: The Cable [mailto:thecable@foreignpolicy.com]
Sent: Monday, October 08, 2012 07:07 AM
To: Blumenfeld, Joshua R
Subject: The Cable: Romney to compare Benghazi to original 9/11 attacks

The Cable: Romney to compare Benghazi to original 9/11 attacks



Romney to compare Benghazi to original 9/11 attacks

Posted: 07 Oct 2012 05:01 PM PDT



In a speech Monday, former Governor **Mitt Romney** will criticize President **Barack Obama's** handling of the Sept. 11, 2012, attack on the U.S. mission in Benghazi and say it was probably the work of al Qaeda, the same group that brought down the World Trade Center and struck the Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001.

"The attacks on America last month should not be seen as random acts. They are expressions of a larger struggle that is playing out across the broader Middle East -- a region that is now in the midst of the most profound upheaval in a century. And the fault lines of this struggle can be seen clearly in Benghazi itself," Romney will say in a foreign-policy-focused address at the Virginia Military Institute, according to excerpts released by his campaign.

"The attack on our consulate in Benghazi on Sept. 11th, 2012, was likely the work of the same forces that attacked our homeland on Sept. 11th, 2001. This latest assault cannot be blamed on a reprehensible video insulting Islam, despite the administration's attempts to convince us of that for so long. No, as the administration has finally conceded, these attacks were the deliberate work of terrorists who use violence to impose their dark ideology on others, especially women and girls; who are fighting to control much of the Middle East today; and who seek to wage perpetual war on the West."

Some in the U.S. intelligence community believe that the attack on the Benghazi consulate that killed Amb. **Chris Stevens** and three other Americans was led by the Benghazi chapter of Ansar al-Sharia, an extremist group thought to have ties to Al Qaeda in the Islamic Magreb (AQIM), al Qaeda's North Africa affiliate.

Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton suggested that groups** with links to AQIM were responsible for the Beghazi attack in remarks at a U.N. meeting on Sept. 26, but State Department and White House spokespersons have repeated again and again that the precise identity of the attackers remains unknown pending an FBI investigation.

Romney will invoke the original 9/11 attacks as part of his argument that Obama has failed to respond to the rapid changes in the Middle East with a proactive and coherent strategy to preserve American power and influence in the region.

"I know the president hopes for a safer, freer, and a more prosperous Middle East allied with the United States. I share this hope. But hope is not a strategy," Romney will say. "We cannot support our friends and defeat our enemies in the Middle East when our words are not backed up by deeds, when our defense spending is being arbitrarily and deeply cut, when we have no trade agenda to speak of, and the perception of our strategy is not one of partnership, but of passivity.... It is time to change course in the Middle East."

Romney will promise to increase and tighten sanctions against Iran, permanently base one aircraft carrier group each in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Gulf, condition aid to Egypt, and "recommit America to the goal of a democratic, prosperous Palestinian state living side by side in peace and security with the Jewish state of Israel."

On Syria, Romney will promise to identify opposition groups that share American values and make sure they get weapons to defeat the Syrian regime's tanks, helicopters, and fighter jets. He won't say that the United States should arm the rebels directly -- only that it should make sure they get advanced weaponry.

On Afghanistan, Romney will accuse Obama of timing the withdrawal of U.S. forces based on political considerations, a reference to the fact that Obama withdrew all 30,000 "surge" forces last month. But Romney will reiterate his call to complete the withdrawal of combat troops by the end of 2014, so long as the conditions on the ground permit and in consultation with the military chain of command.

"I believe that if America does not lead, others will -- others who do not share our interests and our values -- and the world will grow darker, for our friends and for us. America's security and the cause of freedom cannot afford four more years like the last four years," Romney will say. "The 21st century can and must be an American century. It began with terror, war, and economic calamity. It is our duty to steer it onto the path of freedom, peace, and prosperity."

The Romney campaign held a conference call for reporters Sunday to preview the speech, which included participation by campaign foreign-policy coordinator **Alex Wong** and senior advisors **Rich Williamson** and **Eliot Cohen**.

Wong said that Obama has stepped away from American leadership and undermined the basis of American power. He also said the standing of the United States has been weakened in every region of the world, and likened Obama's foreign policy to that of former President **Jimmy Carter**.

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"If Mitt Romney wants to have a debate about foreign policy, we have a message for him: bring it on... To date, all Mitt Romney has offered is bluster and platitudes. He's erratically shifted positions on every major foreign policy issue, including intervening in Libya, which he was against before he was for," Obama for America spokeswoman **Liz Smith** said in the statement.

"'Mainstream' foreign policy isn't what Mitt Romney is putting forward: having plans to start wars but not end them; wanting to keep 30,000 U.S. troops in Iraq indefinitely; exploding our defense spending to levels the Pentagon has not asked for, with no way to pay for it; insulting our allies and partners around the world on the campaign trail; and calling Russia our number-one geopolitical foe. If that's where Mitt Romney thinks the mainstream is, he needs to find a better compass. It's clear that on every measure, Mitt Romney fails the commander-in-chief test."

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RELEASE IN
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From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 9:40 AM
To: 'millsd@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

Very nice. Can you talk?

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 09:00 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

From: Hensman, Chris D
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 08:19 AM
To: Coordination
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Fw: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

From: PA Clips [mailto:paclips@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 07:58 AM
To: PA-Monitoring-Group-DL; Moe, Grace T; Masonis, Melinda J; Atchison, Mark C; NEA-Press-DL; DS PA Media; Shore, Rhonda H; Balenger, De'Ara N
Subject: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

By Margaret Talev on October 14, 2012
BusinessWeek
Bloomberg News

The father of Christopher Stevens, the U.S. ambassador to Libya who was killed in the attack in Benghazi last month, said his son's death shouldn't be politicized in the presidential campaign.

"It would really be abhorrent to make this into a campaign issue," Jan Stevens, 77, said in a telephone interview from his home in Loomis, California, as he prepares for a memorial service for his son next week.

Mitt Romney, the Republican nominee, has criticized President Barack Obama for not providing adequate security in Libya, saying the administration has left the country exposed to a deadly terrorist attack.

The ambassador's father, a lawyer, said politicians should await the findings of a formal investigation before making accusations or judgments.

"The security matters are being adequately investigated," Stevens said. "We don't pretend to be experts in security. It has to be objectively examined. That's where it belongs. It does not belong in the campaign arena." Stevens said he has been getting briefings from the State Department on the progress of the investigation.

'Very Optimistic'

Stevens said while he was close with his son, "we weren't that familiar with the day-to-day activities" he undertook in Libya. On the occasions when his son called home, Stevens said, he didn't share many details about his work other than to say that "he was very optimistic about the results of the election and the new government." They last spoke by phone in August and by e-mail days before his son's death.

Stevens, a registered Democrat, said he isn't politically active. He declined to say how he'll vote in the presidential election.

He said his son, who was a career diplomat and had worked for Republican and Democratic presidents, hadn't expressed concerns to him about security or support from the administration. "He felt very strongly about Secretary Clinton," Stevens said, referring to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. "He felt she was an extremely able person."

As for whether he had the tools and protection he needed for his job, Stevens said of his son: "We didn't get into that" sort of discussion. "I never heard him say a critical word about the State Department or the administration, or any administration for that matter. He came up through the foreign service, not politics."

Obama Call

Stevens said neither of the two presidential campaigns reached out to him, and that he is grateful for that. He said Obama telephoned him after his son's death to express his regrets and talk about identifying the perpetrators who should be brought to justice, and that the conversation was in the context of his presidential duties and not political.

While polls indicate that voters say Obama would do a better job on foreign policy issues, Republicans see an opportunity to cut into that advantage, pointing to surveys showing that voters have grown less satisfied since the Sept. 11 assault in Libya.

Stevens stopped short of directly criticizing either candidate.

"I'm not sure exactly what he's been saying and not saying, but our position is it would be a real shame if this were politicized," Stevens said, referring to Romney. "Our concern now is memorializing Chris and remembering his contribution to the country."

Campaign Shift

Romney's current foreign policy position marks a shift in tone from a campaign that has focused almost exclusively on economic issues and jobs.

The Romney team is attempting to link two campaign messages by charging Obama with weakening American interests abroad at the same time as he's failed to boost the economy back home.

Speaking to voters on Oct. 12 in Richmond, Virginia, Romney chastised Vice President Joe Biden for his defense of the administration's actions in the Libya attack.

"He's doubling down on denial, and we need to understand exactly what happened as opposed to just having people brush this aside," Romney said.

During last week's vice presidential debate, Biden said the White House wasn't told of a request for additional security at the mission in Benghazi the month before the incident.

State Department official Eric Nordstrom, who served as a regional security officer in Tripoli until July, told a congressional committee that he was turned down when he requested an extension of a 16-member security support team that was scheduled to leave Libya in August.

'Mission Creep'

Romney hasn't specified what he would do differently than the administration in Libya. In a speech at the Virginia Military Institute earlier last week, he called for support of Libya's "efforts to forge a lasting government" and to pursue the "terrorists who attacked our consulate."

That view is at odds with the position Romney took more than a year ago, when he opposed expanding the intervention in Libya to capture Muammar Qaddafi, calling it "mission creep and mission muddle" in April 2011.

Neither the administration's initial public report that the attack began with a spontaneous demonstration against an anti-Islamic video clip nor Republican suggestions that it was a planned attack tied to al-Qaeda are supported by U.S. intelligence reports or by accounts of the night provided to a Bloomberg reporter by Benghazi residents.

White House Press Secretary Jay Carney told reporters that "the president wants to get to the bottom of what happened."

Carney also sought to minimize questions about why the president and other administration officials were slow to publicly acknowledge the role of terrorism in the attack.

"As time went on, additional information became available," Carney said. "Clearly, we know more today than we did on the Sunday after the attack. But as the process moves forward and more information becomes available, we will be sure to continue consulting with you."

Haider Karzai
PA/PRS

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, October 8, 2012 7:27 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: The Cable: Romney to compare Benghazi to original 9/11 attacks

From: Blumenfeld, Joshua R
Sent: Monday, October 08, 2012 07:21 AM
To: Coordination
Cc: Reines, Philippe I; Mills, Cheryl D; Adams, David S
Subject: Fw: The Cable: Romney to compare Benghazi to original 9/11 attacks

Fyi.

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Subject: The Cable: Romney to compare Benghazi to original 9/11 attacks

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Posted: 07 Oct 2012 05:01 PM PDT



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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Cheryl Mills <[REDACTED]>
Sent: Wednesday, November 28, 2012 8:00 AM
To: H
Subject: Fwd: Politico - McCain and Hillary's bipartisan bond

B6

FYI

From: Lieberman, Dean
Sent: Wednesday, November 28, 2012 7:56 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I; Adams, David S; Verma, Richard R; Coordination
Subject: Politico - McCain and Hillary's bipartisan bond

The Graham quote referenced on the call is pasted below and the full text of the piece follows:

But as Clinton exits the world stage — albeit perhaps temporarily — Graham and other Republicans are signaling she may not escape the Benghazi debacle entirely unscathed.

"Just stay tuned," Graham said. "I fully intend, as much as I like Secretary Clinton, to challenge her to tell me why you did not reinforce the consulate, what did you do with the Aug. 16 cable that says there are 10 Al Qaeda militia roaming around and we can't withstand a coordinated attack.

"I think the State Department has a lot of explaining to do."

McCain and Hillary's bipartisan bond

Politico

Tuesday, November 27, 2012 06:36 PM EST

By: Scott Wong

Sen. John McCain renewed his attacks on U.N. Ambassador Susan Rice on Tuesday, but he's gone soft on Hillary.

As she wraps up her tenure at Foggy Bottom and mulls over a possible 2016 White House bid, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's decade-old bipartisan friendship with McCain appears to have helped shield her from GOP fire — even as her agency finds itself in the thick of a partisan battle over Benghazi.

But McCain and Clinton also are battle-tested veterans of Washington who have seen their families become targets of nasty political attacks — and who have often turned to laughter to get through it all. For Clinton, it was Monica Lewinsky; for McCain it was the smear campaign during the 2000 GOP primary aimed at his Bangladesh-born adopted daughter.

"I think it was the best version of strange bedfellows and at the same time a perfect match," Tamera Luzzatto, Clinton's Senate chief of staff from 2001 to 2009, said of her former boss's relationship with McCain. "They share a sense of public service but also a sense of humor."

McCain, a leading voice on defense and foreign policy matters, has spent weeks belittling Rice as "not very bright," incompetent and "not qualified" to succeed Clinton as secretary of state. Rice's offense: incorrectly characterizing the attack on the U.S. Consulate in Libya as sparked by spontaneous protests rather than as a deliberate act of terrorism — a lapse she has blamed on administration talking points that were approved by intelligence officials.

But the Arizona Republican has largely spared Clinton from any criticism over the Sept. 11 Benghazi assault that killed Ambassador Chris Stevens and three other Americans. When Clinton tried to fall on her sword, saying she alone was responsible for diplomatic security, McCain wouldn't have it. He called Clinton's act "laudable" but was adamant that the buck stops with President Barack Obama and that he would try to block Rice's possible nomination as the nation's top diplomat.

While McCain seemed to dial back his attacks on Rice over the weekend, the senator was at it again Tuesday after he and fellow GOP Sens. Lindsey Graham of South Carolina and Kelly Ayotte of New Hampshire sat down with Rice at the Capitol to quiz her about why the Obama administration mischaracterized the attack as other than terrorism.

"We are significantly troubled by many of the answers that we got and some that we didn't get," McCain told reporters after the meeting. "It is clear the information that she gave the American people was incorrect."

Asked pointedly why he hasn't been as critical of Clinton, McCain did not directly mention the secretary, who has decided against staying on for a second term.

"I've said it continuously that the State Department has responsibility," McCain told POLITICO. "I have been very critical of the State Department and their actions. I've been critical of everybody's actions."

It wasn't the first time this year that McCain came to the former New York senator's defense. In July, McCain took to the Senate floor and denounced Rep. Michele Bachmann and four other House Republicans for alleging that longtime Clinton aide Huma Abedin was working with the Muslim Brotherhood to infiltrate the top rungs of the U.S. government.

The allegations, McCain said in his speech, amount to an "unwarranted and unfounded attack on an honorable woman, a dedicated American and a loyal public servant."

The gratitude from the Clinton camp that day was palpable.

"We were all so very moved when Sen. McCain took to the Senate floor that day. It was nothing short of remarkable," said Clinton's longtime spokesman, Philippe Reines. "But after being around him all those years in the Senate and since, and seeing firsthand his fondness and respect for Huma, it was not surprising at all.

"And when someone of Sen. McCain's stature stood up for her," he said, "it really gives people pause before trafficking in vicious and disgusting lies."

McCain first met Clinton when she was first lady and got to know her better as he worked with her husband in the mid-1990s on normalizing diplomatic relations with Vietnam, where the former Navy pilot endured 5½ years as a prison of war after his plane was shot down. The daughter of a World War II Navy officer herself, Clinton admired McCain's military service, and the two spent countless hours together at markups and hearings of the Senate Armed Services Committee after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks.

"Like her husband, she really studies the issues, she is a policy wonk, and I mean that in a complimentary fashion," McCain told POLITICO on Tuesday. "She puts people at ease, she is a role model to a lot of young women in America — my daughter [Meghan] admires her a great deal.

“Some people you hit it off with, some people not so much. She and I seemed to hit it off with each other and enjoy each other’s company.”

Senate Homeland Security Committee Chairman Joe Lieberman (I-Conn.) has traveled extensively with McCain and Clinton and watched their relationship grow.

“To put it mildly, they don’t always agree. John and I have been pestering and pressuring the administration, including the secretary, on current matters like Syria, that we’re not doing enough in Syria,” Lieberman told POLITICO. “But there is a strong, mutually respectful, personal relationship, and it’s quite cordial.

“When we’re all together, we not only talk seriously — we laugh a lot.”

In 2008, McCain and Clinton were almost presidential rivals — if not for a young, charismatic upstart named Barack Obama. Four years earlier, the two senators found themselves side by side on a small cruise ship in the Arctic Circle, bundled up in jackets and ball caps and gazing at the “midnight sun” in Svalbard.

Invited by the Norwegian government, Clinton and McCain flew to the remote archipelago — famous for its 24 hours of continuous sunlight — to see firsthand the effects of climate change on the melting ice cap.

It was “a shared experience being in a place where we sat outside and watched the sun go down and just touch the horizon and then go back up,” McCain recalled.

Svalbard would be the first of many trips abroad together for the future secretary of state and 2008 GOP standard-bearer: During a 2006 visit to Estonia, Clinton reportedly challenged McCain to a vodka-drinking contest, the two have frequently met up at the annual Munich Security Conference, and they’ve dropped into military hot spots like Iraq.

“They are two people I would invite to a party,” said Graham, another frequent traveling companion.

But as Clinton exits the world stage — albeit perhaps temporarily — Graham and other Republicans are signaling she may not escape the Benghazi debacle entirely unscathed.

"Just stay tuned," Graham said. "I fully intend, as much as I like Secretary Clinton, to challenge her to tell me why you did not reinforce the consulate, what did you do with the Aug. 16 cable that says there are 10 Al Qaeda militia roaming around and we can't withstand a coordinated attack.

"I think the State Department has a lot of explaining to do."

But is Clinton qualified to be president?

"Of course she is. She's already run, came very close to the nomination, been a very successful secretary of state," McCain said. "And I wouldn't be surprised if her husband had a certain yearning to live in the White House again."

Once you've been there you want to go back, a reporter replied.

"I wouldn't know," McCain said, chuckling.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
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To: H
Subject: Fw: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

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Subject: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

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By Margaret Talev on October 14, 2012
BusinessWeek
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Campaign Shift

Romney's current foreign policy position marks a shift in tone from a campaign that has focused almost exclusively on economic issues and jobs.

The Romney team is attempting to link two campaign messages by charging Obama with weakening American interests abroad at the same time as he's failed to boost the economy back home.

Speaking to voters on Oct. 12 in Richmond, Virginia, Romney chastised Vice President Joe Biden for his defense of the administration's actions in the Libya attack.

"He's doubling down on denial, and we need to understand exactly what happened as opposed to just having people brush this aside," Romney said.

During last week's vice presidential debate, Biden said the White House wasn't told of a request for additional security at the mission in Benghazi the month before the incident.

State Department official Eric Nordstrom, who served as a regional security officer in Tripoli until July, told a congressional committee that he was turned down when he requested an extension of a 16-member security support team that was scheduled to leave Libya in August.

'Mission Creep'

Romney hasn't specified what he would do differently than the administration in Libya. In a speech at the Virginia Military Institute earlier last week, he called for support of Libya's "efforts to forge a lasting government" and to pursue the "terrorists who attacked our consulate."

That view is at odds with the position Romney took more than a year ago, when he opposed expanding the intervention in Libya to capture Muammar Qaddafi, calling it "mission creep and mission muddle" in April 2011.

Neither the administration's initial public report that the attack began with a spontaneous demonstration against an anti-Islamic video clip nor Republican suggestions that it was a planned attack tied to al-Qaeda are supported by U.S. intelligence reports or by accounts of the night provided to a Bloomberg reporter by Benghazi residents.

White House Press Secretary Jay Carney told reporters that "the president wants to get to the bottom of what happened."

Carney also sought to minimize questions about why the president and other administration officials were slow to publicly acknowledge the role of terrorism in the attack.

"As time went on, additional information became available," Carney said. "Clearly, we know more today than we did on the Sunday after the attack. But as the process moves forward and more information becomes available, we will be sure to continue consulting with you."

Haider Karzai
PA/PRS

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 10:02 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Inquiry Into Libya Attack Is Sharply Critical of State Dept. (NYT)

From: OpsNewsTicker@state.gov [mailto:OpsNewsTicker@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 09:51 PM
To: NEWS-H; NEWS-Mahogany
Subject: Inquiry Into Libya Attack Is Sharply Critical of State Dept. (NYT)

WASHINGTON (New York Times) - An independent inquiry into the attack on the United States diplomatic mission in Libya that killed four Americans on Sept. 11 sharply criticizes the State Department for a lack of seasoned security personnel and relying on untested local militias to safeguard the compound, Congressional and State Department officials said Tuesday night.

The investigation into the attacks on the diplomatic mission and C.I.A. annex that killed Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens and three others also faulted State Department officials in Washington for ignoring requests from officials at the American Embassy in Tripoli for more guards and safety upgrades to the diplomatic mission.

The panel also blamed the State Department for waiting for specific warnings of imminent attacks to act rather than adapting security procedures and protocols to a deteriorating security environment. By this spring, Benghazi, a hotbed of militant activity in eastern Libya, had experienced a string of assassinations and attacks, including one on a British envoy's motorcade.

Finally, the report also blamed two major State Department bureaus — diplomatic security and Near Eastern affairs — for failing to coordinate and plan adequate security at the mission. The panel also determined that a number of officials had shown poor leadership.

In response to the panel's findings, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton said in a letter to Congress that she was accepting all 29 of the panel's recommendations, several of which are classified.

Mrs. Clinton is taking specific steps to correct the problems, according to officials. They say the State Department is asking permission from Congress to transfer \$1.3 billion from funds that had been allocated for spending in Iraq. This includes \$553 million for additional Marine security guards; \$130 million for diplomatic security personnel; and \$691 million for improving security at installations abroad.

On Monday, an independent panel that was established to investigate the attack presented the report to the State Department. The panel, called an accountability review board, is led by Thomas R. Pickering, a veteran diplomat. It includes four other members, among them Mike Mullen, the retired admiral who served as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The board is authorized by a 1986 law intended to strengthen security at United States diplomatic missions.

The State Department sent a lengthy classified version of the report to Congress on Tuesday. Mr. Pickering and Admiral Mullen are scheduled to meet with members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee in closed session on Wednesday.

On Thursday, William J. Burns and Thomas R. Nides, both deputy secretaries of States, will testify to both panels. Mrs. Clinton, who is still recovering from a concussion she suffered last week after fainting while sick from a stomach flu, is at home this week. The head of the House panel, Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, a Florida Republican, however, has made clear that she planned to ask Mrs. Clinton to testify at a future time.

NewsTickers alert senior Department officials to breaking news. This item appears as it did in its original publication and does not contain analysis or commentary by Department sources.

RELEASE IN
PART B5

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 8:09 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: DS

Fysa - calling shortly

From: Burns, William J
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2012 07:26 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: DS

Hi,

Went down to talk to Eric this evening, but missed him. Sent him note, and will follow up tomorrow. Also had long talk with Pat. He's coping, but as you well know it's not easy.

I like the Greg Starr idea.

Take care,

Bill

B5

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 9:46 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

In car driving so can in a bit

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 09:39 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

Very nice. Can you talk?

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 09:00 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

From: Hensman, Chris D
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 08:19 AM
To: Coordination
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Fw: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

From: PA Clips [mailto:paclips@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 07:58 AM
To: PA-Monitoring-Group-DL; Moe, Grace T; Masonis, Melinda J; Atchison, Mark C; NEA-Press-DL; DS PA Media; Shore, Rhonda H; Balenger, De'Ara N
Subject: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

By Margaret Talev on October 14, 2012
BusinessWeek
Bloomberg News

The father of Christopher Stevens, the U.S. ambassador to Libya who was killed in the attack in Benghazi last month, said his son's death shouldn't be politicized in the presidential campaign.

"It would really be abhorrent to make this into a campaign issue," Jan Stevens, 77, said in a telephone interview from his home in Loomis, California, as he prepares for a memorial service for his son next week.

Mitt Romney, the Republican nominee, has criticized President Barack Obama for not providing adequate security in Libya, saying the administration has left the country exposed to a deadly terrorist attack.

The ambassador's father, a lawyer, said politicians should await the findings of a formal investigation before making accusations or judgments.

"The security matters are being adequately investigated," Stevens said. "We don't pretend to be experts in security. It has to be objectively examined. That's where it belongs. It does not belong in the campaign arena." Stevens said he has been getting briefings from the State Department on the progress of the investigation.

'Very Optimistic'

Stevens said while he was close with his son, "we weren't that familiar with the day-to-day activities" he undertook in Libya. On the occasions when his son called home, Stevens said, he didn't share many details about his work other than to say that "he was very optimistic about the results of the election and the new government." They last spoke by phone in August and by e-mail days before his son's death.

Stevens, a registered Democrat, said he isn't politically active. He declined to say how he'll vote in the presidential election.

He said his son, who was a career diplomat and had worked for Republican and Democratic presidents, hadn't expressed concerns to him about security or support from the administration. "He felt very strongly about Secretary Clinton," Stevens said, referring to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. "He felt she was an extremely able person."

As for whether he had the tools and protection he needed for his job, Stevens said of his son: "We didn't get into that" sort of discussion. "I never heard him say a critical word about the State Department or the administration, or any administration for that matter. He came up through the foreign service, not politics."

Obama Call

Stevens said neither of the two presidential campaigns reached out to him, and that he is grateful for that. He said Obama telephoned him after his son's death to express his regrets and talk about identifying the perpetrators who should be brought to justice, and that the conversation was in the context of his presidential duties and not political.

While polls indicate that voters say Obama would do a better job on foreign policy issues, Republicans see an opportunity to cut into that advantage, pointing to surveys showing that voters have grown less satisfied since the Sept. 11 assault in Libya.

Stevens stopped short of directly criticizing either candidate.

"I'm not sure exactly what he's been saying and not saying, but our position is it would be a real shame if this were politicized," Stevens said, referring to Romney. "Our concern now is memorializing Chris and remembering his contribution to the country."

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White House Press Secretary Jay Carney told reporters that "the president wants to get to the bottom of what happened."

Carney also sought to minimize questions about why the president and other administration officials were slow to publicly acknowledge the role of terrorism in the attack.

"As time went on, additional information became available," Carney said. "Clearly, we know more today than we did on the Sunday after the attack. But as the process moves forward and more information becomes available, we will be sure to continue consulting with you."

Haider Karzai
PA/PRS

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@dintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 8:23 AM
To: 'millsd@state.gov'
Subject: Re: FOX from Caitlin

Can you call me?

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 07:59 AM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Subject: FW: FOX from Caitlin

FYSA

From: Laszczyc, Joanne
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 7:57 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: FOX from Caitlin

VAN SUSTEREN: Senator, there is a report from the State Department that Secretary of State Hillary Clinton will testify on Benghazi before the middle of January. There has been some criticism of whether or not she has a concussion. I believe she has a concussion. What do you think?

MCCAIN: I know that in my view, Secretary Clinton, when she said she assumed full responsibility, she certainly has a lot of responsibility for what happened in Benghazi. That's -- that report made that very clear. **But I must say, I have never seen Secretary Clinton back down from a fight. And I have never seen her back down. And I believe that she is now not physically well enough to testify and she will testify the middle of January.**

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 12:40 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Sure you've seen all this info, but start on graph 5. Sid

Fyi.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Wednesday, December 19, 2012 09:01 AM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Subject: H: Sure you've seen all this info, but start on graph 5. Sid

B6

<http://www.juancole.com/2012/12/benghazis-criticizes-consular.html>

Benghazi's Deep Throat fingers Islamist Leaders for Attacks as State Dept Criticized on Consular Security

Posted on 12/19/2012 by Juan

The report saying that security was inadequate at the compound that the US had adopted as its ad hoc consulate in Benghazi, Libya, dominates today's headlines. That conclusion is obvious. The "consulate" was just a private residence taken over for this purpose by the US in the city. It was not constructed to be a US government building in a potentially hostile city.

I met a person who worked there when I was in Benghazi in June, and she told me that it wasn't even clear if the consulate would be retained after the first of this year. It was possibly temporary, depending on Congressional funding. (The Tea Party House hasn't been good on meeting requests for embassy security funds).

The more interesting question than why ad hoc arrangements should have been made for a consulate during and after the Libyan revolution (the answer to which seems fairly obvious) is, who is responsible for the string of assassinations and acts of violence in the city, of which the RPG attack on the consulate on September 11 was only one? Benghazi, with a population of over one million in a country of 6.5 million, is Libya's second largest city and was the epicenter of the revolution against the government of Muammar Qaddafi in 2011.

On November 22, Benghazi police chief Farej Darssi was assassinated. In October a police colonel barely avoided death—his car was wired to explode. A Libyan intelligence officer was killed in September. A general was assassinated in August. Some of these figures had worked for Qaddafi but had defected to the revolution. Qaddafi's security forces were responsible for the 1996 massacre of hardline fundamentalists at Abu Salim prison, and for making others just disappear. Likely the same shadowy cells that attacked the US consulate are behind the attacks on Benghazi police and army officers.

There may have been a break in the case. Last Saturday, Benghazi security forces loyal to the elected government in Tripoli, captured a man they suspected of being involved with the groups behind the violence. And, he appears to have been willing to spill the beans. So let's call him the Libyan Deep Throat.

Deep Throat is so knowledgeable about the conspiracies facing the city and so dangerous to those hatching them that the latter immediately attempted to spring him from jail.

On Sunday morning, militants attacked the police facility next to the holding cell where the man is being detained. A policeman at that station died in a hail of bullets from the attackers, and they called for back-up. The police car that sped to the scene was ambushed and three policemen in it were killed. Still, the police stood their ground and fought off the assault, and they kept their valuable suspect in custody, with all his valuable testimony.

Shortly after midnight, on Monday morning, small explosives were set off at the Garyounis police station in Benghazi, damaging a couple of automobiles but otherwise doing little damage. Then explosives were set off at al-Uruba police station, which also took sniper fire, but neither resulted in casualties.

The police became vigilant, and they apprehended a shady-looking man skulking around near the al-Hadaeq police station, finding him to have two rocket propelled grenades in his possession, which he was apparently intending to fire at the station.

In other words, the capture of Libyan Deep Throat has set off a gang war on the police, who are being informed by bombings and shootings that they must let their informant go or risk their

So what is Deep Throat saying? According to local journalist Mohamed Bujenah of the Libyan Herald, a senior figure in the Benghazi police told him that the informant had fingered as many as 7 prominent Muslim fundamentalist leaders in connection with these attacks, of whom the police named 6 explicitly:

1. Sufyan Ben Qumu, from the notoriously radical town of Derna, and a former prisoner at Guantanamo
2. Ahmad Bukatela, leader of the Ubaida Militia
3. Muhammad al-Zahawi, head of the Ansar al-Sharia militia
4. Muhammad al-Gharabi, a leader of the Rafallah al-Sahati Militia
5. Ismail Sallabi, another leader of Rafallah al-Sahati
6. Salim Nabous, head of the Zawiya Martyrs' Brigade

It is just a newspaper article. We don't know if the informant actually named these individuals or if he did so to escape torture, in which case we can't trust what he said. But if the allegations are true, there is collusion among several hardline militias in the city to create instability in hopes of taking it over.

The new, elected, prime minister Ali Zeidan, has started asserting himself militarily. He closed the country's southern borders against instability in the Sahel. He may well have some risky house cleaning to do in Benghazi.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Nides, Thomas R <NidesTR@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 7:47 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: Thank you so much

Thanks I wish I could tell u I am looking forward to this but it would be a lie! Get better...

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 07:38 AM
To: Burns, William J; Nides, Thomas R
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Thank you so much

Dear Bill and Tom,

I'm sorry that I cannot be on the Hill today as we had long planned, but very grateful that you both will be. The Department and I appreciate your leadership everyday.

So, I'll be nursing my cracked head and cheering you on as you "remain calm and carry on"!

Happy Holidays—H

RELEASE
IN FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2012 8:17 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: Speech draft for Friday at CSIS

Survive, yes. Pat helped level set things tonight and we'll see where we are in the morning.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2012 08:12 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Speech draft for Friday at CSIS

Did we survive the day?

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2012 07:55 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Speech draft for Friday at CSIS

Sorry we were a couple hours late!

From: Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2012 7:55 PM
To: HRC (HDR22@clintonemail.com)
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Speech draft for Friday at CSIS

Madam Secretary, here is our latest draft of Friday's speech. It's long – about 30 minutes in this version – but if you're comfortable with the general direction we'll streamline it.

Thanks
Dan

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Monday, October 29, 2012 3:35 PM
To: H

we are preparing for sandy here. parts of the city are crazy already. there is a crane on top of a high building on 57th street that they think is about to fall which is pretty crazy. everything is shut down but its been a good conference call day!

i talked to chris this morning and she is gathering things for you based on all the the things we discussed. there is a possibility of 3 nice gowns and a lot of blouses and jackets. i think we should find a day in ny sometime soon so you can try things on.

Had a long visit with my friend who was in benghazi. will download in person but think very important for you to call

the injured DS officer. he is now well enough to talk. he doesnt want a visit but a check in call and asking him if he needs anything would be good. monica will remind you of this.

Also heard from both the bush and reagan libraries over the last few days. neither wants to host the oscar exhibit after it leaves little rock so i think we will focus on making that exhibit amazing and i will explain situation to odlr.
more later

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B7(C),B7(A)

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, October 18, 2012 8:06 AM
To: H
Subject: FW: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

B7(A)
B7(C)

Remind me to discuss.

From: Randolph, Lawrence M
Sent: Thursday, October 18, 2012 7:47 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Macmanus, Joseph E (S)
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: FW: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

FYI-

From: Slack, Anne
Sent: Thursday, October 18, 2012 7:40 AM
To: Hayes, Molly E; Kelley, Henry; Worman, Patrick F; S_SpecialAssistants
Cc: Siberell, Justin H; Rochman, Daniel A; Norman, Marc E; Witkowsky, Anne A; Thompson, Mark I; Sellitto, Michael P; Sidereas, Evyenia
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Colleagues,

Readout

[REDACTED]

Best, Anne
Anne Slack
Tunisia Desk
Office of Maghreb Affairs
U.S. Department of State
Tel.: 202-647-4676

B7(A)
B7(C)

From: Slack, Anne
Sent: Wednesday, October 17, 2012 7:55 AM
To: Slack, Anne; Hayes, Molly E; Kelley, Henry; Worman, Patrick F; S_SpecialAssistants
Cc: Siberell, Justin H; Rochman, Daniel A; Norman, Marc E; Witkowsky, Anne A; Thompson, Mark I; Sellitto, Michael P; Sidereas, Evyenia
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

Colleagues,

[REDACTED]

Regards, Anne

From: Slack, Anne
Sent: Wednesday, October 17, 2012 7:47 AM
To: Hayes, Molly E; Kelley, Henry; Worman, Patrick F; S_SpecialAssistants
Cc: Siberell, Justin H; Rochman, Daniel A; Norman, Marc E; Witkowsky, Anne A; Thompson, Mark I; Sellitto, Michael P; Sidereas, Evyenia
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

Colleagues,

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] They will provide an update
on Thursday before opening of business Washington time. We will keep you apprised.

Best, Anne
Anne Slack
Tunisia Desk
Office of Maghreb Affairs
U.S. Department of State
Tel.: 202-647-4676

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sidney Blumenthal [redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 1, 2012 3:47 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

Romney has an op-ed in today's Wall Street Journal playing off Stevens' murder to say Obama has put "security at risk," etc.

According to Politico yesterday, there was an internal argument within the Romney campaign over Libya. Obviously, the neocons and the Rove oriented faction (Ed Gillespie, Rove's surrogate is now a Romney campaign adviser) beat Stuart Stevens.

Romney is careening from tactic to tactic, hoping something will catch.

I wouldn't be surprised to see Romney raise the specter of the Muslim Brotherhood in charge of Egypt & Libya as a bogeyman. I have heard him do this within the last week.

-----Original Message-----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: [redacted]
Sent: Mon, Oct 1, 2012 3:04 pm
Subject: Re: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

B6

Thanks. I'm pushing to WH.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, October 01, 2012 10:13 AM
To: H
Subject: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

B6

http://www.salon.com/2012/10/01/gops_october_surprise/

Monday, Oct 1, 2012 09:30 AM EDT

GOP's October surprise?

They're calling it the "Jimmy Carter Strategy": Exploit Libya attack to paint Obama as weak on terrorism

By Craig Unger [redacted]

(Credit: AP/Al Behrman/Salon)

According to a highly reliable source, as Mitt Romney and President Barack Obama prepare for the first presidential debate Wednesday night, top Republican operatives are primed to unleash a new

two-pronged offensive that will attack Obama as weak on national security, and will be based, in part, on new intelligence information regarding the attacks in Libya that killed U.S. ambassador Chris Stevens on September 11.

The source, who has first-hand knowledge of private, high-level conversations in the Romney camp that took place in Washington, DC last week, said that at various times the GOP strategists referred to their new operation as the Jimmy Carter Strategy or the October Surprise.

He added that they planned to release what they hoped would be "a bombshell" that would make Libya and Obama's foreign policy a major issue in the campaign. "My understanding is that they have come up with evidence that the Obama administration had positive intelligence that there was going to be a terrorist attack on the intelligence."

The source described the Republicans as chortling with glee that the Obama administration "definitely had intel" about the attack before it happened. "Intelligence can be graded in different ways," he added, "and sometimes A and B don't get connected. But [the Romney campaign] will try to paint it to look like Obama had advance knowledge of the attack and is weak on terrorism."

He said they were jubilant about their new strategy and said they intended to portray Obama as a helpless, Jimmy Carter-like president and to equate the tragedy in Libya with President Carter's failed attempt to rescue American hostages in Iran in 1980. "They are so excited about it," he said. "Over and over again they talked about how it would be just like Jimmy Carter's failed raid. They feel it is going to give them a last-minute landslide in the election."

The source, however, said he was dubious about the tactic. "To me, it is indicative that they have lost touch with a huge portion of the electorate," he said.

The source declined to reveal the names of the GOP operatives who were present. But he said, "These were the top guys in the party. It was a private, unguarded planning conversation." He further described participants in the meeting as consisting of well-known names tied to the big Republican super PACs and people who had access to high-level national security intelligence.

"As usual, Karl Rove wasn't present," he said, "but some were close to Rove."

The source said that "there was quite a bit more" to the operation than simply revealing the intelligence regarding Libya. He declined to discuss what he described as the second phase of the operation.

However, already there is evidence that the first phase of the operation is underway. On Wednesday, September 26, on Fox News, Karl Rove called Obama's reaction to what happened in Libya "inexplicable" and added that Obama is "more intent on campaigning than meeting his responsibilities as commander-in-chief." He went on to warn that Obama's policies in Libya endangered the U.S. with regard to Iran. "I am astonished," Rove said. "We are projecting weakness when we need to be projecting strength."

Similarly, former New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a one-time GOP presidential hopeful who became known as the mayor of 9/11, followed Rove in criticizing Obama on the attack in Libya. "This is a deliberate attempt to cover up the truth, from an administration that claimed it wanted to be the most transparent in history," he told Fox News. "And it's the worst kind of cover-up: the kind of cover-up that involves our national security. This is a cover-up that involves the slaughter of four Americans."

Giuliani added that the Obama White House wanted to dismiss the role played by al-Qaeda because it seemed to diminish the triumph of having killed Osama bin Laden. "I think it's because they have this narrative that they defeated al-Qaeda," he said. "They never say the words 'Islamic fundamentalist terrorism'. They want to wish it away. The president was moving on to Asia - he was going to declare this a great victory for himself and unfortunately, this terrible act of terror intervened in their very convenient narrative."

Likewise, Bob Corker, Republican senator from Tennessee, described the administration's response to "the terrorist attack" in Libya as "bizarre." And on Sunday, September 30, both Mitt Romney and vice-presidential nominee Paul Ryan joined in the attacks. "I think they want to do their very best to keep the people of America from understanding exactly what happened. We expect candor, we expect transparency, particularly as it relates to terrorism," Romney said.

Added Ryan, "Why is he (Obama) not on the same page with his own administration officials who are saying that this is a terrorist attack? We'll leave it up to you to decide whether it's a cover-up or not." In an apparently related development, a Politico article posted last night said Romney advisers were divided over how aggressively to attack President Obama over his handling of the events in Libya. One unnamed Romney adviser described them as "a huge gift" to the campaign. "Across the board – domestic, economic and foreign-policy issues – President Obama has been outmatched by events," he said. "He's an observer of events, not a shaper of events. Everywhere you look, he's been outmatched." But other Romney advisers, led by media strategist Stuart Stevens, wanted to stick to the economy as the central issue. "They'll tell you that you've got to focus people on the fact that their economic prospects are not very good and all that," the aide told Politico. "Well, Romney's been trying to do that now since he clinched the nomination at the end of April – and he's failed. The president is better at deflecting attention from the bad news than Romney is at driving home the impact of the bad news on individual voters."

Craig Unger is the New York Times bestselling author of "House of Bush, House of Saud," and a frequent analyst on CNN, ABC Radio, Air America, The Charlie Rose Show, NBC's Today Show and other broadcast outlets. He has written for The New Yorker, Esquire and many other publications and is currently a contributing editor at Vanity Fair.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, November 22, 2012 6:09 AM
To: H
Subject: AP - Rice defends Benghazi remarks

AP - Rice defends Benghazi remarks
By: Associated Press
November 21, 2012 07:03 PM EST

U.S. Ambassador Susan Rice said Wednesday her early account of the attack that killed the U.S. ambassador to Libya and three other Americans in Benghazi was based on the initial intelligence community assessments and was always subject to review and updates.

She said she respected Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), who has been critical of her, but said "some of the statements he's made about me have been unfounded, but I look forward to having the opportunity at the appropriate time to discuss all of this with him."

Her comments attributed the attacks to a mob enraged over an anti-Muslim video posted on YouTube were widely denounced by Republicans during the U.S. presidential campaign. The attack came on the 11th anniversary of the Sept. 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States, and her critics said it was clearly a terrorist attack timed to take place on the anniversary.

The focus has fallen on her because she is a longtime White House insider and is believed to be President Barack Obama's first choice to replace Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who is not expected to stay on during his second term.

Rice told reporters outside the U.N. Security Council: "As a senior U.S. diplomat, I agreed to a White House request to appear on the Sunday shows to talk about the full range of national security issues of the day, which at that time were primarily and particularly the protests that were enveloping and threatening many diplomatic facilities, American diplomatic facilities around the world, and Iran's nuclear program."

Hours before the Benghazi violence, a mob in Cairo attacked the U.S. Embassy there to denounce the videos as anti-Islamic blasphemy. Killed in the Benghazi violence were Ambassador Chris Stevens, foreign service officer Sean Smith and two former Navy SEALs, Glen Doherty and Tyrone Woods.

Rice said, "The attack on our facilities in Benghazi was obviously a significant piece of this" pattern.

"When discussing the attack against our facilities in Benghazi, I relied solely and squarely on the information provided to me by the intelligence community," she said.

"I made clear that the information was preliminary, and that our investigations would give us the definitive answers," she added.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, November 11, 2012 10:16 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Diplomats still in Benghazi say they had long questioned U.S. reliance on local militia (McClatchy)

From: Kennedy, Patrick F
Sent: Sunday, November 11, 2012 09:38 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: O'Connell, Andrew M; Johnson, Brock A; Boswell, Eric J
Subject: RE: Diplomats still in Benghazi say they had long questioned U.S. reliance on local militia (McClatchy)

Cheryl

Before the attack, Egypt, Turkey, Sudan, Italy, Tunisia, France and the UN had rep there

France and the UN pulled out after 9/11

But the question being posed has a false premise, i.e. that the US depended on foreign militia while the others depended on their own resources

The US had tertiary dependence on the militia, as our primary and secondary reliance was on first the DS personnel and the second on the QRF

The others did not have an internal second

Regards

pat

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sunday, November 11, 2012 7:19 AM
To: Johnson, Brock A
Cc: O'Connell, Andrew M; Kennedy, Patrick F
Subject: Re: Diplomats still in Benghazi say they had long questioned U.S. reliance on local militia (McClatchy)

Do we know who still has a dip presence there today?

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Saturday, November 10, 2012 03:35 PM
To: Johnson, Brock A
Subject: Re: Diplomats still in Benghazi say they had long questioned U.S. reliance on local militia (McClatchy)

Thank you

From: Johnson, Brock A
Sent: Saturday, November 10, 2012 01:12 PM

To: Mills, Cheryl D

Subject: Fw: Diplomats still in Benghazi say they had long questioned U.S. reliance on local militia (McClatchy)

From: Brock Johnson [mailto:]

Sent: Saturday, November 10, 2012 01:10 PM

To: Johnson, Brock A

Subject: Diplomats still in Benghazi say they had long questioned U.S. reliance on local militia (McClatchy)

B6

Diplomats still in Benghazi say they had long questioned U.S. reliance on local militia

By Nancy A. Youssef

McClatchy Newspapers



On the day of the attack, U.S. officials had spotted a police officer taking photos of the compound from a villa under construction across the streets. This was the view the officer would have had of the compound.

- Nancy A. Youssef/MCT

Even before the deadly Sept. 11 attack on the U.S. consulate that killed Ambassador Christopher Stevens and three other Americans, diplomats from other nations and Libyan security officials had questioned the wisdom of a U.S. decision to rely primarily on members of a local militia to protect its compound here.

Diplomats here told McClatchy that while it's customary to depend on local forces to protect diplomatic missions, only the United States of the 10 or so foreign missions here allowed the local militia to be the first line of defense. The others said they instead depended on military forces from their own country to provide security.

"A few months ago, there was a small attack here and the Libyans fled," said a diplomat from a European nation who asked that he not be further identified so that he could speak candidly about his assessment of security here. "After that, I decided to only use special forces" from his own country.

"We never considered using the brigades," he said, referring to the 17th of February Brigade, the local militia that was considered the primary security force for the U.S. mission. "We assumed the United States had a special relationship with the brigades."

Said another diplomat who requested anonymity for the same reasons: "I would never depend on the brigades."

The diplomat said he believed U.S. officials were unaware of the extremist links of those who were guarding them. "The mistake of the Americans was not following the trail of Islamic radicals," he said.

For some, the cost of supplying security made operating in Benghazi prohibitive. The British, for example, brought in their own troops and also hired Libyans to provide security, according to Khalid al Hadar, who owns the compound that the British used as their offices here. But after a June attack on the British ambassador's convoy, the British withdrew from Benghazi. A British official told McClatchy that the realization that security would require a larger – and more expensive – British force in Benghazi helped fuel that decision.

Hadar said the British still check in periodically on their compound, where a shot-up bulletproof windshield from the June ambush still sits in what was the consulate's carport.

Who was responsible for determining how the United States protected its consulate here remains unclear two months after Stevens' death. According to the State Department, the ambassador, in consultation with deputies

and security advisers, makes all security decisions, though they can be overruled from Washington. At a hearing of the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee last month, Eric Allan Nordstrom, who served as the chief security officer at the U.S. Embassy in Tripoli from September 2011 until July, testified that he had requested additional security.

Charlene Lamb, the deputy assistant secretary for diplomatic security, defended the security procedures that had been taken in Benghazi, telling the hearing that there were five American security guards – the number recommended by Nordstrom – along with Libyans in Benghazi when the attack took place.

“We had the correct number of assets in Benghazi at the time of 9/11,” she said.

It is unknown what Stevens’ own position on security in Benghazi was. A Western diplomat here said the trip was Stevens’ first extensive visit to Benghazi since he’d assumed the ambassador’s post in May. The diplomat said that when he heard the attack begin about 9:30 p.m., he assumed “that Chris was long gone.”

The diplomat expressed surprise that Stevens hadn’t been evacuated at the first sign of trouble. “We used to take training from the Americans” on diplomatic security, he said.

How the U.S. vetted its local security force in Benghazi may be among the questions to come up Thursday when the Senate Intelligence Committee holds a closed hearing on the attack. Witnesses expected to appear include Director of National Intelligence James Clapper and Matt Olsen, director of the National Counterterrorism Center. David Petraeus, who resigned Friday as director of the CIA after acknowledging an extramarital affair, had been scheduled to appear but will be replaced by Acting CIA Director Michael Morrell, according to Sen. Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif., the committee’s chairwoman.

On Wednesday, during a ceremony honoring Stevens, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said that the administration has, in the wake of the 9/11 attack, dispatched a joint State and Defense Department task force “to review high-threat posts to determine whether there are other improvements we need in light of the evolving security challenges we now face.”

Diplomats here, however, say they believe one such improvement had become obvious in the months after a NATO air campaign helped topple the government of longtime Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi: Don’t expect local forces to protect you when they can’t even protect themselves against local extremists and terrorists groups in a city now defined by reprisal attacks. In the past week alone, two police stations here were bombed and a police colonel’s patrol car was destroyed in front of his house; extremist groups seeking to wrest control of the city are the suspected culprits.

According to two guards who were at the compound that night, a four-member team from the 17th of February Brigade’s VIP protection unit was assigned to provide security inside the compound and serve as a quick-reaction force. The 17th of February guards lived in a house closest to the front gate. According to the guards, they tried to fend off the attack of as many 100 men that night, shooting repeatedly at them.

But 17th of February brigade leaders say they never considered themselves responsible for consulate security, and Najib Muftah, 25, a co-founder of the brigade’s VIP unit, denied that his group was in charge. “How could four people secure a consulate?” he said.

Consulate security that night was a hodge-podge of local groups, in addition to a handful of Americans, including Stevens’ bodyguard. Outside, members of Libya’s newly formed police force stood guard, sitting in their parked vehicles. In addition, as many as five unarmed Libyans who worked for the Blue Mountain Group, a Wales-based contractor, were stationed around the perimeter to watch for suspicious activity and search visitors to the compound.

But as a rowdy caravan of attackers came barreling down the road leading to the consulate, the police officers parked on the other side of the street from the consulate fled, according to a 31-year-old private security guard who was there that night. The security guard asked not to be named for fearing he would be targeted for working with Americans.

Earlier in the day, somewhere between 4 a.m. and 6 a.m., a member of the Blue Mountain Group reported that he had seen one of the police officers photographing the inside of the compound from the upper floor of a villa under construction across the street, according to the security guard, whose story confirms previous accounts.

But while reporters going through the consulate location in recent days discovered memos that suggested the consulate had complained to Libyan authorities about the incident, Interior Ministry officials in Benghazi said they were never contacted by U.S. officials.

Salah Daghaman, the newly named deputy minister of interior for Benghazi, said that in any case it would be unlikely that members of his police force would have challenged the Islamist group suspected of leading the Sept. 11 attack. He described his men as "afraid of Ansar al Shariah."

"Everyone has a gun, he said. "Benghazi is not secure."

Members of the 17th of February Brigade first formed a "VIP protection" unit shortly after the anti-Gadhafi uprising began in February 2011. A group of about 50, they were trained by Qataris to protect the cavalcade of politicians and diplomats who came to Benghazi, which was then the capital of rebel-controlled eastern Libya.

"If anything happened to the envoys that came to support the Libyan people, people would have believed Gadhafi claims that we are all al Qaida," Muftah said. Among the foreign visitors the brigade's VIP unit protected was French President Nicolas Sarkozy, who made a stunning visit here after Gadhafi's government collapsed.

Stevens, who had been a special representative to the rebel government during the civil war, used the protection unit as well, but not so much for security but as guides in the city, Muftah said. After the war, the brigade continued to provide escorts as the U.S. formalized its presence here; most likely, Muftah said, because it was the strongest force in Benghazi.

In addition, the brigade had a base less than a mile from the consulate that could provide additional forces if needed, as it did Sept. 11. "And we had good relations with the United States," Muftah said.

Once the rebel government moved to Tripoli and nations began to reopen embassies there, the United States kept working with the brigade, as many of its troops were incorporated into the newly formed Libyan army. Once Benghazi had a trained and running police force, the Americans asked for police forces to be stationed outside the consulate, said Fawzi Waniss, the head of the Benghazi Supreme Security Committee, the group with responsibility for melding Libya's many armed organizations into a unified force.

As the security situation deteriorated, several Libyan officials and the Blue Mountain guards said they urged the United States to buttress security at the consulate, even as Stevens was wildly popular among residents here. The Libyans, they said, could not secure themselves from a mounting extremist threat.

"I told them, you should have your own security," Waniss said. "Don't depend on the Libyans."

But others have suggested that the U.S. officials may have felt such a step was unnecessary because the CIA had established offices about a mile away and had promised to send security officers to the consulate, if needed. All of the diplomats interviewed for this story said they were unaware of the CIA station's existence.

That in fact happened on the night of Sept. 11, according to a CIA timeline, which said security officers from the CIA station, which U.S. officials refer to as an annex, were dispatched 25 minutes after the first reports of trouble. It took another 25 minutes for the force to reach the consulate, however, because of resistance from militants.

One diplomat here said that while he appreciated the effort of the CIA guards to render assistance, 25 minutes in such a situation "is too late."

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 1:51 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; H
Subject: RE: Ending of speech

One other flag:

B5

Other than that, we've just been tightening and trimming. I'll send an updated draft to your office first thing in the morning.

Dan

-----Original Message-----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 12:57 AM
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com'
Cc: Schwerin, Daniel B
Subject: Ending of speech

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 9:47 AM
To: 'millsd@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

I'm at home in NY so just call when and if you can.

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 09:45 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

In car driving so can in a bit

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 09:39 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

Very nice. Can you talk?

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 09:00 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

From: Hensman, Chris D
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 08:19 AM
To: Coordination
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Fw: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

From: PA Clips [mailto:paclips@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, October 14, 2012 07:58 AM
To: PA-Monitoring-Group-DL; Moe, Grace T; Masonis, Melinda J; Atchison, Mark C; NEA-Press-DL; DS PA Media; Shore, Rhonda H; Balenger, De'Ara N
Subject: Bloomberg: Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

Libyan Ambassador's Death Not a Political Issue, Says Dad

By Margaret Talev on October 14, 2012
BusinessWeek
Bloomberg News

The father of Christopher Stevens, the U.S. ambassador to Libya who was killed in the attack in Benghazi last month, said his son's death shouldn't be politicized in the presidential campaign.

"It would really be abhorrent to make this into a campaign issue," Jan Stevens, 77, said in a telephone interview from his home in Loomis, California, as he prepares for a memorial service for his son next week.

Mitt Romney, the Republican nominee, has criticized President Barack Obama for not providing adequate security in Libya, saying the administration has left the country exposed to a deadly terrorist attack.

The ambassador's father, a lawyer, said politicians should await the findings of a formal investigation before making accusations or judgments.

"The security matters are being adequately investigated," Stevens said. "We don't pretend to be experts in security. It has to be objectively examined. That's where it belongs. It does not belong in the campaign arena." Stevens said he has been getting briefings from the State Department on the progress of the investigation.

'Very Optimistic'

Stevens said while he was close with his son, "we weren't that familiar with the day-to-day activities" he undertook in Libya. On the occasions when his son called home, Stevens said, he didn't share many details about his work other than to say that "he was very optimistic about the results of the election and the new government." They last spoke by phone in August and by e-mail days before his son's death.

Stevens, a registered Democrat, said he isn't politically active. He declined to say how he'll vote in the presidential election.

He said his son, who was a career diplomat and had worked for Republican and Democratic presidents, hadn't expressed concerns to him about security or support from the administration. "He felt very strongly about Secretary Clinton," Stevens said, referring to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. "He felt she was an extremely able person."

As for whether he had the tools and protection he needed for his job, Stevens said of his son: "We didn't get into that" sort of discussion. "I never heard him say a critical word about the State Department or the administration, or any administration for that matter. He came up through the foreign service, not politics."

Obama Call

Stevens said neither of the two presidential campaigns reached out to him, and that he is grateful for that. He said Obama telephoned him after his son's death to express his regrets and talk about identifying the perpetrators who should be brought to justice, and that the conversation was in the context of his presidential duties and not political.

While polls indicate that voters say Obama would do a better job on foreign policy issues, Republicans see an opportunity to cut into that advantage, pointing to surveys showing that voters have grown less satisfied since the Sept. 11 assault in Libya.

Stevens stopped short of directly criticizing either candidate.

"I'm not sure exactly what he's been saying and not saying, but our position is it would be a real shame if this were politicized," Stevens said, referring to Romney. "Our concern now is memorializing Chris and remembering his contribution to the country."

Campaign Shift

Romney's current foreign policy position marks a shift in tone from a campaign that has focused almost exclusively on economic issues and jobs.

The Romney team is attempting to link two campaign messages by charging Obama with weakening American interests abroad at the same time as he's failed to boost the economy back home.

Speaking to voters on Oct. 12 in Richmond, Virginia, Romney chastised Vice President Joe Biden for his defense of the administration's actions in the Libya attack.

"He's doubling down on denial, and we need to understand exactly what happened as opposed to just having people brush this aside," Romney said.

During last week's vice presidential debate, Biden said the White House wasn't told of a request for additional security at the mission in Benghazi the month before the incident.

State Department official Eric Nordstrom, who served as a regional security officer in Tripoli until July, told a congressional committee that he was turned down when he requested an extension of a 16-member security support team that was scheduled to leave Libya in August.

'Mission Creep'

Romney hasn't specified what he would do differently than the administration in Libya. In a speech at the Virginia Military Institute earlier last week, he called for support of Libya's "efforts to forge a lasting government" and to pursue the "terrorists who attacked our consulate."

That view is at odds with the position Romney took more than a year ago, when he opposed expanding the intervention in Libya to capture Muammar Qaddafi, calling it "mission creep and mission muddle" in April 2011.

Neither the administration's initial public report that the attack began with a spontaneous demonstration against an anti-Islamic video clip nor Republican suggestions that it was a planned attack tied to al-Qaeda are supported by U.S. intelligence reports or by accounts of the night provided to a Bloomberg reporter by Benghazi residents.

White House Press Secretary Jay Carney told reporters that "the president wants to get to the bottom of what happened."

Carney also sought to minimize questions about why the president and other administration officials were slow to publicly acknowledge the role of terrorism in the attack.

"As time went on, additional information became available," Carney said. "Clearly, we know more today than we did on the Sunday after the attack. But as the process moves forward and more information becomes available, we will be sure to continue consulting with you."

Haider Karzai
PA/PRS

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 10:43 AM
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: FW: David Petraeus will testify on Benghazi (Politico)

FYI

From: Johnson, Brock A
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 10:11 AM
To: Coordination
Cc: Reines, Philippe I; Klevorick, Caitlin B; Kennedy, Patrick F; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: David Petraeus will testify on Benghazi (Politico)

David Petraeus will testify on Benghazi

By KATIE GLUECK | 11/14/12 9:32 AM EST Updated: 11/14/12 9:54 AM EST

Gen. David Petraeus will testify before the Senate Intelligence Committee. Senate Intelligence Committee Chairwoman Dianne Feinstein told POLITICO Wednesday morning. But the exact schedule has not been set for his testimony.

"Mr. Petraeus has indicated his willingness [to testify]. He is eager to come before the committee so we will work out the details," Feinstein said.

Earlier Wednesday, Fox News reported that the former director of the CIA who resigned last week over an extramarital affair, will still testify voluntarily on Friday before congressional intelligence committees regarding the Sept. 11 attack on the U.S. diplomatic facility in Benghazi, Libya.

Petraeus was initially slated to offer testimony on Benghazi at closed hearings before the Senate Intelligence Committee on Thursday.

Feinstein, the chairwoman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, said on CNN's "The Situation Room" on Tuesday that she believed Petraeus would eventually appear before the committee because he is a "responsible person."

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, October 3, 2012 4:21 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Tripoli trip

-----Original Message-----

From: Jones, Beth E
Sent: Wednesday, October 03, 2012 2:46 PM
To: Burns, William J; Sherman, Wendy R; Sullivan, Jacob J; Kennedy, Patrick F; Dibble, Elizabeth L; Maxwell, Raymond D; Roebuck, William V
Cc: Miller, James N; Blair, Oni K; Lakhdhir, Kamala S; Austin-Ferguson, Kathleen T; Lohman, Lee
Subject: Tripoli trip

Here are some highlights from Tripoli. Every meeting started with condolences on Chris Stevens and his three colleagues, and concern that Benghazi would permanently alter US-Libyan relations. I used the fact of the Secretary's meeting with President Magaref in NY last week and Deputy secretary Burns' Tripoli visit as the best evidence of US determination to continue To build the relationship with this new democracy. In addition:

- FBI INVESTIGATION: With the PM, DFM and Judicial leaders, I placed heavy emphasis on the importance of Libyan cooperation and transparency in the investigation. This was my primary focus; I stressed the point that Libya's performance will no doubt color American views on Libya at a time when Libya will want to burnish its reputation.
- SECURITY: I stressed that social stability and economic growth will depend on a dramatic improvement in security. All agreed without hesitation. All said that Libya needs outside assistance, but when we discussed details of how to move forward on the bilateral programs we already have underway, each was quick to identify specific stumbling blocks on each. Especially with the Acting FM, we also identified next steps.
- TRAINING: We made progress on 1208, CBW, and MANPADS training programs - details to follow front channel. We will also follow up on judicial exchanges and forensic training.
- NEW GOV'T FORMATION: Abushagur described the negotiation process as the single most difficult professional challenge he has ever faced. He told us the government would be ready by October 3. Even though others warned us he would miss that deadline due to difficulty in reconciling the competing demands of various parties and individuals, he obviously made good on his Oct. 3 announcement undertaking.
- DDR: Abushagur said there are three main groups of militants to reintegrate: part have jobs, part are heading back to university, and part will be offered vocational training. He said he will create a new Ministry of Human Development to oversee DDR; it's unclear how this new ministry will relate to numerous other GOL efforts on this. He expressed concern about the approximately 17,000 criminals released by Qadhafi, some of whom joined militias.
- TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE: The political leaders and judges all pledged to strike a balance between respecting the rights of detainees and holding human rights violators accountable. They acknowledged the profound limitations of their justice system.

- UNSMIL: I had a very good two hr meeting with General Smith to discuss how we can partner to help the new Libyan government improve security. He has good ideas on which we'll work closely.

I had separate meetings with PM-elect Abushagur, Acting/Deputy FM Abdel Aziz, Supreme Court President Al Dhan, Deputy Prosecutor General Hassadi, NFA Party leader Jibril, UNSMIL Security Advisor General Smith, JCP (Muslim Brotherhood) Party political director Elbenanni, and civil society leaders.

Morale at post is understandably rocky, but people are coping and continue to work hard in very difficult circumstances. There are some specific issues that the Department has already solved and others on which we can work to help the embassy in its determination to advance USG goals.

I leave for Cairo in a few minutes tonight.

Beth

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Monday, October 15, 2012 4:46 PM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: Fwd: [Salon] The Death of Ambassador Chris Stevens, the Need for "Expeditionary Diplomacy, " and the Real Lessons for U.S. Diplomacy

Pls print.

From: [redacted] [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, October 15, 2012 10:27 AM
To: H
Subject: Fwd: [Salon] The Death of Ambassador Chris Stevens, the Need for "Expeditionary Diplomacy, " and the Real Lessons for U.S. Diplomacy

Helpful article. Sid

Sent from my Verizon Wireless 4G LTE DROID

----- Original Message -----

Subject: [Salon] The Death of Ambassador Chris Stevens, the Need for "Expeditionary Diplomacy, " and the Real Lessons for U.S. Diplomacy
From: Chas Freeman <[redacted]>
To: " [Salon] " <salon@committeefortherepublic.org>
CC:

B6

The Death of Ambassador Chris Stevens, the Need for "Expeditionary Diplomacy," and the Real Lessons for U.S. Diplomacy

By Anthony H. Cordesman

Oct 11, 2012

http://csis.org/publication/death-ambassador-chris-stevens-need-expeditionary-diplomacy-and-real-lessons-us-diplomacy?utm_source=The+Death+of+Ambassador+Chris+Stevens+and+Real+Lessons+for+U.S.+Diplomacy&utm_campaign=The+Death+of+Ambassador+Chris+Stevens+and+Real+Lessons+for+U.S.+Diplomacy&utm_medium=email

It is almost inevitable in an election year that Republicans use every possible opportunity to attack the Obama Administration. Part of these attacks have been effort to embarrass the President by turning the killing of Ambassador Stevens into a "gotcha" contest where the President is somehow blamed for largely local security decisions and "intelligence failures." The Administration, in turn, has fumbled the situation by going into a state of confused denial – focusing on the uncertain chronology of events that led to Ambassador Chris Stevens' death.

The Republicans seem to be “winning” in political terms, largely because so few Americans in think tanks and the media realize that virtually all intelligence and security post-mortems on such events uncover the same problems. Once the event is over and clear patterns emerge, there are always warning indicators that could have been heeded in retrospect. If one ignores that vast amount of “noise” from other conflicting indicators, and looks back with 20-20 hindsight, every such event is always an “intelligence” failure.

Moreover, competent security officers always are asking for more support and coverage in any area where risks exist. There is never enough security even in the best funded times, and these are not the best funded times. Almost every aspect of U.S. diplomacy has been subject to budget cuts at a time of upheaval in the Arab world and global economic crisis.

A recent article by Dana Milbank in the Washington Post notes that the same Republican dominated House that now critiques events in Libya cut State Department operations by \$300 million in 2009 and eliminated funds for some 30 more security positions along with it. The House cut security funding by \$128 million in FY2011 and \$331 million in FY2012, although the Senate restored \$88 million. Under at least one of Congressman Ryan’s proposals to amend the budget, State Department funding would be cut by an additional 20% million in 2014 – which means another \$400 million cut in security.

It is no tribute to the Obama Administration that it did far too little to push back against these cuts, and even less to articulate the need to fund stronger U.S. “expeditionary diplomacy” efforts. Indeed, at a time when far too many countries are in crisis and the U.S. faces increased challenges to its regional goals, more funds, stronger country teams, increased humanitarian aid, beefed-up military assistance, and on-the-scene diplomacy is needed to support U.S. interests.

In fairness to Secretary Clinton and the large number of dedicated diplomatic professionals, State has tried to deal with these challenges by refocusing its diminishing resources, strengthening its ability to provide on-the-scene aid, and creating civil efforts that can deal with crises like Syria and the need to provide stronger U.S. aid and advisory teams if dictators like Assad fall.

So far, both the Republican “gotcha” efforts and the Administration’s failure to make the case for strong “expeditionary diplomacy” have totally failed to serve the U.S. national interest, and have been the worst possible memorial to Ambassador Chris Stevens, a man who clearly knew that America’s success required risk taking and action in the field.

It is time we come to grips with the world we actually live in. We can’t deal with the political upheavals in a single Arab country, the impact of Transition in Afghanistan, the internal struggle for the future of Islam, energy and trade security, the various national crises in Latin America and Africa, or the competition for the future of Asia by speeches in the U.S., quick visits by senior U.S. officials, outside radio and TV programs, and empty rhetoric about taking stronger stands or exporting U.S. values.

We need strong country teams, and teams that are active and take risks. We need men and women on the scene who accept the realities on the ground in the countries they operate in. We need strong country teams that can work with the full range of factions, provide help in forming political parties and changing governance, provide carefully selected aid and advisory efforts to catalyze reform, and provide military and security advisors that can help countries move towards stability without excessive repression and threatening their neighbors.

We need to protect our embassies, consulates, and military advisory groups, but we cannot afford to turn them in to fortresses that lock our diplomats, aid teams, and military on the scene away from events and the people they are trying to influence. If there are any real lessons from Libya —or Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Yemen, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and all the other nations on the long list of cases where American diplomats, advisors and security teams died to serve their country —it is that projecting any form of

smart power is done on the ground, is done by moving throughout the country, is done by taking risks, and will inevitably incur casualties.

Some will be ambassadors, some will be aid team personnel or experts in public diplomacy, and some will be CIA or men and women in uniform. Every one of them will be a tragedy. But we cannot let either false economies or extremist and terrorist threats defeat such efforts. The cost of properly funded expeditionary diplomacy —people, military and civil aid funds, and fully funded security efforts —is going to be cheaper even on a global level than losing contact and U.S. influence in a single country like Egypt, or being unprepared to deal with the flow of events in a nation like Syria or Iraq.

It is also already all too clear that extremist elements throughout the world realize that attacks on U.S. diplomats and military advisors or partners are one of the cheapest and most effective ways to gain immediate visibility, strike at the heart of U.S. public opinion, drive the U.S. out of a country, or limit its influence. No one needs to defeat U.S. military forces — which can only be deployed to a handful of countries at most —if they can expel or paralyze American diplomacy, support for U.S. businesses and investment, support for U.S. NGOs, and effective U.S. military and security advisory efforts.

This threat is already all too real in far too many parts of the world, and it has effectively eliminated one of the key differences between “hard” and “soft” power. “Soft” power cannot survive where it is not protected by “hard” power. Moreover, there are few if any crises cases where advice and aid in politics, governance, economics and rule of law can be separated from a matching need for advice and aid in addressing military, security, counterterrorism, and national police concerns.

In short, we do not need “gotcha” post-mortems or half-formed defenses. The tribute we really owe Ambassador Chris Stevens is to undertake the following eight steps:

- Understand that diplomacy will often be a form of asymmetric warfare in crisis countries, particularly those with crumbling regimes or new unstable governments. Accept the fact there can be no success without taking increased risk and suffering casualties.
- Set realistic and achievable goals country-by-country and give the ambassador and country team as much discretion as possible. Don't set impossible goals for instant democracy, human rights, rule of law or stability. Accept the need for evolutionary action and “doing it their way.” Don't try one size fits all ideological solutions or efforts from Washington.
- Stop focusing on narrow budget cuts and examine the costs and benefits of effective, well-funded country team efforts. If properly funded diplomacy and country team efforts only win support for the U.S. in one crisis country over the next decade, or avoid even one armed intervention, they will still more than pay for their costs in terms of the U.S. budget, and the overall effort will be immensely more valuable in terms of gains (and tax revenues) in U.S. trade and investment.
- Reexamine how to create all of the elements of “expeditionary diplomacy” efforts, including strong country teams, and the ability to suddenly boost teams in countries in crises, with the full range of tools an ambassador needs. This includes adequate staff, operating and security funds, and flexible aid funds that can be applied quickly to deal with changing needs and circumstances.
- Fully fund security but find the best ways to change existing procedures to emphasize mobility and move to high-risk areas. Refocus intelligence to help reduce risks, and restructure protection efforts to provide specially trained and equipped U.S. and foreign national security. Stop doing pointless security post-mortem blame games and focus on the future.
- Reward and encourage necessary risk taking. Make it clear that this is a key part of a successful career path, that it will be fully supported by State and other agencies deploying U.S. personnel, and reorient security efforts in country to protect such efforts in the best ways possible rather than creating rules that either make effective action impossible or force diplomats and advisors to violate such rules without protection. Anyone who works with U.S. diplomats, aid workers, and military advisory teams overseas

knows that we have strong cadres ready and willing to take such risks. The challenge is to properly support them in country and reward them for their service.

- Reexamine the insurance coverage, benefits, and salaries of such risk takers. Don't sustain the present situation in Afghanistan and earlier in Iraq where contractors get massive wage increases and diplomats and aid workers lack the full equivalent of combat pay and protection for them and their families if they are killed or disabled. Ensure adequate lasting medical care for lasting injuries.

Finally, see if there is some way the U.S. Congress can address these issues realistically in a way that actually focuses on U.S. national interests even in a time of petty partisan feeding frenzies. These efforts not only need the next Administration to fully fund and support them at a time of growing budget pressures, they need bipartisan support in both Houses of Congress.

There will be a need for outside review, for new reporting requirement and for hearings. But, they need to look forward. U.S. efforts must serve national interests rather than personal or partisan advantage, accept the complexity and time needed to deal with country-by-country efforts, and focus on pragmatic ways of dealing with the future rather than dissecting the past.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 7:44 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: Thank you so much

Many thanks. Will do my best. Get well soon, and have a wonderful holiday. I'm very lucky to serve in your State Department.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 07:38 AM
To: Burns, William J; Nides, Thomas R
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Thank you so much

Dear Bill and Tom,

I'm sorry that I cannot be on the Hill today as we had long planned, but very grateful that you both will be. The Department and I appreciate your leadership everyday.

So, I'll be nursing my cracked head and cheering you on as you "remain calm and carry on"!

Happy Holidays---H

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, November 16, 2012 10:03 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: WSJ: Hillary and Libya

From: Caitlin Klevorick [mailto:]
Sent: Friday, November 16, 2012 09:51 PM
To: Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Rich Verma-personal []
Subject: WSJ: Hillary and Libya

B6

Hillary and Libya

November 16, 2012

Wall Street Journal

David Petraeus told Congress Friday in closed hearings that the CIA believed from the start that the September 11 attacks on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi were by terrorists. That leaves one VIP who's still missing from Congressional scrutiny: Hillary Clinton.

GOP Congressman Peter King said Mr. Petraeus's testimony differed from what the former CIA director told Congress immediately after the attacks. Mr. King also said Mr. Petraeus said that the CIA's original talking points on the attacks were edited. The altered version became the basis for U.N. Ambassador Susan Rice's misleading and now infamous comments blaming the attacks on a YouTube video. Both that discrepancy and the issue of the altered talking points need further digging, especially if Ms. Rice is nominated to be the next Secretary of State.

But Mr. Petraeus wasn't responsible for lax consulate security or the U.S. policy that led to the Libya debacle. That's Mrs. Clinton's bailiwick. Last month in interviews from deepest Peru, the Secretary of State said "I take responsibility" for Benghazi.

Except she hasn't. She was conveniently out of the country for this week's House Foreign Affairs hearing, and Senate Foreign Relations Chairman John Kerry refuses to hold any hearings on Benghazi. His loyalty may get him a cabinet job, while Carl Levin's Armed Services Committee also pretends nothing much happened in Libya.

The targets of the attacks and its first victims were diplomats. Chris Stevens died of smoke inhalation in the blaze, becoming the first American ambassador killed in the line of duty in over 30 years. A junior colleague also died. These men were Mrs. Clinton's "responsibility." Several hours after the assault on the consulate, members of the jihadist militia Ansar al-Shariah turned on the CIA compound about a mile away, killing two of Mr. Petraeus's men.

In Congressional hearings last month, career State officials admitted that threat warnings from Benghazi were overlooked and requests for better security turned down. They said Foggy Bottom misjudged the ability of a weak Libyan state to protect them. It's not clear how high up the chain these concerns went, but over to you, Mrs. Clinton.

For over a week after the attacks, the Administration blamed the YouTube video. Mrs. Clinton didn't push this misleading narrative in public as enthusiastically as Ms. Rice. Still, she bought into it. The father of Tyrone Woods, a CIA contractor who was killed in Benghazi, told media outlets last month that Mrs. Clinton tried to comfort him by promising that the U.S.-based maker of the video would be "prosecuted and arrested"—though terrorists killed his son.

Beyond the Benghazi attacks is the larger issue of the Administration's Libya policy, a failure that Mrs. Clinton should also answer for. At the start of the Libya uprising, Washington hid behind the U.N. Security Council to resist calls for intervention. Mrs. Clinton's department then made the mistake of agreeing to a U.N. arms embargo on both the Gadhafi regime and the rebels. This blunder forced the rebels to look elsewhere for weapons and cash, particularly Gulf states like Qatar that favored Islamist militias.

As Gadhafi's forces were about to overrun Benghazi in March, the Arab League, Britain and France called for military intervention. Only after the Security Council gave the green light—when Russia abstained—did NATO launch air strikes. American cruise missiles and bombers led the way, but on April 7 President Obama pulled the U.S. out of a leadership combat role.

The U.S. also waited until July to recognize the Benghazi rebel opposition as "the legitimate governing authority," after Luxembourg and 25 other countries had already done so. The war lasted until October, much longer than necessary.

American disengagement continued after Gadhafi fell. Though rich in oil, Libya's well-intentioned new leaders needed advice and encouragement to build a functioning state. The most pressing need was to rein in the anti-Gadhafi militias and stand up a national army. But the U.S. was reluctant to follow up with aid or know-how. (See our December 24, 2011 editorial, "MIA on the Shores of Tripoli.") Qatar and the United Arab Emirates stepped in with money and weapons, again favoring Islamist groups.

The Libyan people nonetheless voted in elections this summer for secular, pro-Western leaders. Yet the government has limited powers and lacks a proper army. The militias have stepped into the vacuum, while al Qaeda-style training camps proliferate in the hills around Benghazi.

This abdication is the backdrop to what happened on September 11. The large CIA outpost in Benghazi was supposed to monitor jihadists and work with State to round up thousands of mobile surface-to-air missiles in Libya. Yet it turns out that it's hard to fight terrorists on the ground with drones from remote bases. Without a functioning government or broader U.S. aid, a small Islamist militia was able to target foreign diplomats and eventually lay siege to the U.S. compound. The CIA closed its entire Benghazi shop that very morning—an abject retreat.

For weeks, the Administration has tried to shift blame for Benghazi to the "intelligence community." Mr. Petraeus's fall makes him an easy scapegoat, even as Mrs. Clinton takes a valedictory lap at State and sets her sights on a 2016 Presidential run.

But U.S. Libya policy has been her handiwork, and with the exception of the fall of Gadhafi it is a notable failure. Mrs. Clinton is also a main architect of U.S. policy in Syria, which continues to descend into disorder that may engulf the region. She shouldn't get a free pass from Congress.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Cheryl Mills [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, December 4, 2012 7:17 AM
To: H
Subject: Fwd: Cohen Post

B6

The Washington Post

December 4, 2012 Tuesday
Regional Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL COPY; Pg. A25

HEADLINE: It's not about Rice

BYLINE: Richard Cohen

BODY:

In 1953, an Army officer by the name of Irving Peress was promoted from captain to major. Peress was a leftist, possibly a communist, and word of his advancement in rank reached Sen. Joseph McCarthy in Washington. He asserted that the promotion proved the Army was "soft on communism," and he launched an investigation that transfixed the nation. Peress, by the way, was a mere dentist. He was the Susan Rice of his day.

Rice, of course, is a much more substantial figure. She is the U.N. ambassador, a friend of Barack Obama's and a member of his Cabinet. Still, the attack on her is so disproportionate to what she is accused of having done - just what was it, exactly? - that as in the Peress case, you have to conclude that there is something more at work.

At first, I thought we were witnessing just another example of Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) doing his Rumpelstiltskin number - throwing a fit and stomping his feet. It was McCain who first leveled the solemn charge that Rice had lied to the Sunday TV shows about the attack on the U.S. consulate in *Benghazi, Libya*. She had characterized it as a spontaneous riot when it was, in fact, a planned attack by a local al-Qaeda affiliate. But Rice was hewing to the early line established by the intelligence community. If the CIA and others were wrong - or deceptive - then so, inevitably, was she.

Just as surely as day follows night, McCain's broadside was echoed by Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.). It was soon taken up by 97 Republicans in the House who found Rice unqualified to become secretary of state - a post to which she has not been nominated. "Ambassador Rice is widely viewed as having willfully or incompetently misled the American public," they bellowed.

I think Rice would make a dandy secretary of state. She's close to the president, and that matters a great deal. But she is also seen as overly political and that, as much as her version of *Benghazi*, is what troubles some others. Oddly enough, Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.), a former presidential candidate and another potential secretary of state, is seen as much more of a statesman. He is indeed an independent foreign-policy thinker who has, as in days of old, restored the prestige and importance of the Foreign Relations Committee, of which he is chairman.

But the awful truth is that it hardly matters who Obama chooses. Foreign policy is run from the White House and not the *State Department*. Hillary *Clinton* is about to retire, and while she has done a commendable

job at Foggy Bottom, we cannot expect the inevitable book by her to reveal a Clinton Doctrine. For the most part, she executed, not initiated, foreign policy.

So what is this fuss all about? Not Rice, that's for sure. It has turned instead into an expression of unease about Obama's foreign policy and its politicization. The unfortunate Peress came to personify the government's alleged indifference to the (equally alleged) communist infiltration of the military and virtually everything else (with the possible exception of the American Legion). Similarly, Rice has become the personification of unhappiness with the use of intelligence leaks to buff Obama's foreign policy image and the conducting of an amorphous foreign policy. Like Churchill's famous pudding, it lacks theme.

Syria is an example. U.S. inaction has allowed the crisis to fester. Bashar al-Assad's regime might be dusting off its formidable arsenal of chemical weapons, further evidence of how chaotic this crisis has become, but much of the time the White House has just trailed after Turkey or France. The war has spread, a refugee calamity has developed, 40,000 people have died, and jihadists have come to play a prominent role. The Obama administration has been as lethargic on Syria as it initially was with *Libya*.

This sense of an aimless foreign policy, one lacking any moral fervor (or fiber) irritates conservatives much more than liberals. It certainly enrages McCain, who cannot stomach the big guys kicking little guys around. He sees an administration that will not engage the American people on matters of foreign policy - make a case for intervention, not just say it's too hard to do.

The attack on Rice is unfair and excessive. But the issue is not the person but what she represents - in this case, the administration's inability to articulate a foreign policy that marries American morality to American power, not merely American politics.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

B6

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2012 1:58 PM
To: H
Cc: Cheryl Mills; Jacob J Sullivan (SullivanJJ@state.gov); Abedin, Huma
Subject: an op-ed you should read; praises State for what Stevens did right

I had lunch w/ Admiral Mullen, who is teaching here this year; in his view Sarah gets it exactly right.

latimes.com

Op-Ed

The world after Petraeus

Obama should seize this chance to adjust his foreign policy.

By Sarah Chayes

November 15, 2012

The scandal enveloping members of America's adulated top brass is the deepest crisis to hit the military in decades. It is a crisis President Obama did not need — shaming the country and increasing his burden during a major transition on his national security team. And yet, crisis can be a great corrective. Obama should use this one to reverse one of the most dysfunctional elements of U.S. foreign policy over the last decade: an infatuation with military solutions to problems that are fundamentally political.

The resignation of former Central Intelligence Agency Director David H. Petraeus after an extramarital affair came to light, together with expected high-level personnel changes at the State Department and other agencies, creates a singular opportunity to embark on the complex process of rebalancing U.S. foreign policy in favor of non-military approaches.

When he first came to office, Obama seemed suspicious of Petraeus, who made his reputation under President George W. Bush as the general who transformed the military's approach to the Iraq war. The suspicion was reflected in the fraught National Security Council debate over Afghanistan strategy in 2009. Yet since then, Obama, like so many others, seems to have been seduced by Petraeus. Not by the man but by what the man could offer him.

Petraeus' unique political genius over the last decade has been to provide each of two contrasting presidents a military solution to his key national security problems that was tailored to his character. For Bush, obsessed with Iraq and with leaving a mark on the Middle East, Petraeus helped design a grandiose, troop-heavy approach.

With the change of administrations, Petraeus soon saw that Obama and his team were different — concerned about the costs of the inherited wars and about the risks of a runaway military. So while Petraeus continued to pay lip-service to counterinsurgency doctrine, he veered away from it in practice. His focus as commander of

the troops in Afghanistan — and even more so at the CIA — was on a type of warfare better suited to this president: targeted, technologically advanced, secretive killing over which the president could exert control.

But such an approach, though cheaper in resources and American lives, is still flawed. It is still a military answer to problems that are deeply political in nature and rooted in a complex mix of history, regional and cultural particularism, and the effects of a protracted abuse of power by elites. By shifting to drones and special ops as the instruments of choice to combat militant extremism, the U.S. government remains consumed by the same old questions: How many men and women in uniform, equipped with what kind of hardware, need to employ which tactics to defeat the enemy?

What atrophied during the years that two U.S. administrations dwelt obsessively on these questions were all the other tools of U.S. foreign policy, including information-gathering and analysis, diplomacy and economic and legal leverage.

Perhaps the gravest consequence has been the knowledge deficit. Both wars were hampered by a devastating lack of situational understanding. In Afghanistan, where I lived and worked for more than eight years, I was stunned by how long it took U.S. officials to realize that tribes were key to Afghan social structure. U.S. officials resisted meeting with ordinary Afghans, dealing instead with members of a self-serving and unpopular government. So, for more than a decade, the U.S. government was operating almost blind.

The first way Obama can constructively harness Petraeus' downfall is to reorient the CIA toward its core function: intelligence-gathering. Of late, a body-count culture has prevailed at the CIA, exemplified by the secretive drone campaign. If 60 intelligence professionals are assigned to planning and monitoring each drone in the air, as has been reported, that's 60 who are not on the ground in country, interacting with locals, gaining an intuitive feel for the dynamics. Obama should resist the temptation to put another target-focused operator at the helm of the CIA.

Another main civilian component of U.S. power is its diplomacy. Obama should also use this moment of transition to think through what kind of State Department he really needs. The instruments of U.S. foreign policy are multiple, varied and subtle in their application. To avail itself of them, the government needs smart, adaptable, dynamic risk-takers, who think strategically and operate with autonomy. Such people must be attracted to government service and provided responsibilities commensurate with their talents.

But the other national security topic of the moment threatens to push Obama in the wrong direction. The death of Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens in Benghazi, Libya, has been politicized in deeply counterproductive ways. Members of Congress should bear that in mind as they continue examining the details of the attack.

Stevens was exactly the type of diplomat the U.S. government needs: someone with long experience in the region to which he was posted, an ambassador who engaged with people, gained insight into the environment and helped influence it. That kind of diplomacy is essential, but it carries risks. If it becomes politically untenable in Washington for an ambassador to die in the line of duty, then talented diplomats will be hobbled. And faced with a choked career path, the best will look elsewhere for rewarding work. Obama should appoint a secretary of State determined to counteract the tendency to retrench.

Perhaps the most important foreign policy challenge Obama faces in his second term is how to expand, restructure and reinforce the range of civilian instruments of U.S. power. That is a generational task, but one the current crisis has provided an unparalleled opportunity to tackle.

Sarah Chayes, former special assistant to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is a resident associate at the Carnegie Endowment and a contributing writer to Opinion.

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <Sullivan.JJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 1:25 PM
To: H
Subject: RE: H: Sure you've seen all this info, but start on graph 5. Sid

Thanks.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 12:40 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: H: Sure you've seen all this info, but start on graph 5. Sid

Fyi.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Wednesday, December 19, 2012 09:01 AM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Subject: H: Sure you've seen all this info, but start on graph 5. Sid

B6

<http://www.juancole.com/2012/12/benghazis-criticizes-consular.html>

Benghazi's Deep Throat fingers Islamist Leaders for Attacks as State Dept Criticized on Consular Security

Posted on 12/19/2012 by Juan

The report saying that security was inadequate at the compound that the US had adopted as its ad hoc consulate in Benghazi, Libya, dominates today's headlines. That conclusion is obvious. The "consulate" was just a private residence taken over for this purpose by the US in the city. It was not constructed to be a US government building in a potentially hostile city.

I met a person who worked there when I was in Benghazi in June, and she told me that it wasn't even clear if the consulate would be retained after the first of this year. It was possibly temporary, depending on Congressional funding. (The Tea Party House hasn't been good on meeting requests for embassy security funds).

The more interesting question than why ad hoc arrangements should have been made for a consulate during and after the Libyan revolution (the answer to which seems fairly obvious) is, who is responsible for the string of assassinations and acts of violence in the city, of which the RPG attack on the consulate on September 11 was only one? Benghazi, with a population of over one million in a country of 6.5 million, is Libya's second largest city and was the epicenter of the revolution against the government of Muammar Qaddafi in 2011.

On November 22, Benghazi police chief Farej Darssi was assassinated. In October a police colonel barely avoided death—his car was wired to explode. A Libyan intelligence officer was killed in September. A general was assassinated in August. Some of these figures had worked for Qaddafi but had defected to the revolution. Qaddafi's security forces were responsible for the 1996 massacre of hardline fundamentalists at Abu Salim prison, and for making others just disappear. Likely the same shadowy cells that attacked the US consulate are behind the attacks on Benghazi police and army officers.

There may have been a break in the case. Last Saturday, Benghazi security forces loyal to the elected government in Tripoli, captured a man they suspected of being involved with the groups behind the

violence. And, he appears to have been willing to spill the beans. So let's call him the Libyan Deep Throat.

Deep Throat is so knowledgeable about the conspiracies facing the city and so dangerous to those hatching them that the latter immediately attempted to spring him from jail.

On Sunday morning, militants attacked the police facility next to the holding cell where the man is being detained. A policeman at that station died in a hail of bullets from the attackers, and they called for back-up. The police car that sped to the scene was ambushed and three policemen in it were killed. Still, the police stood their ground and fought off the assault, and they kept their valuable suspect in custody, with all his valuable testimony.

Shortly after midnight, on Monday morning, small explosives were set off at the Garyounis police station in Benghazi, damaging a couple of automobiles but otherwise doing little damage. Then explosives were set off at al-Uruba police station, which also took sniper fire, but neither resulted in casualties.

The police became vigilant, and they apprehended a shady-looking man skulking around near the al-Hadaeq police station, finding him to have two rocket propelled grenades in his possession, which he was apparently intending to fire at the station.

In other words, the capture of Libyan Deep Throat has set off a gang war on the police, who are being informed by bombings and shootings that they must let their informant go or risk their

So what is Deep Throat saying? According to local journalist Mohamed Bujenah of the Libyan Herald, a senior figure in the Benghazi police told him that the informant had fingered as many as 7 prominent Muslim fundamentalist leaders in connection with these attacks, of whom the police named 6 explicitly:

1 Sufyan Ben Qumu, from the notoriously radical town of Derna, and a former prisoner at Guantanamo

2. Ahmad Bukatela, leader of the Ubaida Militia

3. Muhammad al-Zahawi, head of the Ansar al-Sharia militia

4. Muhammad al-Gharabi, a leader of the Rafallah al-Sahati Militia

5. Ismail Sallabi, another leader of Rafallah al-Sahati

6. Salim Nabous, head of the Zawiya Martyrs' Brigade

It is just a newspaper article. We don't know if the informant actually named these individuals or if he did so to escape torture, in which case we can't trust what he said. But if the allegations are true, there is collusion among several hardline militias in the city to create instability in hopes of taking it over.

The new, elected, prime minister Ali Zeidan, has started asserting himself militarily. He closed the country's southern borders against instability in the Sahel. He may well have some risky house cleaning to do in Benghazi.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 8:07 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: POLITICO Breaking News

From: Johnson, Brock A
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 08:04 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I; Klevorick, Caitlin B
Subject: FW: POLITICO Breaking News

From: Blumenfeld, Joshua R
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 8:03 PM
To: Coordination
Subject: Fw: POLITICO Breaking News

From: POLITICO Breaking News [mailto:breakingnews@politico.com]
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 08:01 PM
To: Blumenfeld, Joshua R
Subject: POLITICO Breaking News

POLITICO Breaking News

Gen. David Petraeus will testify Friday before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence about the Sept. 11 attack in Benghazi, Libya, the committee has announced. The 7:30 a.m. meeting is closed to the public. Petraeus was the director of the CIA when the fatal attacks occurred.

For more information... <http://www.politico.com>

=====

To unsubscribe,
<http://dyn.politico.com/unsubscribe.cfm?email=BlumenfeldJR@State.Gov&uuid=6B8BA9DA-D396-139B-444B8BE9D5D51C68&alertID=1>

=====

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 10:45 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: David Petraeus will testify on Benghazi (Politico)

To be clear, this is not on Thursday. It's at some later time apart from the already schedule HPSCI & SSCI briefings

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 10:42 AM
To: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: FW: David Petraeus will testify on Benghazi (Politico)

FYI

From: Johnson, Brock A
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 10:11 AM
To: Coordination
Cc: Reines, Philippe I; Klevorick, Caltin B; Kennedy, Patrick F; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: David Petraeus will testify on Benghazi (Politico)

David Petraeus will testify on Benghazi

By KATIE GLUECK | 11/14/12 9:32 AM EST Updated: 11/14/12 9:54 AM EST

Gen. David Petraeus will testify before the Senate Intelligence Committee, Senate Intelligence Committee Chairwoman Dianne Feinstein told POLITICO Wednesday morning. But the exact schedule has not been set for his testimony.

"Mr. Petraeus has indicated his willingness [to testify]. He is eager to come before the committee so we will work out the details," Feinstein said.

Earlier Wednesday, Fox New reported that the former director of the CIA who resigned last week over an extramarital affair, will still testify voluntarily on Friday before congressional intelligence committees regarding the Sept. 11 attack on the U.S. diplomatic facility in Benghazi, Libya.

Petraeus was initially slated to offer testimony on Benghazi at closed hearings before the Senate Intelligence Committee on Thursday.

Feinstein, the chairwoman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, said on CNN's "The Situation Room" on Tuesday that she believed Petraeus would eventually appear before the committee because he is a "responsible person."

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 12:57 AM
To: H
Cc: Schwerin, Daniel B
Subject: Ending of speech

B5

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, October 1, 2012 3:57 PM
To: H
Subject: RE: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

This is it. Pretty unconvincing piece if you ask me, but of course I'm biased.

Mitt Romney: A New Course for the Middle East

Restore the three sinews of American influence: our economic strength, our military strength and the strength of our values.

Disturbing developments are sweeping across the greater Middle East. In Syria, tens of thousands of innocent people have been slaughtered. In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood has come to power, and the country's peace treaty with Israel hangs in the balance. In Libya, our ambassador was murdered in a terrorist attack. U.S. embassies throughout the region have been stormed in violent protests. And in Iran, the ayatollahs continue to move full tilt toward nuclear-weapons capability, all the while promising to annihilate Israel.

These developments are not, as President Obama says, mere "bumps in the road." They are major issues that put our security at risk.

Yet amid this upheaval, our country seems to be at the mercy of events rather than shaping them. We're not moving them in a direction that protects our people or our allies.

And that's dangerous. If the Middle East descends into chaos, if Iran moves toward nuclear breakout, or if Israel's security is compromised, America could be pulled into the maelstrom.

We still have time to address these threats, but it will require a new strategy toward the Middle East.

The first step is to understand how we got here. Since World War II, America has been the leader of the Free World. We're unique in having earned that role not through conquest but through promoting human rights, free markets and the rule of law. We ally ourselves with like-minded countries, expand prosperity through trade and keep the peace by maintaining a military second to none.

But in recent years, President Obama has allowed our leadership to atrophy. Our economy is stuck in a "recovery" that barely deserves the name. Our national debt has risen to record levels. Our military, tested by a decade of war, is facing devastating cuts thanks to the budgetary games played by the White House. Finally, our values have been misapplied—and misunderstood—by a president who thinks that weakness will win favor with our adversaries.

By failing to maintain the elements of our influence and by stepping away from our allies, President Obama has heightened the prospect of conflict and instability. He does not understand that an American policy that lacks resolve can provoke aggression and encourage disorder.

The Middle East is a case in point. The Arab Spring presented an opportunity to help move millions of people from oppression to freedom. But it also presented grave risks. We needed a strategy for success, but the president offered none. And now he seeks to downplay the significance of the calamities of the past few weeks.

The same incomprehension afflicts the president's policy toward Israel. The president began his term with the explicit policy of creating "daylight" between our two countries. He recently downgraded Israel from being our "closest ally" in the Middle East to being only "one of our closest allies." It's a diplomatic message that will be received clearly by Israel and its adversaries alike. He dismissed Israel's concerns about Iran as mere "noise" that he prefers to "block out." And at a time when Israel needs America to stand with it, he declined to meet with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

In this period of uncertainty, we need to apply a coherent strategy of supporting our partners in the Middle East—that is, both governments and individuals who share our values.

This means restoring our credibility with Iran. When we say an Iranian nuclear-weapons capability—and the regional instability that comes with it—is unacceptable, the ayatollahs must be made to believe us.

It means placing no daylight between the United States and Israel. And it means using the full spectrum of our soft power to encourage liberty and opportunity for those who have for too long known only corruption and oppression. The dignity of work and the ability to steer the course of their lives are the best alternatives to extremism.

But this Middle East policy will be undermined unless we restore the three sinews of our influence: our economic strength, our military strength and the strength of our values. That will require a very different set of policies from those President Obama is pursuing.

The 20th century became an American Century because we were steadfast in defense of freedom. We made the painful sacrifices necessary to defeat totalitarianism in all of its guises. To defend ourselves and our allies, we paid the price in treasure and in soldiers who never came home.

Our challenges are different now, but if the 21st century is to be another American Century, we need leaders who understand that keeping the peace requires American strength in all of its dimensions.

Mr. Romney is the Republican Party candidate for president.

A version of this article appeared October 1, 2012, on page A15 in the U.S. edition of The Wall Street Journal, with the headline: A New Course for the Middle East.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, October 01, 2012 3:51 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

More info.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Monday, October 01, 2012 03:47 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

B6

Romney has an op-ed in today's Wall Street Journal playing off Stevens' murder to say Obama has put "security at risk," etc.

According to Politico yesterday, there was an internal argument within the Romney campaign over Libya. Obviously, the neocons and the Rove oriented faction (Ed Gillespie, Rove's surrogate is now a Romney campaign adviser) beat Stuart Stevens.

Romney is careening from tactic to tactic, hoping something will catch.

I wouldn't be surprised to see Romney raise the specter of the Muslim Brotherhood in charge of Egypt & Libya as a bogeyman. I have heard him do this within the last week.

-----Original Message-----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: []
Sent: Mon, Oct 1, 2012 3:34 pm
Subject: Re: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

Thanks. I'm pushing to WH.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Monday, October 01, 2012 10:13 AM
To: H
Subject: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

http://www.salon.com/2012/10/01/gops_october_surprise/

Monday, Oct 1, 2012 09:30 AM EDT

GOP's October surprise?

They're calling it the "Jimmy Carter Strategy": Exploit Libya attack to paint Obama as weak on terrorism

By Craig Unger



(Credit: AP/Al Behrman/Salon)

According to a highly reliable source, as Mitt Romney and President Barack Obama prepare for the first presidential debate Wednesday night, top Republican operatives are primed to unleash a new two-pronged offensive that will attack Obama as weak on national security, and will be based, in part, on new intelligence information regarding the attacks in Libya that killed U.S. ambassador Chris Stevens on September 11.

The source, who has first-hand knowledge of private, high-level conversations in the Romney camp that took place in Washington, DC last week, said that at various times the GOP strategists referred to their new operation as the Jimmy Carter Strategy or the October Surprise.

He added that they planned to release what they hoped would be "a bombshell" that would make Libya and Obama's foreign policy a major issue in the campaign. "My understanding is that they have come up with evidence that the Obama administration had positive intelligence that there was going to be a terrorist attack on the intelligence."

The source described the Republicans as chortling with glee that the Obama administration "definitely had intel" about the attack before it happened. "Intelligence can be graded in different ways," he added, "and sometimes A and B don't get connected. But [the Romney campaign] will try to paint it to look like Obama had advance knowledge of the attack and is weak on terrorism."

He said they were jubilant about their new strategy and said they intended to portray Obama as a helpless, Jimmy Carter-like president and to equate the tragedy in Libya with President Carter's failed attempt to rescue American hostages in Iran in 1980. "They are so excited about it," he said. "Over and over again they talked about how it would be just like Jimmy Carter's failed raid. They feel it is going to give them a last-minute landslide in the election."

The source, however, said he was dubious about the tactic. "To me, it is indicative that they have lost touch with a huge portion of the electorate," he said.

The source declined to reveal the names of the GOP operatives who were present. But he said, "These were the top guys in the party. It was a private, unguarded planning conversation." He further described participants in the meeting as consisting of well-known names tied to the big Republican super PACs and people who had access to high-level national security intelligence.

"As usual, Karl Rove wasn't present," he said, "but some were close to Rove."

The source said that "there was quite a bit more" to the operation than simply revealing the intelligence regarding Libya. He declined to discuss what he described as the second phase of the operation.

However, already there is evidence that the first phase of the operation is underway. On Wednesday, September 26, on Fox News, Karl Rove called Obama's reaction to what happened in Libya "inexplicable" and added that Obama is "more intent on campaigning than meeting his responsibilities as commander-in-chief." He went on to warn that Obama's policies in Libya endangered the U.S. with regard to Iran. "I am astonished," Rove said. "We are projecting weakness when we need to be projecting strength."

Similarly, former New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a one-time GOP presidential hopeful who became known as the mayor of 9/11, followed Rove in criticizing Obama on the attack in Libya. "This

is a deliberate attempt to cover up the truth, from an administration that claimed it wanted to be the most transparent in history," he told Fox News. "And it's the worst kind of cover-up: the kind of cover-up that involves our national security. This is a cover-up that involves the slaughter of four Americans."

Giuliani added that the Obama White House wanted to dismiss the role played by al-Qaeda because it seemed to diminish the triumph of having killed Osama bin Laden. "I think it's because they have this narrative that they defeated al-Qaeda," he said. "They never say the words 'Islamic fundamentalist terrorism'. They want to wish it away. The president was moving on to Asia – he was going to declare this a great victory for himself and unfortunately, this terrible act of terror intervened in their very convenient narrative."

Likewise, Bob Corker, Republican senator from Tennessee, described the administration's response to "the terrorist attack" in Libya as "bizarre." And on Sunday, September 30, both Mitt Romney and vice-presidential nominee Paul Ryan joined in the attacks. "I think they want to do their very best to keep the people of America from understanding exactly what happened. We expect candor, we expect transparency, particularly as it relates to terrorism," Romney said.

Added Ryan, "Why is he (Obama) not on the same page with his own administration officials who are saying that this is a terrorist attack? We'll leave it up to you to decide whether it's a cover-up or not." In an apparently related development, a Politico article posted last night said Romney advisers were divided over how aggressively to attack President Obama over his handling of the events in Libya. One unnamed Romney adviser described them as "a huge gift" to the campaign. "Across the board – domestic, economic and foreign-policy issues – President Obama has been outmatched by events," he said. "He's an observer of events, not a shaper of events. Everywhere you look, he's been outmatched." But other Romney advisers, led by media strategist Stuart Stevens, wanted to stick to the economy as the central issue. "They'll tell you that you've got to focus people on the fact that their economic prospects are not very good and all that," the aide told Politico. "Well, Romney's been trying to do that now since he clinched the nomination at the end of April – and he's failed. The president is better at deflecting attention from the bad news than Romney is at driving home the impact of the bad news on individual voters."

Craig Unger is the New York Times bestselling author of "House of Bush, House of Saud," and a frequent analyst on CNN, ABC Radio, Air America, The Charlie Rose Show, NBC's Today Show and other broadcast outlets. He has written for The New Yorker, Esquire and many other publications and is currently a contributing editor at Vanity Fair.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 7:52 AM
To: 'NidesTR@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Thank you so much

Well, what doesn't kill you, makes you stronger (as I have rationalized for years), so just survive and you'll have triumphed!

----- Original Message -----

From: Nides, Thomas R [mailto:NidesTR@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 07:47 AM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Subject: Re: Thank you so much

Thanks I wish I could tell u I am looking forward to this but it would be a lie! Get better...

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 07:38 AM
To: Burns, William J; Nides, Thomas R
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Thank you so much

Dear Bill and Tom,

I'm sorry that I cannot be on the Hill today as we had long planned, but very grateful that you both will be. The Department and I appreciate your leadership everyday.

So, I'll be nursing my cracked head and cheering you on as you "remain calm and carry on"!

Happy Holidays---H

From: Sidney Blumenthal [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, October 1, 2012 10:14 AM
To: H
Subject: H: Romney's last gambit. Got done and published. Sid

B6

http://www.salon.com/2012/10/01/gops_october_surprise/

Monday, Oct 1, 2012 09:30 AM EDT

GOP's October surprise?

They're calling it the "Jimmy Carter Strategy": Exploit Libya attack to paint Obama as weak on terrorism

By Craig Unger [REDACTED]

(Credit: AP/Al Behrman/Salon)

According to a highly reliable source, as Mitt Romney and President Barack Obama prepare for the first presidential debate Wednesday night, top Republican operatives are primed to unleash a new two-pronged offensive that will attack Obama as weak on national security, and will be based, in part, on new intelligence information regarding the attacks in Libya that killed U.S. ambassador Chris Stevens on September 11.

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Similarly, former New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a one-time GOP presidential hopeful who became known as the mayor of 9/11, followed Rove in criticizing Obama on the attack in Libya. "This is a deliberate attempt to cover up the truth, from an administration that claimed it wanted to be the most transparent in history," he told Fox News. "And it's the worst kind of cover-up: the kind of cover-up that involves our national security. This is a cover-up that involves the slaughter of four Americans."

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Added Ryan, "Why is he (Obama) not on the same page with his own administration officials who are saying that this is a terrorist attack? We'll leave it up to you to decide whether it's a cover-up or not." In an apparently related development, a Politico article posted last night said Romney advisers were divided over how aggressively to attack President Obama over his handling of the events in Libya. One unnamed Romney adviser described them as "a huge gift" to the campaign. "Across the board – domestic, economic and foreign-policy issues – President Obama has been outmatched by events," he said. "He's an observer of events, not a shaper of events. Everywhere you look, he's been outmatched." But other Romney advisers, led by media strategist Stuart Stevens, wanted to stick to the economy as the central issue. "They'll tell you that you've got to focus people on the fact that their economic prospects are not very good and all that," the aide told Politico. "Well, Romney's been trying to do that now since he clinched the nomination at the end of April – and he's failed. The president is better at deflecting attention from the bad news than Romney is at driving home the impact of the bad news on individual voters."

Craig Unger is the New York Times bestselling author of "House of Bush, House of Saud," and a frequent analyst on CNN, ABC Radio, Air America, The Charlie Rose Show, NBC's Today Show and other broadcast outlets. He has written for The New Yorker, Esquire and many other publications and is currently a contributing editor at Vanity Fair.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sidney Blumenthal [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, December 19, 2012 9:01 AM
To: H
Subject: H: Sure you've seen all this info, but start on graph 5. Sid

B6

<http://www.juancole.com/2012/12/benghazis-criticizes-consular.html>

Benghazi's Deep Throat fingers Islamist Leaders for Attacks as State Dept Criticized on Consular Security

Posted on 12/19/2012 by Juan

The report saying that security was inadequate at the compound that the US had adopted as its ad hoc consulate in Benghazi, Libya, dominates today's headlines. That conclusion is obvious. The "consulate" was just a private residence taken over for this purpose by the US in the city. It was not constructed to be a US government building in a potentially hostile city.

I met a person who worked there when I was in Benghazi in June, and she told me that it wasn't even clear if the consulate would be retained after the first of this year. It was possibly temporary, depending on Congressional funding. (The Tea Party House hasn't been good on meeting requests for embassy security funds).

The more interesting question than why ad hoc arrangements should have been made for a consulate during and after the Libyan revolution (the answer to which seems fairly obvious) is, who is responsible for the string of assassinations and acts of violence in the city, of which the RPG attack on the consulate on September 11 was only one? Benghazi, with a population of over one million in a country of 6.5 million, is Libya's second largest city and was the epicenter of the revolution against the government of Muammar Qaddafi in 2011.

On November 22, Benghazi police chief Farej Darssi was assassinated. In October a police colonel barely avoided death—his car was wired to explode. A Libyan intelligence officer was killed in September. A general was assassinated in August. Some of these figures had worked for Qaddafi but had defected to the revolution. Qaddafi's security forces were responsible for the 1996 massacre of hardline fundamentalists at Abu Salim prison, and for making others just disappear. Likely the same shadowy cells that attacked the US consulate are behind the attacks on Benghazi police and army officers.

There may have been a break in the case. Last Saturday, Benghazi security forces loyal to the elected government in Tripoli, captured a man they suspected of being involved with the groups behind the violence. And, he appears to have been willing to spill the beans. So let's call him the Libyan Deep Throat.

Deep Throat is so knowledgeable about the conspiracies facing the city and so dangerous to those hatching them that the latter immediately attempted to spring him from jail.

On Sunday morning, militants attacked the police facility next to the holding cell where the man is being detained. A policeman at that station died in a hail of bullets from the attackers, and they called for back-up. The police car that sped to the scene was ambushed and three policemen in it were killed. Still, the police stood their ground and fought off the assault, and they kept their valuable suspect in custody, with all his valuable testimony.

Shortly after midnight, on Monday morning, small explosives were set off at the Garyounis police station in Benghazi, damaging a couple of automobiles but otherwise doing little damage. Then explosives were set off at al-Uruba police station, which also took sniper fire, but neither resulted in casualties.

The police became vigilant, and they apprehended a shady-looking man skulking around near the al-Hadaeq police station, finding him to have two rocket propelled grenades in his possession, which he was apparently intending to fire at the station.

In other words, the capture of Libyan Deep Throat has set off a gang war on the police, who are being informed by bombings and shootings that they must let their informant go or risk their So what is Deep Throat saying? According to local journalist Mohamed Bujenah of the Libyan Herald, a senior figure in the Benghazi police told him that the informant had fingered as many as 7 prominent Muslim fundamentalist leaders in connection with these attacks, of whom the police named 6 explicitly:

1 Sufyan Ben Qumu, from the notoriously radical town of Derna, and a former prisoner at Guantanamo

2. Ahmad Bukatela, leader of the Ubaida Militia

3. Muhammad al-Zahawi, head of the Ansar al-Sharia militia

4. Muhammad al-Gharabi, a leader of the Rafallah al-Sahati Militia

5. Ismail Sallabi, another leader of Rafallah al-Sahati

6. Salim Nabous, head of the Zawiya Martyrs' Brigade

It is just a newspaper article. We don't know if the informant actually named these individuals or if he did so to escape torture, in which case we can't trust what he said. But if the allegations are true, there is collusion among several hardline militias in the city to create instability in hopes of taking it over. The new, elected, prime minister Ali Zeidan, has started asserting himself militarily. He closed the country's southern borders against instability in the Sahel. He may well have some risky house cleaning to do in Benghazi.

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, October 15, 2012 7:02 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Tripoli personnel

From: Jones, Beth E
Sent: Monday, October 15, 2012 06:51 AM
To: Burns, William J; Sherman, Wendy R; Kennedy, Patrick F; Nides, Thomas R; Boswell, Eric J; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Tripoli personnel

B6

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, October 6, 2012 12:38 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Daily Beast: A diplomat under fire.

From: PA Clips [mailto:paclips@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, October 06, 2012 12:26 AM
To: PA-Monitoring-Group-DL; NEA-Press-DL; DS PA Media; Shore, Rhonda H; Atchison, Mark C; Moe, Grace T; Coordination; Mills, Cheryl D; Toiv, Nora F; IO-PG
Subject: Daily Beast: A diplomat under fire.

Person of Interest: United States UN Ambassador Susan Rice

Oct 8, 2012 1:00 AM EDT

Leslie H. Gelb

A diplomat under fire.

With the presidential campaign drowning in boredom, commentators were desperately searching for news, preferably a new victim, to brighten their days. And along came Susan Rice. A couple Sundays ago, the U.N. ambassador made the mistake of appearing on the talk shows to insist that the attack on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi, Libya, was “spontaneous” rather than a terrorist plot. You would have thought she had said that the pope was a Mormon.

Out came the Washington daggers. She lied. She was a shill. Benghazi was no spontaneous event. It was the work of an al Qaeda offshoot. The White House had fumbled key intelligence information and was now trying to cover up its unforgivable mistake. Rice was just covering up for the president. Her reward would be Obama’s nominating her to succeed Hillary Clinton as secretary of State.

The commentariat immediately rolled out plans to nail Rice and the Obama team to the wall. Peter King, the Grand Inquisitor of the Republicans in the House of Representatives, pledged to “investigate” and hold hearings. And that, said the commentariat, would be the end of Rice’s hopes to become the new Hillary.

Now, let's take an unfashionable step back and examine the facts, such as they are. Rice did not make up the "spontaneous" story or have it handed to her by White House conspirators. She got it from the same daily intelligence brief given to the president. Those daily intel reports told the very story Rice repeated publicly, i.e., that the Benghazi mob formed more or less on its own, mainly in reaction to the American video cartooning sacred Muslim figures, and that extremists then took advantage to kill, including Ambassador Christopher Stevens. Rice didn't make up that story. The problem was not with Rice; it was with the inevitably complicated U.S. intelligence process.

Her mistake was taking the initial intelligence at face value. The White House briefers made the same error, and so did I. I too repeated in an op-ed on The Daily Beast what the intelligence briefers told me, but I knew very well that more and contradictory information would appear soon enough. It always does.

Sure, the CIA had additional intel from the start, but it hadn't begun to sift through all the communications intercepts, satellite photos, and human reports. It always takes time to sort out facts from fictions and find consistent threads. Seemingly, this gossamer information is now taking shape.

Meantime, Rice is still very much in the running for the job at Foggy Bottom, along with Senator John Kerry, NSC Adviser Tom Donilon, and former diplomat Nicholas Burns, now of Harvard. She was Obama's earliest loyalist in the foreign-policy crowd, and he still likes her, despite lackluster reports on her performance at the U.N. The smears, though flatly inaccurate, won't help her either. What will help her and, more importantly a flagging Obama after the first debate, is hunting down the Benghazi culprits.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, October 17, 2012 9:22 PM
To: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: Rice on "This Week"

Pls print.

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 12:21 PM
To: H
Subject: Rice on "This Week"

Here is Susan on this week. She wasn't asked about whether we had any intel. But she did make clear our view that this started spontaneously and then evolved. The only troubling sentence relates to the investigation, specifically: "And we'll see when the investigation unfolds whether what was -- what transpired in Benghazi might have unfolded differently in different circumstances." But she got pushed there.

Waiting on other transcripts.

For more on what happened and why, let's bring in the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Dr. Susan Rice. Dr. Rice, thank you for joining us.

RICE: Good to be with you, Jake.

TAPPER: So, first of all, what is the latest you can tell us on who these attackers were at the embassy or at the consulate in Benghazi? We're hearing that the Libyans have arrested people. They're saying that some people involved were from outside the country, that there might have even been Al Qaida ties. What's the latest information?

RICE: Well, Jake, first of all, it's important to know that there's an FBI investigation that has begun and will take some time to be completed. That will tell us with certainty what transpired.

But our current best assessment, based on the information that we have at present, is that, in fact, what this began as, it was a spontaneous -- not a premeditated -- response to what had transpired in Cairo. In Cairo, as you know, a few hours earlier, there was a violent protest that was undertaken in reaction to this very offensive video that was disseminated.

We believe that folks in Benghazi, a small number of people came to the embassy to -- or to the consulate, rather, to replicate the sort of challenge that was posed in Cairo. And then as that unfolded, it seems to have been hijacked, let us say, by some individual clusters of extremists who came with heavier weapons, weapons that as you know in -- in the wake of the revolution in Libya are -- are quite common and accessible. And it then evolved from there.

We'll wait to see exactly what the investigation finally confirms, but that's the best information we have at present.

TAPPER: Why was there such a security breakdown? Why was there not better security at the compound in Benghazi? Why were there not U.S. Marines at the embassy in Tripoli?

RICE: Well, first of all, we had a substantial security presence with our personnel...

TAPPER: Not substantial enough, though, right?

RICE: ... with our personnel and the consulate in Benghazi. Tragically, two of the four Americans who were killed were there providing security. That was their function. And indeed, there were many other colleagues who were doing the same with them.

It obviously didn't prove sufficient to the -- the nature of the attack and sufficient in that -- in that moment. And that's why, obviously, we have reinforced our remaining presence in Tripoli and why the president has very -- been very clear that in Libya and throughout the region we are going to call on the governments, first of all, to assume their responsibilities to protect our facilities and our personnel, and we're reinforcing our facilities and our -- our embassies where possible...

TAPPER: But why...

RICE: ... and where needed.

TAPPER: Why would we not have Marines at the embassy in Tripoli to begin with? It would seem like this -- this is obviously an unstable country. This is a region where U.S. interests have been attacked in previous months. Why were there not Marines there to begin with?

RICE: First of all, there are Marines in some places around the world. There are not Marines in every facility. That depends on the circumstances. That depends on the requirements. Our presence in Tripoli, as in Benghazi, is relatively new, as you will recall. We've been back post-revolution only for a matter of months.

But I've visited there myself, both to Tripoli and Benghazi. I was very grateful to have a strong security presence with me as part of our -- our embassy detachment there. So we certainly are aware that Libya is a place where there have been increasingly some violent incidents. The security personnel that the State

Department thought were required were in place. And we'll see when the investigation unfolds whether what was -- what transpired in Benghazi might have unfolded differently in different circumstances.

But the president has been very clear. The protection of American personnel and facilities is and will remain our top priority. That's why we've reinforced our presence in Tripoli and elsewhere.

TAPPER: Look at this map, if you would. There have been protests around the world over the last several days. And President Obama pledged to repair America's relationships with the Muslim world. Why does the U.S. seem so impotent? And why is the U.S. even less popular today in some of these Muslim and Arab countries than it was four years ago?

RICE: Jake, we're not impotent. We're not even less popular, to challenge that assessment. I don't know on what basis you make that judgment. But let me -- let me point...

TAPPER: It just seems that the U.S. government is powerless as this -- as this maelstrom erupts.

RICE: It's actually the opposite. First of all, let's be clear about what transpired here. What happened this week in Cairo, in Benghazi, in many other parts of the region...

TAPPER: Tunisia, Khartoum...

RICE: ... was a result -- a direct result of a heinous and offensive video that was widely disseminated, that the U.S. government had nothing to do with, which we have made clear is reprehensible and disgusting. We have also been very clear in saying that there is no excuse for violence, there is -- that we have condemned it in the strongest possible terms.

But let's look at what's happened. It's quite the opposite of being impotent. We have worked with the governments in Egypt. President Obama picked up the phone and talked to President Morsi in Egypt. And as soon as he did that, the security provided to our personnel in our embassies dramatically increased. President Morsi...

TAPPER: It took two days for President Morsi to say anything about this.

RICE: President Morsi has been out repeatedly and said that he condemns this violence. He's called off -- and his people have called off any further demonstrations and have made very clear that this has to stop.

(CROSSTALK)

RICE: Now, and -- and same, frankly, in Tunisia, in Yemen, and, of course, in Libya, where the government has -- has gone out of its way to try to step up security and express deepest remorse for what has happened. We are quite popular in Libya, as you might expect, having been a major partner in their revolution. What transpired outside of our consulate in Benghazi was not an expression of deep-seated

anti-Americanism on the part of the Libyan people. Quite the contrary. The counter-demonstrations, the outpouring of sympathy and support for Ambassador Stevens and for the United States, the government of Libya and -- and the people on the street saying how pained they are by this, is much more a reflection of the sentiment towards the United States than a small handful of heavily armed mobsters.

TAPPER: That certainly, according to polling, is the case in Libya. Not the case in Egypt. And since you brought up President Morsi, let me try to get some clarification on something. President Obama was asked about the relationship with Egypt on Wednesday, and this is what he said.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

OBAMA: I don't think that we would consider them an ally, but we don't consider them an enemy. They are a new government that is trying to find its way.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

TAPPER: The United States has sent billions of dollars of U.S. taxpayer money to Egypt over the last few decades. And by definition, as you know, according to the State Department, Egypt is a major non-NATO ally of the United States. Why would President Obama say Egypt is not an ally?

RICE: Well, first of all, the president has been very clear and -- and everybody understands that Egypt is a very critical partner of the United States, has long been so. That relationship remains the same, and the president wasn't signaling any change in -- in the nature...

TAPPER: Was he trying to nudge Morsi?

RICE: The president wasn't signaling any change in the nature of our relationship. Obviously, the president had a conversation with President Morsi and a very productive one, in which he underscored that it's, of course, the responsibility of the Egyptian government as host to protect diplomatic personnel and facilities, including our own, and we saw that President Morsi, immediately after that, took dramatic steps to improve the security of our facilities in Cairo and elsewhere, and then went out and repeatedly made a number of very important and powerful statements condemning the violence and conveying the message that, however hateful such a video may be, there is absolutely no justification for violence against the United States or other Western partners.

So what we've seen is that the president has been incredibly calm, incredibly steady, and incredibly measured in his approach to this set of developments. And his interventions, his leadership has ensured that in Egypt, in Yemen, in Tunisia, in Libya, and many other parts of the world, that leaders have come out and made very plain that there's no excuse for this violence. We heard Prime Minister Erdogan of Turkey say the same, we heard the Grand Mufti in Saudi Arabia say the same, that there's no excuse for violence, that violence is to be condemned, and that governments have a responsibility to protect United States personnel and facilities and those of all foreign diplomats.

TAPPER: I know you have to go, but very quickly, was the president in that interview trying to nudge President Morsi, "Get your act together"?

RICE: No. I think that the president communicated directly with -- with President Morsi and had the opportunity to -- to understand our expectation that Egypt will do what it can to protect our facilities. So that -- that was conveyed very directly, and the results were immediate and quite satisfactory.

TAPPER: Dr. Rice, thank you so much for coming here today and answering our questions.

RICE: Good to be with you.

END

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Monday, October 15, 2012 4:56 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'reinesp@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: Fwd: [Salon] The Death of Ambassador Chris Stevens, the Need for "Expeditionary Diplomacy, " and the Real Lessons for U.S. Diplomacy

Worth reading.

From: [redacted]mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 15, 2012 10:27 AM
To: H
Subject: Fwd: [Salon] The Death of Ambassador Chris Stevens, the Need for "Expeditionary Diplomacy, " and the Real Lessons for U.S. Diplomacy

B6

Helpful article. Sid

Sent from my Verizon Wireless 4G LTE DROID

----- Original Message -----

Subject: [Salon] The Death of Ambassador Chris Stevens, the Need for "Expeditionary Diplomacy, " and the Real Lessons for U.S. Diplomacy
From: Chas Freeman &[redacted]&
To: " [Salon] " &salon@committeefortherepublic.org&
CC:

B6

The Death of Ambassador Chris Stevens, the Need for "Expeditionary Diplomacy," and the Real Lessons for U.S. Diplomacy

By Anthony H. Cordesman

Oct 11, 2012

http://csis.org/publication/death-ambassador-chris-stevens-need-expeditionary-diplomacy-and-real-lessons-us-diplomacy?utm_source=The+Death+of+Ambassador+Chris+Stevens+and+Real+Lessons+for+U.S.+Diplomacy&utm_campaign=The+Death+of+Ambassador+Chris+Stevens+and+Real+Lessons+for+U.S.+Diplomacy&utm_medium=email

It is almost inevitable in an election year that Republicans use every possible opportunity to attack the Obama Administration. Part of these attacks have been effort to embarrass the President by turning the killing of Ambassador Stevens into a "gotcha" contest where the President is somehow blamed for largely local security decisions and "intelligence failures." The Administration, in turn, has fumbled the situation by going into a state of confused denial – focusing on the uncertain chronology of events that led to Ambassador Chris Stevens' death.

The Republicans seem to be “winning” in political terms, largely because so few Americans in think tanks and the media realize that virtually all intelligence and security post-mortems on such events uncover the same problems. Once the event is over and clear patterns emerge, there are always warning indicators that could have been heeded in retrospect. If one ignores that vast amount of “noise” from other conflicting indicators, and looks back with 20-20 hindsight, every such event is always an “intelligence” failure.

Moreover, competent security officers always are asking for more support and coverage in any area where risks exist. There is never enough security even in the best funded times, and these are not the best funded times. Almost every aspect of U.S. diplomacy has been subject to budget cuts at a time of upheaval in the Arab world and global economic crisis.

A recent article by Dana Milbank in the Washington Post notes that the same Republican dominated House that now critiques events in Libya cut State Department operations by \$300 million in 2009 and eliminated funds for some 30 more security positions along with it. The House cut security funding by \$128 million in FY2011 and \$331 million in FY2012, although the Senate restored \$88 million. Under at least one of Congressman Ryan’s proposals to amend the budget, State Department funding would be cut by an additional 20% million in 2014 – which means another \$400 million cut in security.

It is no tribute to the Obama Administration that it did far too little to push back against these cuts, and even less to articulate the need to fund stronger U.S. “expeditionary diplomacy” efforts. Indeed, at a time when far too many countries are in crisis and the U.S. faces increased challenges to its regional goals, more funds, stronger country teams, increased humanitarian aid, beefed-up military assistance, and on-the-scene diplomacy is needed to support U.S. interests.

In fairness to Secretary Clinton and the large number of dedicated diplomatic professionals, State has tried to deal with these challenges by refocusing its diminishing resources, strengthening its ability to provide on-the-scene aid, and creating civil efforts that can deal with crises like Syria and the need to provide stronger U.S. aid and advisory teams if dictators like Assad fall.

So far, both the Republican “gotcha” efforts and the Administration’s failure to make the case for strong “expeditionary diplomacy” have totally failed to serve the U.S. national interest, and have been the worst possible memorial to Ambassador Chris Stevens, a man who clearly knew that America’s success required risk taking and action in the field.

It is time we come to grips with the world we actually live in. We can’t deal with the political upheavals in a single Arab country, the impact of Transition in Afghanistan, the internal struggle for the future of Islam, energy and trade security, the various national crises in Latin America and Africa, or the competition for the future of Asia by speeches in the U.S., quick visits by senior U.S. officials, outside radio and TV programs, and empty rhetoric about taking stronger stands or exporting U.S. values.

We need strong country teams, and teams that are active and take risks. We need men and women on the scene who accept the realities on the ground in the countries they operate in. We need strong country teams that can work with the full range of factions, provide help in forming political parties and changing governance, provide carefully selected aid and advisory efforts to catalyze reform, and provide military and security advisors that can help countries move towards stability without excessive repression and threatening their neighbors.

We need to protect our embassies, consulates, and military advisory groups, but we cannot afford to turn them in to fortresses that lock our diplomats, aid teams, and military on the scene away from events and the people they are trying to influence. If there are any real lessons from Libya —or Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Yemen, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and all the other nations on the long list of cases where American diplomats, advisors and security teams died to serve their country —it is that projecting any form of

smart power is done on the ground, is done by moving throughout the country, is done by taking risks, and will inevitably incur casualties.

Some will be ambassadors, some will be aid team personnel or experts in public diplomacy, and some will be CIA or men and women in uniform. Every one of them will be a tragedy. But we cannot let either false economies or extremist and terrorist threats defeat such efforts. The cost of properly funded expeditionary diplomacy —people, military and civil aid funds, and fully funded security efforts —is going to be cheaper even on a global level than losing contact and U.S. influence in a single country like Egypt, or being unprepared to deal with the flow of events in a nation like Syria or Iraq.

It is also already all too clear that extremist elements throughout the world realize that attacks on U.S. diplomats and military advisors or partners are one of the cheapest and most effective ways to gain immediate visibility, strike at the heart of U.S. public opinion, drive the U.S. out of a country, or limit its influence. No one needs to defeat U.S. military forces — which can only be deployed to a handful of countries at most —if they can expel or paralyze American diplomacy, support for U.S. businesses and investment, support for U.S. NGOs, and effective U.S. military and security advisory efforts.

This threat is already all too real in far too many parts of the world, and it has effectively eliminated one of the key differences between “hard” and “soft” power. “Soft” power cannot survive where it is not protected by “hard” power. Moreover, there are few if any crises cases where advice and aid in politics, governance, economics and rule of law can be separated from a matching need for advice and aid in addressing military, security, counterterrorism, and national police concerns.

In short, we do not need “gotcha” post-mortems or half-formed defenses. The tribute we really owe Ambassador Chris Stevens is to undertake the following eight steps:

- Understand that diplomacy will often be a form of asymmetric warfare in crisis countries, particularly those with crumbling regimes or new unstable governments. Accept the fact there can be no success without taking increased risk and suffering casualties.
- Set realistic and achievable goals country-by-country and give the ambassador and country team as much discretion as possible. Don't set impossible goals for instant democracy, human rights, rule of law or stability. Accept the need for evolutionary action and “doing it their way.” Don't try one size fits all ideological solutions or efforts from Washington.
- Stop focusing on narrow budget cuts and examine the costs and benefits of effective, well-funded country team efforts. If properly funded diplomacy and country team efforts only win support for the U.S. in one crisis country over the next decade, or avoid even one armed intervention, they will still more than pay for their costs in terms of the U.S. budget, and the overall effort will be immensely more valuable in terms of gains (and tax revenues) in U.S. trade and investment.
- Reexamine how to create all of the elements of “expeditionary diplomacy” efforts, including strong country teams, and the ability to suddenly boost teams in countries in crises, with the full range of tools an ambassador needs. This includes adequate staff, operating and security funds, and flexible aid funds that can be applied quickly to deal with changing needs and circumstances.
- Fully fund security but find the best ways to change existing procedures to emphasize mobility and move to high-risk areas. Refocus intelligence to help reduce risks, and restructure protection efforts to provide specially trained and equipped U.S. and foreign national security. Stop doing pointless security post-mortem blame games and focus on the future.
- Reward and encourage necessary risk taking. Make it clear that this is a key part of a successful career path, that it will be fully supported by State and other agencies deploying U.S. personnel, and reorient security efforts in country to protect such efforts in the best ways possible rather than creating rules that either make effective action impossible or force diplomats and advisors to violate such rules without protection. Anyone who works with U.S. diplomats, aid workers, and military advisory teams overseas

knows that we have strong cadres ready and willing to take such risks. The challenge is to properly support them in country and reward them for their service.

- Reexamine the insurance coverage, benefits, and salaries of such risk takers. Don't sustain the present situation in Afghanistan and earlier in Iraq where contractors get massive wage increases and diplomats and aid workers lack the full equivalent of combat pay and protection for them and their families if they are killed or disabled. Ensure adequate lasting medical care for lasting injuries.

Finally, see if there is some way the U.S. Congress can address these issues realistically in a way that actually focuses on U.S. national interests even in a time of petty partisan feeding frenzies. These efforts not only need the next Administration to fully fund and support them at a time of growing budget pressures, they need bipartisan support in both Houses of Congress.

There will be a need for outside review, for new reporting requirement and for hearings. But, they need to look forward. U.S. efforts must serve national interests rather than personal or partisan advantage, accept the complexity and time needed to deal with country-by-country efforts, and focus on pragmatic ways of dealing with the future rather than dissecting the past.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 8:40 PM
To: 'millsd@state.gov'
Subject: Re: POLITICO Breaking News

When will he do Senate/Feinstein?

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 08:06 PM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Subject: Fw: POLITICO Breaking News

From: Johnson, Brock A
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 08:04 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Reines, Philippe I; Klevorick, Caitlin B
Subject: FW: POLITICO Breaking News

From: Blumenfeld, Joshua R
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 8:03 PM
To: Coordination
Subject: Fw: POLITICO Breaking News

From: POLITICO Breaking News [mailto:breakingnews@politico.com]
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 08:01 PM
To: Blumenfeld, Joshua R
Subject: POLITICO Breaking News

POLITICO Breaking News

Gen. David Petraeus will testify Friday before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence about the Sept. 11 attack in Benghazi, Libya, the committee has announced. The 7:30 a.m. meeting is closed to the public. Petraeus was the director of the CIA when the fatal attacks occurred.

For more information... <http://www.politico.com>

To unsubscribe,
<http://dyn.politico.com/unsubscribe.cfm?email=BlumenfeldJR@State.Gov&uuid=6B8BA9DA-D396-139B-444B8BE9D5D51C68&alertID=1>

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2012 8:04 PM
To: Schwerin, Daniel B; H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re: Speech draft for Friday at CSIS

We will send a printed copy to you with the book tonight. Should be there shortly.

From: Schwerin, Daniel B
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2012 07:54 PM
To: HRC (HDR22@clintonemail.com) <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Speech draft for Friday at CSIS

Madam Secretary, here is our latest draft of Friday's speech. It's long – about 30 minutes in this version – but if you're comfortable with the general direction we'll streamline it.

Thanks
Dan

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, November 18, 2012 5:41 PM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: Fw: WSJ: Hillary and Libya

Pls print.

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, November 16, 2012 10:03 PM Eastern Standard Time
To: H
Subject: Fw: WSJ: Hillary and Libya

From: Caitlin Klevorick [mailto:[REDACTED]]
Sent: Friday, November 16, 2012 09:51 PM
To: Reines, Philippe I; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Rich Verma-personal [REDACTED]
Subject: WSJ: Hillary and Libya

B6

Hillary and Libya

November 16, 2012

Wall Street Journal

David Petraeus told Congress Friday in closed hearings that the CIA believed from the start that the September 11 attacks on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi were by terrorists. That leaves one VIP who's still missing from Congressional scrutiny: Hillary Clinton.

GOP Congressman Peter King said Mr. Petraeus's testimony differed from what the former CIA director told Congress immediately after the attacks. Mr. King also said Mr. Petraeus said that the CIA's original talking points on the attacks were edited. The altered version became the basis for U.N. Ambassador Susan Rice's misleading and now infamous comments blaming the attacks on a YouTube video. Both that discrepancy and the issue of the altered talking points need further digging, especially if Ms. Rice is nominated to be the next Secretary of State.

But Mr. Petraeus wasn't responsible for lax consulate security or the U.S. policy that led to the Libya debacle. That's Mrs. Clinton's bailiwick. Last month in interviews from deepest Peru, the Secretary of State said "I take responsibility" for Benghazi.

Except she hasn't. She was conveniently out of the country for this week's House Foreign Affairs hearing, and Senate Foreign Relations Chairman John Kerry refuses to hold any hearings on Benghazi. His loyalty may get him a cabinet job, while Carl Levin's Armed Services Committee also pretends nothing much happened in Libya.

The targets of the attacks and its first victims were diplomats. Chris Stevens died of smoke inhalation in the blaze, becoming the first American ambassador killed in the line of duty in over 30 years. A junior colleague also died. These men were Mrs. Clinton's "responsibility." Several hours after the assault on the consulate, members of the jihadist militia Ansar al-Shariah turned on the CIA compound about a mile away, killing two of Mr. Petraeus's men.

In Congressional hearings last month, career State officials admitted that threat warnings from Benghazi were overlooked and requests for better security turned down. They said Foggy Bottom misjudged the ability of a weak Libyan state to protect them. It's not clear how high up the chain these concerns went, but over to you, Mrs. Clinton.

For over a week after the attacks, the Administration blamed the YouTube video. Mrs. Clinton didn't push this misleading narrative in public as enthusiastically as Ms. Rice. Still, she bought into it. The father of Tyrone Woods, a CIA contractor who was killed in Benghazi, told media outlets last month that Mrs. Clinton tried to comfort him by promising that the U.S.-based maker of the video would be "prosecuted and arrested"—though terrorists killed his son.

Beyond the Benghazi attacks is the larger issue of the Administration's Libya policy, a failure that Mrs. Clinton should also answer for. At the start of the Libya uprising, Washington hid behind the U.N. Security Council to resist calls for intervention. Mrs. Clinton's department then made the mistake of agreeing to a U.N. arms embargo on both the Gadhafi regime and the rebels. This blunder forced the rebels to look elsewhere for weapons and cash, particularly Gulf states like Qatar that favored Islamist militias.

As Gadhafi's forces were about to overrun Benghazi in March, the Arab League, Britain and France called for military intervention. Only after the Security Council gave the green light—when Russia abstained—did NATO launch air strikes. American cruise missiles and bombers led the way, but ~~on April 11~~ President Obama pulled the U.S. out of a leadership combat role.

The U.S. also waited until July to recognize the Benghazi rebel opposition as "the legitimate governing authority," after Luxembourg and 25 other countries had already done so. The war lasted until October, much longer than necessary.

American disengagement continued after Gadhafi fell. Though rich in oil, Libya's well-intentioned new leaders needed advice and encouragement to build a functioning state. The most pressing need was to rein in the anti-Gadhafi militias and stand up a national army. But the U.S. was reluctant to follow up with aid or know-how. (See our December 24, 2011 editorial, "MIA on the Shores of Tripoli.") Qatar and the United Arab Emirates stepped in with money and weapons, again favoring Islamist groups.

The Libyan people nonetheless voted in elections this summer for secular, pro-Western leaders. Yet the government has limited powers and lacks a proper army. The militias have stepped into the vacuum, while al Qaeda-style training camps proliferate in the hills around Benghazi.

This abdication is the backdrop to what happened on September 11. The large CIA outpost in Benghazi was supposed to monitor jihadists and work with State to round up thousands of mobile surface-to-air missiles in Libya. Yet it turns out that it's hard to fight terrorists on the ground with drones from remote bases. Without a functioning government or broader U.S. aid, a small Islamist militia was able to target foreign diplomats and eventually lay siege to the U.S. compound. The CIA closed its entire Benghazi shop that very morning—an abject retreat.

For weeks, the Administration has tried to shift blame for Benghazi to the "intelligence community." Mr. Petraeus's fall makes him an easy scapegoat, even as Mrs. Clinton takes a valedictory lap at State and sets her sights on a 2016 Presidential run.

But U.S. Libya policy has been her handiwork, and with the exception of the fall of Gadhafi it is a notable failure. Mrs. Clinton is also a main architect of U.S. policy in Syria, which continues to descend into disorder that may engulf the region. She shouldn't get a free pass from Congress.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 9:17 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Verma, Richard R
Subject: FW: HomelandSecurity, Intelligence: Dear Colleague: COSIGN: Letter Opposing Ambassador Susan Rice for Secretary of State

FYI

From: e-Dear Colleague
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2012 08:56 AM
To: E-DEARCOLL ISSUES G-Z 0000@ls2.house.gov <E-DEARCOLL ISSUES G-Z 0000@ls2.house.gov>
Subject: HomelandSecurity, Intelligence: Dear Colleague: COSIGN: Letter Opposing Ambassador Susan Rice for Secretary of State

COSIGN: Letter Opposing Ambassador Susan Rice for Secretary of State

From: The Honorable Jeff Duncan
Sent By: Rebecca.G.Ulrich@mail.house.gov
Date: 11/14/2012

November 14, 2012

Dear Colleague,

I would like to bring to your attention the letter below regarding reports that President Obama may be considering Ambassador Susan Rice to succeed Hillary Clinton as Secretary of State. I am very concerned about this possibility, and I intend to send the following letter to the president in opposition to any efforts to nominate Ambassador Rice for the position of Secretary of State. The deadline to sign is Friday, November 16th at noon.

November 16, 2012

President Barack Obama

The White House

1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW

Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We, the undersigned, are deeply troubled by reports that you may be considering Ambassador Susan Rice to succeed Hillary Clinton as Secretary of State. Though Ambassador Rice has been our Representative to the U.N., we believe her misleading statements over the days and weeks following the attack on our embassy in Libya that led to the deaths of Ambassador Stevens and three other Americans caused irreparable damage to her credibility both at home and around the world.

In her interviews over that time, Ambassador Rice propagated a falsehood that the attacks were "spontaneous," the outcome of a protest "spun out of control," and the result of a YouTube video. Only on September 19 – eight days after the attack – did the American people learn from National Counterterrorism Director Matthew Olsen that the intelligence services considered the attack an act of terrorism and that al Qaeda may have played a role.

Ambassador Rice is widely viewed as having either willfully or incompetently misled the American public in the Benghazi matter. Her actions plausibly give U.S. allies (and rivals) abroad reason to question U.S. commitment and credibility when needed. Thus, we believe that making her the face of U.S. foreign policy in your second term would greatly undermine your desire to improve U.S. relations with the world and continue your trust with the American people.

As you know, there have been repeated Congressional requests for information on the events of September 11, 2012. Over the past month, our Senate colleagues have sent 13 separate letters to senior Administration officials, including to you. Many Members of the House of Representatives have also sent letters requesting answers. Our questions remain unanswered, and your Administration continues to deny Congress access to critical information necessary for effective oversight.

Recent reports of discrepancies between the Department of Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency's public timelines of the events on September 11 only exacerbate the problem, and we believe these inconsistencies deserve closer examination.

In light of this troubling situation and the continued unanswered questions, we strongly oppose any efforts to nominate Ambassador Susan Rice for the position of Secretary of State.

Sincerely,

Members of Congress

CC: All U.S. Senators

Yours in Liberty,

Jeff Duncan (SC-03)

Member of Congress

Visit the [e-Dear Colleague Service](#) to manage your subscription to the available Issue and Party list(s).

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sherman, Wendy R <ShermanWR@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, October 13, 2012 9:23 AM
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: CSIS

Just wanted to tell you that speech yesterday was terrific. Important to say that never will be perfect security; that diplomats can't operate in bunkers; that the world is a dangerous place. Thought NYT article this morning helpful as well. We have understandably been more on defense but love the offense. Thank you. If any of us can help reinforce, let us know,

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 6:10 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Cc: 'SchwerinDB@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Ending of speech

Ok. I'll read the whole thing. Can you email it to me?

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2012 12:56 AM
To: H
Cc: Schwerin, Daniel B <SchwerinDB@state.gov>
Subject: Ending of speech

B5

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, December 20, 2012 7:38 AM
To: 'Burnswj@state.gov'; 'NidesTR@state.gov'
Cc: 'millsd@state.gov'
Subject: Thank you so much

Dear Bill and Tom,

I'm sorry that I cannot be on the Hill today as we had long planned, but very grateful that you both will be. The Department and I appreciate your leadership everyday.

So, I'll be nursing my cracked head and cheering you on as you "remain calm and carry on"!

Happy Holidays---H

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 11:52 AM
To: [REDACTED] H
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re: Chris Stevens

B6

Thx

----- Original Message -----

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 07:46 AM
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Abedin, Huma; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Chris Stevens

To you and all my former colleagues, I'm so terribly sorry. Our FSOs stand on the front lines just as surely and devotedly as our soldiers do. Thinking of you and Pat and everyone this morning.
AM

RELEASE IN PART B3 CIA
PERS/ORG,B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 23, 2012 10:37 PM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: Remarks

Pls print.

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 07:47 PM
To: H
Subject: Remarks

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 7:17 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Remarks

B3 CIA PERS/ORG
B6

Good evening.

First, amazing service today. Many thanks to you and everyone at your Department -- beginning with the Secretary -- for working so incredibly hard to make such a difficult ceremony so dignified for everyone involved. The Director and I are truly grateful.

Second, we are now in the process of sending you the classified cables the Secretary and/or you requested. We are sending them to your Ops Center. Thanks.

Cheers, RS

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, September 22, 2012 4:05 PM
To: H
Subject: cgi draft v3 092212.docx
Attachments: cgi draft v3 092212.docx

Megan is working on a development speech but please read the below if you can this afternoon.

B5

Let me know your thoughts.

202-431-6498

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202-431-6498

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202-431-6498

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Saturday, September 22, 2012 4:07 PM
To: Oscar Flores
Subject: Fw: cgi draft v3 092212.docx
Attachments: cgi draft v3 092212.docx

Pls print.

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 22, 2012 04:05 PM
To: H
Subject: cgi draft v3 092212.docx

Megan is working on a development speech but please read the below if you can this afternoon.

B5

. Let me know your thoughts.

202-431-6498

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202-431-6498

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202-431-6498

B5

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2012 12:51 PM
To: H
Cc: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Fw: Feltman tidbits

Fyi

----- Original Message -----

From: Sherman, Wendy R
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2012 12:21 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Jones, Beth E; Carson, Johnnie
Subject: Feltman tidbits

Please very hold close but a few tidbits from meeting one on one with Jeff:

--Sahel/ Mali- will call for Envoy but not yet have named. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Mandate for envoy will be 1) put meat on strategy bones to include political, security, development, humanitarian, human rights 2) make sure UN is implementing throughout all agencies 3) mediation in Mali. [REDACTED]

B5

--Syria - LB believes key is putting together transitional government; [REDACTED]

B5

[REDACTED] Grateful for conversation with Robert. LB doesn't plan on coming to DC but prefers to see S in NY. Jeff believes being based in Cairo is right thing for LB. Believes Morsi sincere in initiative but neither Jeff nor LB believe going anywhere. LB very concerned about ideas coming from Saudis and does not yet have date to go to Riyadh. Concerned about Bandar.

--Libya- Absolutely agrees that Mitri should turn attention to security. Sent [REDACTED] to Beirut over weekend to see Mitri and put security at top of agenda. Says we will like Mitri a lot. Also suggests when S sees Mikati that she say we will watch closely how they conduct themselves as chair of Foreign Affairs committee of AL. Jeff had been worried about Iranian initiative that Bill's call had killed.

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 11:30 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Magariaf on attack on US in Libya. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo magariaf, attack on US in Libya 091212.docx

Follow Up Flag: Follow up
Flag Status: Flagged

More info.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 12:50 AM
To: H
Subject: H: Magariaf on attack on US in Libya. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

September 12, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Magariaf and the attack on US in Libya

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During the afternoon of September 11, 2012 new interim President of Libya Mohammed Yusef el Magariaf spoke in private with senior advisors, including the members of the Libyan Muslim Brotherhood, to discuss the attacks by demonstrators on U.S. missions in Tripoli and Benghazi. According to a sensitive source, el Magariaf was shaken by the attacks, and gave permission to commanders on the ground for security forces to open fire over the heads of the crowds in an effort to break up mobs

attacking the missions. During this session, a senior security officer told el Magariaf that the attacks on that day were inspired by what many devout Libyan viewed as a sacrilegious internet video on the prophet Mohammed originating in America. The Libyan attacks were also inspired by and linked to an attack on the U.S. mission in Egypt on the same day. At the same time, el Magariaf noted in strong terms that the atmosphere that made fostered these incidents in Libya is the product of widespread publicity regarding the security situation in the country between 2004 and 2010 and the cooperation that developed between a number of Western Intelligence services and the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi.

2. This source added that el Magariaf's advisors believe that this situation adds to the President's growing concern over the unpredictable effects that will follow current covert efforts by his political opponents to link him directly to foreign intelligence services. According to a separate sensitive source, el Magariaf noted that his opponents had often tried to connect him to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) through the National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL), a group established in opposition to former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi, which el Magariaf led in the 1980s. In the opinion of this individual el Magariaf believes that he can survive potential negative publicity in this regard, but if this situation continues to develop in this manner it will complicate his efforts to establish an orderly administration in the country. Again, he stated that the attacks on the U.S. missions were as much a result of the atmosphere created by this campaign, as the controversial internet video.

3. At the same time, this individual noted that several of el Magariaf's advisors share his concerns in this matter, pointing out that the return of Qaddafi's intelligence chief Abdullah al-Senoussi for trial in Libya has heightened public interest in the liaison relationships conducted by the CIA and British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) with Qaddafi's intelligence and security services. These same individuals note that they believe Islamist militia forces under the command of General Abdelhakim Belhaj captured files and documents describing this relationship from Qaddafi's offices in Tripoli. This fascination with Western intelligence operations in Qaddafi's Libya is also driven by Human Rights Watch (HRW) and its efforts to tie Western governments to human rights violations committed under Qaddafi. In this regard HRW has interviewed at least fourteen (14) individuals claiming that they were turned over to Qaddafi's forces by the Western powers. Belhaj is included in this group.

4. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el Magariaf's enemies are working to take advantage of his suspected links to the CIA at a time when Western intelligence services are under scrutiny in Libya. They also fear that this situation will only grow more complex as Qaddafi's son Saif al Islam Qaddafi and al Senoussi are brought before Libyan courts to answer for their crimes under the old regime, particularly during the 2011 revolution. These individuals believe both men will be linked to Western Intelligence during their trials.)

5. According to this individual, el Magariaf is working with the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamist groups to defuse this situation. He is particularly concerned by the level of violence between Sufi Muslims and Salafists, and believes he must maintain his reputation for impartiality if he is to defuse this growing problem. As he works to organize the government, and disarm the militias, he cannot afford to lose the respect and trust of the Libyan people, especially at a time when cultural clashes between followers of the mystical Sufi tradition and ultra-conservative Salafis have taken central stage in the new Libya. This source adds that these religious conflicts were largely unknown during Qaddafi's rule.

6. (Source Comment: This source added that the individuals interviewed for the HRW report were former members of the Libyan Islamist Fighting Group (LIFG), an Islamist group formed in opposition to Gaddafi's controversial interpretations of Islam. These LIFG fighters fled the country in the late 1980s and went to Afghanistan to join the fight against the Soviet Union while also gaining training and experience for their own struggle. A separate source adds that messages to Libya from the CIA and SIS were found among the Tripoli Documents published by HRW, indicating that the United States and Britain were eager to help Libya capture several senior LIFG figures, including its co-founders, Belhaj and Sami al-Saadi.)

7. As Libyan authorities struggle to control the armed rings that refuse to surrender weapons following last year's civil war, Salafis, who say Islam should return to the simple ways followed by Mohammed, have established their own armed gangs in post-Gaddafi Libya. They view Sufi practices as idolatrous. Since the start of the Arab Spring uprising across the region, a number of Sufi sites have been attacked in Egypt, Mali and Libya. Magariaf is determined to establish a democratic state based on Islamic principles. This individual adds that Magariaf remains dedicated to the idea of building a tolerant Islamic state in Libya. El Magariaf's opinions continue to be shaped by his experience with Qaddafi, whom he felt built a cult of personality in violation of all of the basic ideas of Islam.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 6:16 PM
To: H
Subject: Fwd: more on libya
Attachments: Libya 37 sept 12 12.docx

B6

Sending direct. Just in.

Sent from my Verizon Wireless 4G LTE DROID

----- Original Message -----

Subject: more on libya
From: tyler drumheller <[REDACTED]>
To: [REDACTED] <[REDACTED]>
CC:

B6

. PROPRIETARY/CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT: Libya (37)

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION COMES FROM AN EXTREMELY SENSITIVE SOURCE AND SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH CARE.

1. On September 12, 2012 Libyan President Mohammed Yussef el Magariaf told senior advisors that the death of the U.S. Ambassador at the hands of Islamist militia forces represents a threat to the future of the newly elected General National Congress (GNC) Government. According to a sensitive source, el Magariaf believes that the primary goal of this and other attacks on Western facilities is to demonstrate that the GNC cannot protect its non-Islamic friends. Libyan security officials believe that the attack was carried out by forces of the Islamist militia group calling itself the Ansar al Sharia brigade; working out of camps in the Eastern suburbs of Benghazi. These officials added that their sources indicate that this group is led by former members of the old Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG), some of whom are loyal to Islamist General Abdelhakim Belhaj. The same officials were quick to point out that they have no evidence that Belhaj had any direct involvement in this attack. They also have no direct information as to whether this assault has anything to do with the death of Libyan born al Qai'da leader Abu Yahya al- Libi, but they are pursuing this theme. These officials do

believe that the attackers having prepared to launch their assault took advantage of the cover provided by the demonstrations in Benghazi protesting an internet production seen as disrespectful to the prophet Mohammed.

2. According to this source, the immediate events were set in motion by a statement made by a Muslim Cleric in Egypt saying that the internet film was going to be shown across the United States on September 11 in an effort to insult Muslims on the anniversary of the attacks on the New York World Trade Center in 2001. This statement inspired increasingly hostile demonstrations at the U.S. Embassy in Cairo, and at diplomatic facilities in Libya. In Benghazi, reporting from security sources states, approximately twenty one (21) Ansar al Sharia fighters left their base in East Benghazi just after sundown infiltrated the crowd of about 2,000 demonstrators at the U.S. Consulate. These forces, operating under cover of darkness, opened fire on the consulate, eventually setting it on fire with rocket propelled grenades. These fighters then withdrew to their camp. El Magariaf ordered security officials to identify and arrest the attackers, adding that he had been in touch with Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi, and the two agreed that their intelligence and security personnel will cooperate in this matter. (Note: Some of the Libyan officials believe that the entire demonstration was organized as cover for the attack, however; they point out that there is no evidence of such a complex operation at this time.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, Libyan security officers also informed el Magariaf that the attacks had been planned for approximately one month, based on casing information obtained during an early demonstration at the U.S. consulate in Benghazi. The attackers were, in the opinion of these individuals, looking for an opportunity to approach the consulate

under cover in a crowd. These officials add that government security officers admitted to el Magariaf that they do not have the physical capacity to locate, attack, and destroy the Ansar al-Sharia brigade, among others. They describe these forces as well-trained, hardened killers; many of whom have spent time in Afghanistan and Yemen. These fighters are located in camps in Eastern Libya; and Libyan officials doubt they can penetrate these camps because the militia's are better armed than the forces of the new National Army.

4. In the opinion of a separate source El Magariaf continues to believe that the attacks were planned and carried out in a political atmosphere where a portion of the Libyan population is focused on past cooperation between Western intelligence and security services, and the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi. According to this source, el Magariaf realizes that the death of the U.S. Ambassador dictates that he must find tangible solutions to the problems tied to disarming the militias, dealing Salafist violence against the followers of Sufi beliefs, and efforts to discredit his government through linking him to Western intelligence services. El Magariaf instructed his security officials to cooperate with their U.S. counterparts. He also warned all of his advisors to be prepared for U.S. retaliation against the suspected perpetrators of this attack, and the angry public reaction that is sure to follow.

5. (Source Comment: A separate, particularly sensitive source added that in private conversation el Magariaf stated that if his government cannot protect a senior diplomatic official, foreign businesses will not be willing to risk opening up new operations in Libya. According to this sensitive source, el Magariaf believes that a number of the Islamist militias are now being influenced al Qai'da and other radical groups; working out of camps in the Eastern and Southeastern parts of the

country. These groups are receiving aid and weapons from supporters in Sudan. In the end, el Magariaf added that while he does not expect U.S. officials to focus on this point, he believes the attacks against the interests and citizens of the U.S. and other Western states are aimed first at overthrowing his government, and replacing it with a strict Islamic Republic dominated by Salafist leaders. Magariaf also warned that tribal militias loyal to the Qaddafi family continue to present an equally dangerous threat to the new Government.)

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 11:30 PM
To: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Magariaf on attack on US in Libya. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo magariaf, attack on US in Libya 091212.docx

Pls print.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 12:50 AM
To: H
Subject: H: Magariaf on attack on US in Libya. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

September 12, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Magariaf and the attack on US in Libya

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 6:16 PM
To: H
Subject: Fwd: more on libya
Attachments: Libya 37 sept 12 12.docx

B6

Sending direct. Just in.

Sent from my Verizon Wireless 4G LTE DROID

----- Original Message -----

Subject: more on libya
From: tyler drumheller <[REDACTED]>
To: [REDACTED] <[REDACTED]>
CC:

B6

PROPRIETARY/CONFIDENTIAL

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under cover in a crowd. These officials add that government security officers admitted to el Magariaf that they do not have the physical capacity to locate, attack, and destroy the Ansar al-Sharia brigade, among others. They describe these forces as well-trained, hardened killers; many of whom have spent time in Afghanistan and Yemen. These fighters are located in camps in Eastern Libya; and Libyan officials doubt they can penetrate these camps because the militia's are better armed than the forces of the new National Army.

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 11:28 PM
To: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: Fwd: more on libya
Attachments: Libya 37 sept 12 12.docx

Pls print.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 06:16 PM
To: H
Subject: Fwd: more on libya

B6

Sending direct. Just in.

Sent from my Verizon Wireless 4G LTE DROID

----- Original Message -----

Subject: more on libya
From: tyler drumheller <[REDACTED]>
To: [REDACTED] <[REDACTED]>
CC:

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sidney Blumenthal <[REDACTED]>
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 6:32 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Morsi's private conversations today. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo morsi's private conversations 091412.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

September 14, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Morsi's private conversations & coordination with Magariaf

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. Late in the day on September 14, 2012, Egyptian President Mohamad Morsi told senior European diplomats that he is increasingly concerned the current anti-U.S. and anti-Western violence spreading through Cairo and into the rest of Egypt may be part of an effort by his Salafist political rivals to destabilize his government, which many of them believe is too moderate in its positions regarding Islam, Israel, and the non-Muslim world. According to this source, Morsi, who is in Brussels for meetings with the European Union (EU), was particularly concerned over a message from Army commander General Abdel Fatah al-Sissi, that Islamist guerrillas, believed to be drawn primarily from the Sawarki Bedouin tribe, had launched an attack on a base of the International Peacekeeping Force (IPF) in the Sinai. The General reported that the 1500 United Nations troops at the base, including some U.S. forces, were under heavy attack and casualty figures were not yet known. Morsi stated that this fight was an example of radical anti-government forces and Salafist Islamist dissidents taking advantage of the current situation to carry out attacks that demonstrate his government is unable to protect Western personnel and facilities in Egypt. Morsi stated that the success or failure of his regime is directly tied to his ability to establish a moderate Islamic state that can work with western business interests.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, the current wave of violence is related to an ongoing struggle between Salafist and Sufi Muslims throughout Egypt. What makes it more frustrating for Morsi is that much of the violence appears to be inspired by members of the Salafist al Nour Party, the coalition partner of Morsi's Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) in the new Egyptian Parliament. According to this individual, Morsi delayed condemning the initial attacks on the U.S.

Embassy out of concern that his opponents would use such a statement to move against his government. Late on the evening of September 13, 2012, Mohammed Badie, the Supreme Guide of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (MB), sent a message to Morsi warning that he and the Supreme Guidance Council were concerned that the situation around the U.S. Embassy was getting out of control and that, difficult as it might seem, he had to take tough measures against the demonstrators, and protect the interests of the U.S. and other Western Governments. In a telephone discussion with Saad al-Katany, the MB/Freedom and Justice Party (MB/FJP) Speaker of the lower house of parliament, Morsi admitted that he had felt constrained from acting, given his past history of poor personal relations with the leaders of al Nour. Al-Katany urged him to gain control of the situation.)

3. On September 14, Morsi also stated to an EU official that he had received extremely forceful messages from both the U.S. State Department and the Office of the U.S. President, leaving no doubt in his mind that the U.S. -Egyptian relations and more than \$1billion in U.S. aid were at stake in this matter. Morsi added that since much of this aid goes to the Egyptian Army, he and al-Katany agreed that actions that put it in jeopardy would also damage the new Egyptian administration's current good relationship with the Army. Accordingly, Morsi instructed the military and security forces to use all necessary force short of lethal measures to protect U.S. and Western facilities. In a private conversation, Morsi stated that he felt he is losing control of the political situation and fears that if the current fighting results in deaths, either of demonstrators, U.S. diplomats, Egyptian security personnel, or UN peacekeepers, the situation may spin out of control and his government could fall. Al-Katany agreed, but said that taking no action would guarantee disaster. They agreed that when the situation calms down they will have to deal with the al Nour party, which they fear will, in the future, take advantage of circumstances to try to destabilize Morsi's administration. With this in mind, Morsi ordered al-Sissi to direct the commanders of Military Intelligence (MI -Mukhabarat el-Khabeya) to step up operations collecting information on the activities of the al Nour leadership, focusing on any contacts with potentially violent Salafist dissidents.

4. (Source Comment: A separate sensitive source also noted that General al-Sissi is warning Morsi about press reports that the person who made the controversial internet film at the heart of this situation is an Egyptian Coptic Christian. The General cautioned that as this report gains wider circulation, the government and the Army must prepare for violent attacks by Islamists against that community, which makes up ten (10) percent of the Egyptian population.)

5. A separate sensitive source noted that for his part, al-Sissi is prepared to to have his troops take harsh measures against any demonstrators who attack Western personnel and facilities. The General is also concerned that the al Nour leaders are even more dangerous than Morsi realizes, and he has ordered the MI to increase technical and physical surveillance of these individuals. In addition, he stated in private that Morsi and al-Katany spoke with Libyan President Mohammed Yusef el Magariaf, and they had all agreed that military and security officials in Egypt and Libya will cooperate in an effort to track links between the violence in Cairo and Benghazi. Al-Sissi has ordered Special Forces units to step up patrols in the Egypt-Libya border region, while the MI will monitor communications between dissidents; primarily Salafists, in both countries. According to this source the General is convinced that these dissidents are seizing the opportunity presented by the current unrest to move against the governments of Morsi and al-Magariaf. He also received permission from Morsi to step up cooperation with his counterparts in the U.S. and Western Europe to deal with this situation and al-Sissi believes al-Magariaf has given similar instructions to Libyan military and security officials.

6. (Source Comment: According to a separate sensitive source, al-Sissi believes that, given his new orders from Morsi, the Army can, for the most part, protect Western facilities and personnel in Egypt. But the General is concerned that the security services can never completely eliminate the

threat from small well organized bands looking to carry out terrorist attacks. Following discussion with Libyan security officials he believes they have the same concerns.)

CONFIDENTIAL

September 14, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Morsi's private conversations & coordination with Magariaf

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. Late in the day on September 14, 2012, Egyptian President Mohamad Morsi told senior European diplomats that he is increasingly concerned the current anti-U.S. and anti-Western violence spreading through Cairo and into the rest of Egypt may be part of an effort by his Salafist political rivals to destabilize his government, which many of them believe is too moderate in its positions regarding Islam, Israel, and the non-Muslim world. According to this source, Morsi, who is in Brussels for meetings with the European Union (EU), was particularly concerned over a message from Army commander General Abdel Fatah al-Sissi, that Islamist guerrillas, believed to be drawn primarily from the Sawarki Bedouin tribe, had launched an attack on a base of the International Peacekeeping Force (IPF) in the Sinai. The General reported that the 1500 United Nations troops at the base, including some U.S. forces, were under heavy attack and casualty figures were not yet known. Morsi stated that this fight was an example of radical anti-government forces and Salafist Islamist dissidents taking advantage of the current situation to carry out attacks that demonstrate his government is unable to protect Western personnel and facilities in Egypt. Morsi stated that the success or failure of his regime is directly tied to his ability to establish a moderate Islamic state that can work with western business interests.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, the current wave of violence is related to an ongoing struggle between Salafist and Sufi Muslims throughout Egypt. What makes it more frustrating for Morsi is that much of the violence appears to be inspired by members of the Salafist al Nour Party, the coalition partner of Morsi's Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) in the new Egyptian Parliament. According to this individual, Morsi delayed condemning the initial attacks on the U.S. Embassy out of concern that his opponents would use such a statement to move against his government. Late on the evening of September 13, 2012, Mohammed Badie, the Supreme Guide of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (MB), sent a message to Morsi warning that he and the Supreme Guidance Council were concerned that the

situation around the U.S. Embassy was getting out of control and that, difficult as it might seem, he had to take tough measures against the demonstrators, and protect the interests of the U.S. and other Western Governments. In a telephone discussion with Saad al-Katany, the MB/Freedom and Justice Party (MB/FJP) Speaker of the lower house of parliament, Morsi admitted that he had felt constrained from acting, given his past history of poor personal relations with the leaders of al Nour. Al-Katany urged him to gain control of the situation.)

3. On September 14, Morsi also stated to an EU official that he had received extremely forceful messages from both the U.S. State Department and the Office of the U.S. President, leaving no doubt in his mind that the U.S. -Egyptian relations and more than \$1 billion in U.S. aid were at stake in this matter. Morsi added that since much of this aid goes to the Egyptian Army, he and al-Katany agreed that actions that put it in jeopardy would also damage the new Egyptian administration's current good relationship with the Army. Accordingly, Morsi instructed the military and security forces to use all necessary force short of lethal measures to protect U.S. and Western facilities. In a private conversation, Morsi stated that he felt he is losing control of the political situation and fears that if the current fighting results in deaths, either of demonstrators, U.S. diplomats, Egyptian security personnel, or UN peacekeepers, the situation may spin out of control and his government could fall. Al-Katany agreed, but said that taking no action would guarantee disaster. They agreed that when the situation calms down they will have to deal with the al Nour party, which they fear will, in the future, take advantage of circumstances to try to destabilize Morsi's administration. With this in mind, Morsi ordered al-Sissi to direct the commanders of Military Intelligence (MI -Mukhabarat el-Khabeya) to step up operations collecting information on the activities of the al Nour leadership, focusing on any contacts with potentially violent Salafist dissidents.

4. (Source Comment: A separate sensitive source also noted that General al-Sissi is warning Morsi about press reports that the person who made the controversial internet film at the heart of this situation is an Egyptian Coptic Christian. The General cautioned that as this report gains wider circulation, the government and the Army must prepare for violent attacks by Islamists against that community, which makes up ten (10) percent of the Egyptian population.)

5. A separate sensitive source noted that for his part, al-Sissi is prepared to to have his troops take harsh measures against any demonstrators who attack Western personnel and facilities. The General is also concerned that the al Nour leaders are even more dangerous than Morsi realizes, and he has ordered the MI to increase technical and physical surveillance of these individuals. In addition, he stated in private that Morsi and al-Katany spoke with Libyan President Mohammed Yussef el Magariaf, and they had all agreed that military and security officials in Egypt and Libya will cooperate in an effort to track links between the violence in Cairo and Benghazi. Al-Sissi has ordered Special Forces units to step up patrols in the Egypt-Libya border region, while the MI will monitor communications between dissidents; primarily Salafists, in both countries. According to this source the General is convinced that these dissidents are seizing the opportunity presented by the current unrest to move against the governments of Morsi and al-Magariaf. He also received permission from Morsi to step up cooperation with his counterparts in the U.S. and Western Europe to deal with this situation and

al-Sissi believes al-Magariaf has given similar instructions to Libyan military and security officials.

6. (Source Comment: According to a separate sensitive source, al-Sissi believes that, given his new orders from Morsi, the Army can, for the most part, protect Western facilities and personnel in Egypt. But the General is concerned that the security services can never completely eliminate the threat from small well organized bands looking to carry out terrorist attacks. Following discussion with Libyan security officials he believes they have the same concerns.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sidney Blumenthal [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 12:29 AM
To: H
Subject: H: More Magariaf privat reax (sent now as memo). Sid
Attachments: hrc memo more magariaf private reax 091312.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

September 13, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: More Magariaf private reax

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. On September 12, 2012 Libyan President Mohammed Yusef el Magariaf told senior advisors that the death of the U.S. Ambassador at the hands of Islamist militia forces represents a threat to the future of the newly elected General National Congress (GNC) Government. According to a sensitive source, el Magariaf believes that the primary goal of this and other attacks on Western facilities is to demonstrate that the GNC cannot protect its non-Islamic friends. Libyan security officials believe that the attack was carried out by forces of the Islamist militia group calling itself the Ansar al Sharia brigade; working out of camps in the Eastern suburbs of Benghazi. These officials added that their sources indicate that this group is led by former members of the old Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG), some of whom are loyal to Islamist General Abdelhakim Belhaj. The same officials were quick to point out that they have no evidence that Belhaj had any direct involvement in this attack. They also have no direct information as to whether this assault has anything to do with the death of Libyan born al Qai'da leader Abu Yahya al- Libi, but they are pursuing this theme. These officials do believe that the attackers having prepared to launch their assault took advantage of the cover provided by the demonstrations in Benghazi protesting an internet production seen as disrespectful to the prophet Mohammed.

2. According to this source, the immediate events were set in motion by a statement made by a Muslim Cleric in Egypt saying that the internet film was going to be shown across the United States on September 11 in an effort to insult Muslims on the anniversary of the attacks on the New York World Trade Center in 2001. This statement inspired increasingly hostile demonstrations at the U.S.

Embassy in Cairo, and at diplomatic facilities in Libya. In Benghazi, reporting from security sources states, approximately twenty one (21) Ansar al Sharia fighters left their base in East Benghazi just after sundown infiltrated the crowd of about 2,000 demonstrators at the U.S. Consulate. These forces, operating under cover of darkness, opened fire on the consulate, eventually setting it on fire with rocket propelled grenades. These fighters then withdrew to their camp. El Magariaf ordered security officials to identify and arrest the attackers, adding that he had been in touch with Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi, and the two agreed that their intelligence and security personnel will cooperate in this matter. (Note: Some of the Libyan officials believe that the entire demonstration was organized as cover for the attack, however; they point out that there is no evidence of such a complex operation at this time.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, Libyan security officers also informed el Magariaf that the attacks had been planned for approximately one month, based on casing information obtained during an early demonstration at the U.S. consulate in Benghazi. The attackers were, in the opinion of these individuals, looking for an opportunity to approach the consulate under cover in a crowd. These officials add that government security officers admitted to el Magariaf that they do not have the physical capacity to locate, attack, and destroy the Ansar al-Sharia brigade, among others. They describe these forces as well-trained, hardened killers; many of whom have spent time in Afghanistan and Yemen. These fighters are located in camps in Eastern Libya; and Libyan officials doubt they can penetrate these camps because the militia's are better armed than the forces of the new National Army.

4. In the opinion of a separate source El Magariaf continues to believe that the attacks were planned and carried out in a political atmosphere where a portion of the Libyan population is focused on past cooperation between Western intelligence and security services, and the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi. According to this source, el Magariaf realizes that the death of the U.S. Ambassador dictates that he must find tangible solutions to the problems tied to disarming the militias, dealing Salafist violence against the followers of Sufi beliefs, and efforts to discredit his government through linking him to Western intelligence services. El Magariaf instructed his security officials to cooperate with their U.S. counterparts. He also warned all of his advisors to be prepared for U.S. retaliation against the suspected perpetrators of this attack, and the angry public reaction that is sure to follow.

5. (Source Comment: A separate, particularly sensitive source added that in private conversation el Magariaf stated that if his government cannot protect a senior diplomatic official, foreign businesses will not be willing to risk opening up new operations in Libya. According to this sensitive source, el Magariaf believes that a number of the Islamist militias are now being influenced al Qai'da and other radical groups; working out of camps in the Eastern and Southeastern parts of the country. These groups are receiving aid and weapons from supporters in Sudan. In the end, el Magariaf added that while he does not expect U.S. officials to focus on this point, he believes the attacks against the interests and citizens of the U.S. and other Western states are aimed first at overthrowing his government, and replacing it with a strict Islamic Republic dominated by Salafist leaders. Magariaf also warned that tribal militias loyal to the Qaddafi family continue to present an equally dangerous threat to the new Government.)

CONFIDENTIAL

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fire on the consulate, eventually setting it on fire with rocket propelled grenades. These fighters then withdrew to their camp. El Magariaf ordered security officials to identify and arrest the attackers, adding that he had been in touch with Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi, and the two agreed that their intelligence and security personnel will cooperate in this matter. (Note: Some of the Libyan officials believe that the entire demonstration was organized as cover for the attack, however; they point out that there is no evidence of such a complex operation at this time.

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 23, 2012 10:35 PM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Morsi's private conversations today. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo morsi's private conversations 091412.docx

Pls print.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 06:31 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Morsi's private conversations today. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

September 14, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Morsi's private conversations & coordination with Magariaf

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

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situation and al-Sissi believes al-Magariaf has given similar instructions to Libyan military and security officials.

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 11:26 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: Fwd: more on libya
Attachments: Libya 37 sept 12 12.docx

We should get this around asap.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 06:16 PM
To: H
Subject: Fwd: more on libya

B6

Sending direct. Just in.

Sent from my Verizon Wireless 4G LTE DROID

----- Original Message -----

Subject: more on libya
From: tyler drumheller <[REDACTED]>
To: [REDACTED] <[REDACTED]>
CC:

B6

. PROPRIETARY/CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT: Libya (37)

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION COMES FROM AN EXTREMELY SENSITIVE SOURCE AND SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH CARE.

1. On September 12, 2012 Libyan President Mohammed Yussef el Magariaf told senior advisors that the death of the U.S. Ambassador at the hands of Islamist militia forces represents a threat to the future of the newly elected General National Congress (GNC) Government. According to a sensitive source, el Magariaf believes that the primary goal of this and other attacks on Western facilities is to demonstrate that the GNC cannot protect its non-Islamic friends. Libyan security officials believe that the attack was carried out by forces of the Islamist militia group calling itself the Ansar al Sharia brigade; working out of camps in the Eastern suburbs of Benghazi. These officials added that their sources indicate that this group is led by former members of the old Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG), some of whom are loyal to Islamist General Abdelhakim Belhaj. The same officials were quick to point out that they have no evidence that Belhaj had any direct involvement in this attack. They also have no direct information as to whether this assault has anything to do with the death of Libyan born al Qai'da leader Abu Yahya al- Libi, but they are pursuing this theme. These officials do

believe that the attackers having prepared to launch their assault took advantage of the cover provided by the demonstrations in Benghazi protesting an internet production seen as disrespectful to the prophet Mohammed.

2. According to this source, the immediate events were set in motion by a statement made by a Muslim Cleric in Egypt saying that the internet film was going to be shown across the United States on September 11 in an effort to insult Muslims on the anniversary of the attacks on the New York World Trade Center in 2001. This statement inspired increasingly hostile demonstrations at the U.S. Embassy in Cairo, and at diplomatic facilities in Libya. In Benghazi, reporting from security sources states, approximately twenty one (21) Ansar al Sharia fighters left their base in East Benghazi just after sundown infiltrated the crowd of about 2,000 demonstrators at the U.S. Consulate. These forces, operating under cover of darkness, opened fire on the consulate, eventually setting it on fire with rocket propelled grenades. These fighters then withdrew to their camp. El Magariaf ordered security officials to identify and arrest the attackers, adding that he had been in touch with Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi, and the two agreed that their intelligence and security personnel will cooperate in this matter. (Note: Some of the Libyan officials believe that the entire demonstration was organized as cover for the attack, however; they point out that there is no evidence of such a complex operation at this time.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, Libyan security officers also informed el Magariaf that the attacks had been planned for approximately one month, based on casing information obtained during an early demonstration at the U.S. consulate in Benghazi. The attackers were, in the opinion of these individuals, looking for an opportunity to approach the consulate

under cover in a crowd. These officials add that government security officers admitted to el Magariaf that they do not have the physical capacity to locate, attack, and destroy the Ansar al-Sharia brigade, among others. They describe these forces as well-trained, hardened killers; many of whom have spent time in Afghanistan and Yemen. These fighters are located in camps in Eastern Libya; and Libyan officials doubt they can penetrate these camps because the militia's are better armed than the forces of the new National Army.

4. In the opinion of a separate source El Magariaf continues to believe that the attacks were planned and carried out in a political atmosphere where a portion of the Libyan population is focused on past cooperation between Western intelligence and security services, and the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi. According to this source, el Magariaf realizes that the death of the U.S. Ambassador dictates that he must find tangible solutions to the problems tied to disarming the militias, dealing Salafist violence against the followers of Sufi beliefs, and efforts to discredit his government through linking him to Western intelligence services. El Magariaf instructed his security officials to cooperate with their U.S. counterparts. He also warned all of his advisors to be prepared for U.S. retaliation against the suspected perpetrators of this attack, and the angry public reaction that is sure to follow.

5. (Source Comment: A separate, particularly sensitive source added that in private conversation el Magariaf stated that if his government cannot protect a senior diplomatic official, foreign businesses will not be willing to risk opening up new operations in Libya. According to this sensitive source, el Magariaf believes that a number of the Islamist militias are now being influenced al Qai'da and other radical groups; working out of camps in the Eastern and Southeastern parts of the

country. These groups are receiving aid and weapons from supporters in Sudan. In the end, el Magariaf added that while he does not expect U.S. officials to focus on this point, he believes the attacks against the interests and citizens of the U.S. and other Western states are aimed first at overthrowing his government, and replacing it with a strict Islamic Republic dominated by Salafist leaders. Magariaf also warned that tribal militias loyal to the Qaddafi family continue to present an equally dangerous threat to the new Government.)

CONFIDENTIAL: This message is confidential, privileged, and is covered by the Electronic Communications Privacy Act (18 USC 2510). This message and any attachments is intended for the sole use of the addresses(s) and any discussion, copying and/or distribution is strictly prohibited. If you have received this message in error, please notify the sender, and immediately delete from your computer system. Thank you.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 2:31 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: Fwd: more on libya

Will do.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 11:25 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: Fwd: more on libya

We should get this around asap.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 06:16 PM
To: H
Subject: Fwd: more on libya

B6

Sending direct. Just in.

Sent from my Verizon Wireless 4G LTE DROID

----- Original Message -----

Subject: more on libya
From: tyler drumheller <[REDACTED]>
To: [REDACTED] <[REDACTED]>
CC:

B6

RELEASE IN PART B3 CIA
PERS/ORG,B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 7:47 PM
To: H
Subject: Remarks

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 7:17 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Remarks

B3 CIA PERS/ORG
B6

Good evening.

First, amazing service today. Many thanks to you and everyone at your Department -- beginning with the Secretary -- for working so incredibly hard to make such a difficult ceremony so dignified for everyone involved. The Director and I are truly grateful.

Second, we are now in the process of sending you the classified cables the Secretary and/or you requested. We are sending them to your Ops Center. Thanks.

Cheers, RS

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 7:00 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: hey

Fyi

From: Vinograd, Samantha [mailto:[REDACTED]]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 06:41 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: hey

B6

[REDACTED] – for S’s awareness – we have proposed the calls to Libyan and Egyptian Presidents. Early AM EDT.

B5

Samantha Vinograd
Senior Advisor to the National Security Advisor
[REDACTED]

B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 28, 2012 4:41 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: DNI Statement

From: Meehan, Bernadette [mailto:]
Sent: Friday, September 28, 2012 04:26 PM
To: Nuland, Victoria J; Pelton, Erin; ;
; Schmalzer, Tracy (OPA) (); Boyd,
Dean (NSD) ;
Subject: FW: DNI Statement

B6

September 28, 2012

Statement by the Director of Public Affairs for National Intelligence Shawn Turner on the intelligence related to the terrorist attack on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi, Libya

In the aftermath of the terrorist attack on U.S. personnel and facilities in Benghazi, Libya, the Intelligence Community launched a comprehensive effort to determine the circumstances surrounding the assault and to identify the perpetrators. We also reviewed all available intelligence to determine if there might be follow-on attacks against our people or facilities in Libya or elsewhere in the world.

As the Intelligence Community collects and analyzes more information related to the attack, our understanding of the event continues to evolve. In the immediate aftermath, there was information that led us to assess that the attack began spontaneously following protests earlier that day at our embassy in Cairo. We provided that initial assessment to Executive Branch officials and members of Congress, who used that information to discuss the attack publicly and provide updates as they became available. Throughout our investigation we continued to emphasize that information gathered was preliminary and evolving.

As we learned more about the attack, we revised our initial assessment to reflect new information indicating that it was a deliberate and organized terrorist attack carried out by extremists. It remains unclear if any group or person exercised overall command and control of the attack, and if extremist group leaders directed their members to participate. However, we do assess that some of those involved were linked to groups affiliated with, or sympathetic to al-Qa'ida. We continue to make progress, but there remain many unanswered questions. As more information becomes available our analysis will continue to evolve and we will obtain a more complete understanding of the circumstances surrounding the terrorist attack.

We continue to support the ongoing FBI investigation and the State Department review of the Benghazi terrorist attack, providing the full capabilities and resources of the Intelligence Community to those efforts. We also will continue to meet our responsibility to keep Congress fully and currently informed. For its part, the Intelligence Community will continue to follow the information about the tragic events in Benghazi wherever it leads. The President demands and expects that we will do this, as do Congress and the American people. As an Intelligence Community, we owe nothing less than our best efforts in this regard, especially to the families of the four courageous Americans who lost their lives at Benghazi in service of their country.

#

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 1:26 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Quick Summary of POTUS Calls to Presidents of Libya and Egypt

FYI

From: McDonough, Denis R. [mailto:]
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 6:00 AM
To: Burns, William J; Sherman, Wendy R; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: FW: Quick Summary of POTUS Calls to Presidents of Libya and Egypt

B6

FYSA

Please do not forward

B5

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 4:40 PM
To: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: Quick Summary of POTUS Calls to Presidents of Libya and Egypt

Pls print.

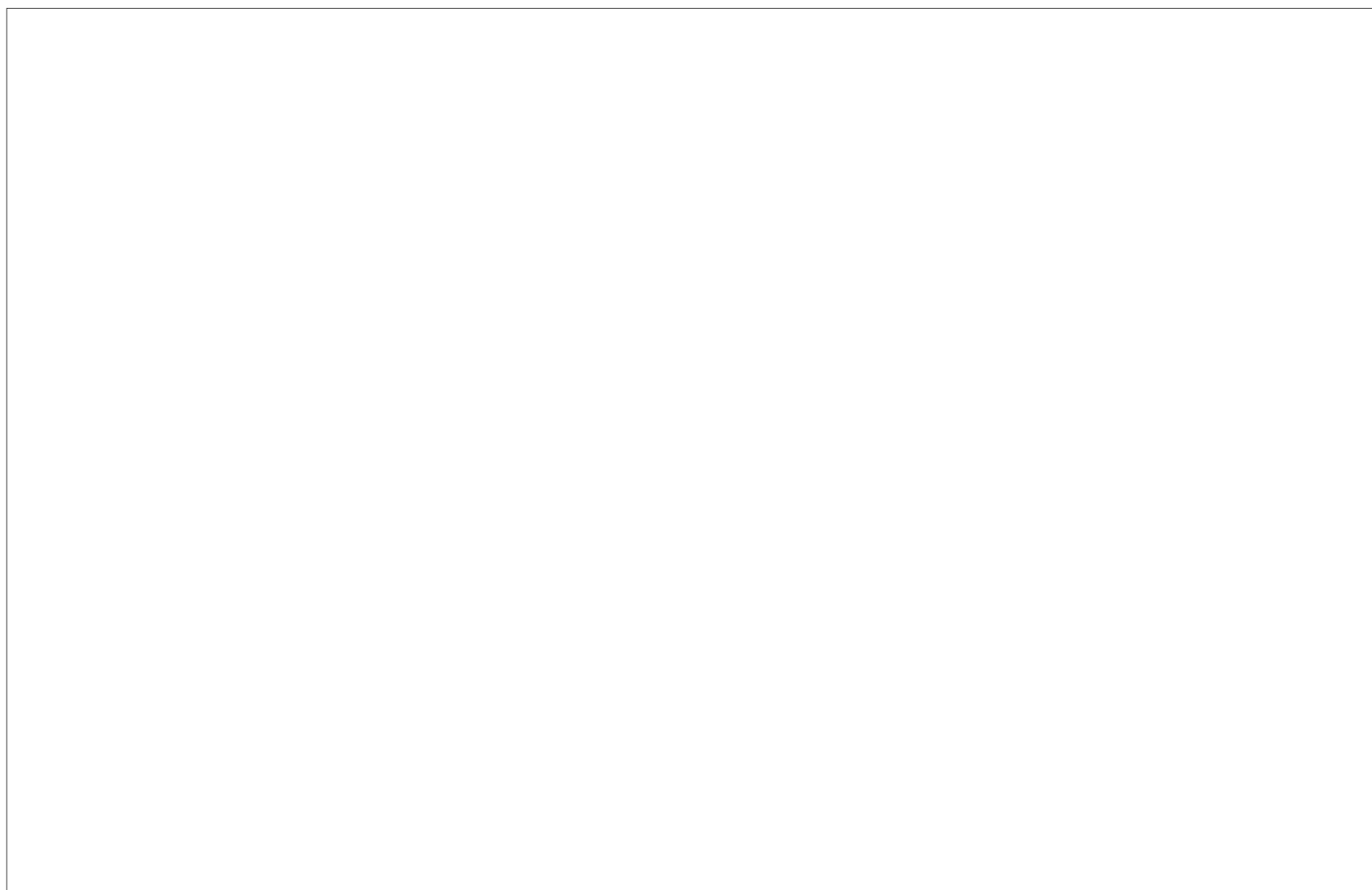
From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 01:25 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Quick Summary of POTUS Calls to Presidents of Libya and Egypt

FYI

From: McDonough, Denis R. [mailto:]
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 6:00 AM
To: Burns, William J; Sherman, Wendy R; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: FW: Quick Summary of POTUS Calls to Presidents of Libya and Egypt

FYSA

Please do not forward



B6

B5



RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 12:22 PM
To: H
Subject: Rice on "This Week"

Here is Susan on this week. She wasn't asked about whether we had any intel. But she did make clear our view that this started spontaneously and then evolved. The only troubling sentence relates to the investigation, specifically: "And we'll see when the investigation unfolds whether what was -- what transpired in Benghazi might have unfolded differently in different circumstances." But she got pushed there.

Waiting on other transcripts.

For more on what happened and why, let's bring in the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Dr. Susan Rice. Dr. Rice, thank you for joining us.

RICE: Good to be with you, Jake.

TAPPER: So, first of all, what is the latest you can tell us on who these attackers were at the embassy or at the consulate in Benghazi? We're hearing that the Libyans have arrested people. They're saying that some people involved were from outside the country, that there might have even been Al Qaida ties. What's the latest information?

RICE: Well, Jake, first of all, it's important to know that there's an FBI investigation that has begun and will take some time to be completed. That will tell us with certainty what transpired.

But our current best assessment, based on the information that we have at present, is that, in fact, what this began as, it was a spontaneous -- not a premeditated -- response to what had transpired in Cairo. In Cairo, as you know, a few hours earlier, there was a violent protest that was undertaken in reaction to this very offensive video that was disseminated.

We believe that folks in Benghazi, a small number of people came to the embassy to -- or to the consulate, rather, to replicate the sort of challenge that was posed in Cairo. And then as that unfolded, it seems to have been hijacked, let us say, by some individual clusters of extremists who came with heavier weapons, weapons that as you know in -- in the wake of the revolution in Libya are -- are quite common and accessible. And it then evolved from there.

We'll wait to see exactly what the investigation finally confirms, but that's the best information we have at present.

TAPPER: Why was there such a security breakdown? Why was there not better security at the compound in Benghazi? Why were there not U.S. Marines at the embassy in Tripoli?

RICE: Well, first of all, we had a substantial security presence with our personnel...

TAPPER: Not substantial enough, though, right?

RICE: ... with our personnel and the consulate in Benghazi. Tragically, two of the four Americans who were killed were there providing security. That was their function. And indeed, there were many other colleagues who were doing the same with them.

It obviously didn't prove sufficient to the -- the nature of the attack and sufficient in that -- in that moment. And that's why, obviously, we have reinforced our remaining presence in Tripoli and why the president has very -- been very clear that in Libya and throughout the region we are going to call on the governments, first of all, to assume their responsibilities to protect our facilities and our personnel, and we're reinforcing our facilities and our -- our embassies where possible...

TAPPER: But why...

RICE: ... and where needed.

TAPPER: Why would we not have Marines at the embassy in Tripoli to begin with? It would seem like this -- this is obviously an unstable country. This is a region where U.S. interests have been attacked in previous months. Why were there not Marines there to begin with?

RICE: First of all, there are Marines in some places around the world. There are not Marines in every facility. That depends on the circumstances. That depends on the requirements. Our presence in Tripoli, as in Benghazi, is relatively new, as you will recall. We've been back post-revolution only for a matter of months.

But I've visited there myself, both to Tripoli and Benghazi. I was very grateful to have a strong security presence with me as part of our -- our embassy detachment there. So we certainly are aware that Libya is a place where there have been increasingly some violent incidents. The security personnel that the State Department thought were required were in place. And we'll see when the investigation unfolds whether what was -- what transpired in Benghazi might have unfolded differently in different circumstances.

But the president has been very clear. The protection of American personnel and facilities is and will remain our top priority. That's why we've reinforced our presence in Tripoli and elsewhere.

TAPPER: Look at this map, if you would. There have been protests around the world over the last several days. And President Obama pledged to repair America's relationships with the Muslim world. Why does the U.S. seem so impotent? And why is the U.S. even less popular today in some of these Muslim and Arab countries than it was four years ago?

RICE: Jake, we're not impotent. We're not even less popular, to challenge that assessment. I don't know on what basis you make that judgment. But let me -- let me point...

TAPPER: It just seems that the U.S. government is powerless as this -- as this maelstrom erupts.

RICE: It's actually the opposite. First of all, let's be clear about what transpired here. What happened this week in Cairo, in Benghazi, in many other parts of the region...

TAPPER: Tunisia, Khartoum...

RICE: ... was a result -- a direct result of a heinous and offensive video that was widely disseminated, that the U.S. government had nothing to do with, which we have made clear is reprehensible and disgusting. We have also been very clear in saying that there is no excuse for violence, there is -- that we have condemned it in the strongest possible terms.

But let's look at what's happened. It's quite the opposite of being impotent. We have worked with the governments in Egypt. President Obama picked up the phone and talked to President Morsi in Egypt. And as soon as he did that, the security provided to our personnel in our embassies dramatically increased. President Morsi...

TAPPER: It took two days for President Morsi to say anything about this.

RICE: President Morsi has been out repeatedly and said that he condemns this violence. He's called off -- and his people have called off any further demonstrations and have made very clear that this has to stop.

(CROSSTALK)

RICE: Now, and -- and same, frankly, in Tunisia, in Yemen, and, of course, in Libya, where the government has -- has gone out of its way to try to step up security and express deepest remorse for what has happened. We are quite popular in Libya, as you might expect, having been a major partner in their revolution. What transpired outside of our consulate in Benghazi was not an expression of deep-seated anti-Americanism on the part of the Libyan people. Quite the contrary. The counter-demonstrations, the outpouring of sympathy and support for Ambassador Stevens and for the United States, the government of Libya and -- and the people on the street saying how pained they are by this, is much more a reflection of the sentiment towards the United States than a small handful of heavily armed mobsters.

TAPPER: That certainly, according to polling, is the case in Libya. Not the case in Egypt. And since you brought up President Morsi, let me try to get some clarification on something. President Obama was asked about the relationship with Egypt on Wednesday, and this is what he said.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

OBAMA: I don't think that we would consider them an ally, but we don't consider them an enemy. They are a new government that is trying to find its way.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

TAPPER: The United States has sent billions of dollars of U.S. taxpayer money to Egypt over the last few decades. And by definition, as you know, according to the State Department, Egypt is a major non-NATO ally of the United States. Why would President Obama say Egypt is not an ally?

RICE: Well, first of all, the president has been very clear and -- and everybody understands that Egypt is a very critical partner of the United States, has long been so. That relationship remains the same, and the president wasn't signaling any change in -- in the nature...

TAPPER: Was he trying to nudge Morsi?

RICE: The president wasn't signaling any change in the nature of our relationship. Obviously, the president had a conversation with President Morsi and a very productive one, in which he underscored that it's, of course, the responsibility of the Egyptian government as host to protect diplomatic personnel and facilities, including our own, and we saw that President Morsi, immediately after that, took dramatic steps to improve the security of our facilities in Cairo and elsewhere, and then went out and repeatedly made a number of very important and powerful statements condemning the violence and conveying the message that, however hateful such a video may be, there is absolutely no justification for violence against the United States or other Western partners.

So what we've seen is that the president has been incredibly calm, incredibly steady, and incredibly measured in his approach to this set of developments. And his interventions, his leadership has ensured that in Egypt, in Yemen, in Tunisia, in Libya, and many other parts of the world, that leaders have come out and made very plain that there's no excuse for this violence. We heard Prime Minister Erdogan of Turkey say the same, we heard the Grand Mufti in Saudi Arabia say the same, that there's no excuse for violence, that violence is to be condemned, and that governments have a responsibility to protect United States personnel and facilities and those of all foreign diplomats.

TAPPER: I know you have to go, but very quickly, was the president in that interview trying to nudge President Morsi, "Get your act together"?

RICE: No. I think that the president communicated directly with -- with President Morsi and had the opportunity to -- to understand our expectation that Egypt will do what it can to protect our facilities. So that -- that was conveyed very directly, and the results were immediate and quite satisfactory.

TAPPER: Dr. Rice, thank you so much for coming here today and answering our questions.

RICE: Good to be with you.

END

RELEASE IN PART B5,B3 CIA
PERS/ORG,B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, September 27, 2012 12:28 PM
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Fw:

----- Original Message -----

From: [REDACTED]

Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 11:08 AM

To: [REDACTED]

Sullivan, Jacob J: [REDACTED]

Cc: [REDACTED]

Subject:

B6

B3 CIA PERS/ORG
B6

Per the discussion at Deputies, here are the revised TPs for HPSCI. Let me know what you think.

B5

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, September 19, 2012 4:26 PM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: Fw: Fwd: Andrew Sullivan with the Hillary love

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----

From: Cheryl Mills [mailto:[REDACTED]]
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 02:28 PM
To: H
Subject: Fwd: Andrew Sullivan with the Hillary love

see op ed

----- Forwarded message -----

From: Roy Spence [REDACTED]
Date: Sun, Sep 16, 2012 at 1:54 PM
Subject: RE: Andrew Sullivan with the Hillary love
To: Jim Kennedy [REDACTED], Judy Trabulsi [REDACTED]
Cc: Cheryl Mills [REDACTED], Maggie Williams [REDACTED]

B6

This is simply painfully honest on her part and a moment in time where Higher Purpose shines a bright light on Higher Ground...Higher Ground is where all great solutions and triumphs are found and scaled...HRC-once again is taking people there-whether they ever thought they ever want to go there or not...

From: Jim Kennedy [mailto:[REDACTED]]
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 12:37 PM
To: Judy Trabulsi
Cc: Cheryl Mills; Roy Spence; Maggie Williams
Subject: Re: andrew sullivan with the hillary love

This op-ed in the Boston Herald is amazing - all the more so because it comes from a former critic of hers:

An apology to Hillary

Drying tears again, resilient Clinton proves true leader

By Margery Eagan | Sunday, September 16, 2012 | <http://www.bostonherald.com> | Columnists

At Andrews Air Force Base on Friday, a military band played "Nearer, My God, to Thee." Marines in dress uniforms carried to four black hearses the flag-draped caskets of the Americans, including Winchester native Glen Doherty, killed at our consulate in Libya. President Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton led the solemn ceremony, Clinton speaking before him.

"If the last few days teach us anything, let it be this: that this work and the men and women who risk their lives to do it are at the heart of what makes America great and good," said Clinton, her voice at times uneven with emotion for the dead men she had employed.

Then she said: "So we will wipe away our tears, stiffen our spines, and face the future undaunted."

It was a perfect line for America and for Americans who try to keep peace in a smoldering Middle East. It was a line, too, that captured — unwittingly or not — how Clinton has lived her life. How many times since this woman took center stage in this country nearly 20 years ago has she, privately and publicly, wiped away her tears, stiffened her spine, and faced the future undaunted.

Clinton appeared to be crying again as she listened to Obama, seeming stricken himself. And when Obama finished and walked back behind the podium, Clinton reached for his hand like an older sister or even a mother, and held it for a second or two. It was a moment the history books will remember.

There was the first black president on the verge of re-election, or not. There was the woman expected to be the first female president, until he showed up out of nowhere. There was the rivalry and tortured history, Bill Clinton over the third actor in the shadows. But all of it was put aside for something bigger than politics or egos: their country. We don't see enough of that anymore.

When her husband was president, I made a career out of trashing Hillary Clinton's hairdos, pantsuits, her attempted health care coup, her right-wing conspiracy theories, her staying with that slippery serial philanderer. Four years ago in the presidential primary I rooted for Obama over her.

Yet when she finally conceded a totally unexpected defeat, a different Hillary Clinton began to emerge. She surprised us by accepting a consolation prize, secretary of state. She then went on to perform it so ably that nearly two-thirds of Americans, an almost unprecedented percentage, approve of her and her rehabilitated — or so we hope — spouse.

More than once since 2008 I've wondered: Would she have done a better job than Obama? I don't know. But I do know I sold this woman short.

In awful moments in history, some leaders rise to the occasion, and some don't. Think Ronald Reagan's reassurance after the Challenger disaster. Or George Bush on the rubble of Ground Zero after 9/11, telling the world we'd never forget. Friday, by comparison, was a tiny moment. Still, Hillary Clinton rose to meet it.

On Sat, Sep 15, 2012 at 11:10 PM, Judy Trabulsi [REDACTED] wrote:

B6

I like "her trademark combination of resolve, empathy, and hyper competence".

Sent from my iPhone

On Sep 15, 2012, at 9:19 PM, "Cheryl Mills" <[REDACTED]> wrote:

> The link

>

> ----- Forwarded message -----

> From: Forman, James [REDACTED]

> Date: Sat, Sep 15, 2012 at 3:25 PM

> Subject: andrew sullivan with the hillary love

> To: David Domenici [REDACTED] Cheryl Mills

> [REDACTED]

>

>

> Nice.

>

> <http://andrewsullivan.thedailybeast.com/2012/09/beyond-the-campaign-th>

> e-country.html

>

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-----gsdm.legal.disclaimer.03242011

B6

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 23, 2012 10:36 PM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: thanks

Pls print.

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 07:31 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: thanks

From: Barton, Rick (CSO)
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 6:15 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: thanks

Cheryl, Please extend our thanks to the Secretary for today's moving event. As always, her remarks (the President's and the chaplain's) were just right. I will also send a note to Pat and Capricia to thank them for a well led day that helped build solidarity, despite the sorrow.

Thanks also for Cindy and Yael – they are a pleasure to work with every day.

We are making real progress.

Best, Rick

Rick Barton
Ambassador
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations
202.663.0807

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Verveer, Melanne S <VerveerMS@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, September 18, 2012 8:35 PM
To: H
Subject: NATO

I'm heading back from meetings on women, peace and security at NATO. The chief implementer of WPS at DOD also traveled with me. It was extremely productive. SG Rasmussen chaired a meeting on 1325 today of all the NATO member and partner ambassadors, incl Dalder. The new NATO special rep for 1325 -- the position sponsored by Norway and approved at the Chicago summit --- gave her inaugural address, and my DOD colleague and I discussed the US efforts both generally and in Afghanistan. We were followed by extensive remarks from the NATO ambassadors, all of whom touched on the importance of women's role in security and NATO's mission, as well as applauded US leadership. Many mentioned you in their interventions! The ambs from Serbia, Azerbaijan and Georgia pointed to their own national action plans (their existence was a surprise to us), as well as the new structures they have put in place to implement them. The ambassador from Azarbaijan even said that he is hopeful women will contribute to ending their regional conflict (I will tell Morningstar). The new special rep - a seasoned diplomat who knows her way around NATO --- wanted me to tell you how much you have inspired her --- something I hear everywhere!
I'm confident our NATO visit also served to reinforce the importance of the NAP and the US role with our own people both at NATO and DOD.

I was sorry to miss the discussion with ASSK but there are more events with her tomw. We are working hard on getting the engagement of Burmese women into the formal peace structures being put in place to end the ethnic conflicts.

I also met with Vivian Redding at the EU who, despite her efforts, is unlikely to get a quota for women on public boards of directors adopted. She too expressed her admiration of you and your leadership.

In addition to everything that's been said about Chris Stevens, he really understood the important role the women in Libya were playing in peace and security. Whenever I met with Libyan women at meetings in the region, they went out of their way to tell me how much he supported them and how much affection they had for him. Such an awful loss.

You've been magnificent throughout all this, despite how wrenching it's been.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 8:09 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: FW: American Killed in Libya Was on Intel Mission to Track Weapons

From: Toiv, Nora F
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 7:29 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: American Killed in Libya Was on Intel Mission to Track Weapons

<http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/glen-doherty-navy-seal-killed-libya-intel-mission/story?id=17229037>
Bitly: <http://abcn.ws/UPpZ9Y>

American Killed in Libya Was on Intel Mission to Track Weapons Before Death, Ex-SEAL Glen Doherty Told ABC News He Helped Round Up Dangerous Shoulder-Fired Rockets

By LEE FERRAN
Sept. 13, 2012

One of the Americans killed alongside Ambassador Christopher Stevens in an attack on a U.S. diplomatic mission in Libya Tuesday told ABC News before his death that he was working with the State Department on an intelligence mission to round up dangerous weapons in the war-torn nation.

In an interview with ABC News last month, Glen Doherty, a 42-year-old former Navy SEAL who worked as a contractor with the State Department, said he personally went into the field to track down so-called MANPADS, shoulder-fired surface-to-air missiles, and destroy them. After the fall of dictator Moammar Gadhafi last year, the State Department launched a mission to round up thousands of MANPADS that may have been looted from military installations across the country. U.S. officials previously told ABC News they were concerned the MANPADS could fall into the hands of terrorists, creating a threat to commercial airliners.

READ: Nightmare in Libya: Thousands of Surface-to-Air Missiles Unaccounted For

Doherty said that he traveled throughout Libya chasing reports of the weapons and once they were found, his team would destroy them on the spot by bashing them with hammers or repeatedly running them over with their vehicles. When ABC News spoke to Doherty in late August, he was enjoying a short time off in California before heading back to Libya just days ago.

The State Department declined to comment on Doherty's involvement in the MANPADS program, but pointed to a previous statement from State Assistant Secretary for Political-Military Affairs Andrew Shapiro in which he said the department was looking at "every possible tool to mitigate the threat."

According to military records provided to ABC News, Doherty joined the Navy in 1996 and was a combat medic and a decorated member of the elite SEAL teams by the time he left active duty in 2004. He's described in glowing terms as a top-tier SEAL and better friend in the book "The Red Circle," written by Doherty's longtime friend and SEAL sniper school partner, Brandon Webb.

"Glen was a superb and respected operator, a true quiet professional," Webb told ABC News today. "Don't feel sorry for him, he wouldn't have it. He died serving with men he respected, protecting the freedoms we enjoy as Americans and doing something he loved. He was my best friend and one of the finest human beings I've ever known."

Doherty's mother, Barbara, told ABC News' Boston affiliate WCVB she had been notified of her son's death late Wednesday.

"He was the most wonderful person," she said. "We are all in pain and suffering."

Ambassador Stevens and State Department information management officer Sean Smith were killed in the first wave of attacks in Benghazi when the building they were in was set on fire around 10 p.m. local time Tuesday, a senior administration official told reporters. Doherty was apparently one of two other Americans who were killed in a firefight nearly two hours later, while the facility was still under attack. The State Department has not officially released the names of those Americans.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 8:50 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: King of Morocco

His office called and said that he is available now.
Do you want to take it this morning?

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:35 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: Question and update

--I approved. Will it be picked up?

--call w King should be scheduled so keep working w Huma

--I will speak to Holder. Does he need to speak secure? I can do either.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:33 PM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Question and update

- do you approve the War Powers Act action memo?

- The King of Morocco has not gotten back to us with a time but ops will try again when its a reasonable hour for the Moroccans.

- Attorney General Holder has requested to speak with you regarding the Department of Justice's Libya investigation. He is standing by. Would you like to take this tonight?

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 4:58 PM
To: Marshall, Capricia P; Kennedy, Patrick F
Cc: H
Subject: You do great work - thanks for making our heros have the homecoming they deserved.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Coleman, Claire L <ColemanCL@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, September 20, 2012 7:32 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin; Abedin, Huma; [REDACTED] Hanley, Monica R; Valmoro, Lona J; Coleman, Claire L
Subject: Mini for today-Thursday, Sept 20, 2012

B6

8:25 am **DEPART** Private Residence *En route State Department
8:35 am **ARRIVE** State Department
8:35 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**
8:40 am Secretary's Office
8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**
9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room
9:15 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/REGIONAL BUREAU SECRETARIES**
9:45 am Deputy Secretary's Conference Room
9:55 am **REMARKS AT DEPUTY SECRETARY NIDES' GLOBAL**
10:10 am **INFRASTRUCTURE CONFERENCE**
George C. Marshall Center, Staff: Caroline, **OPEN PRESS**
10:20 am **PRE-BRIEF w/STAFF**
10:30 am Secretary's Outer Office
10:30 am **ONE-ON-ONE BILATERAL w/INDONESIAN FM MARTY**
10:45 am **NATALEGAWA**, Secretary's Outer Office
CLOSED PRESS (official photo in Secretary's anteroom preceding bilateral)
10:45 am **U.S.-INDONESIA JOINT COMMISSION PLENARY SESSION**
11:45 am Benjamin Franklin Room, 8th Floor
Staff: Monica, **OPEN PRESS** (for opening statements only)
11:50 am **WORKING LUNCH w/INDONESIAN FM MARTY NATALEGAWA**
12:50 pm James Monroe Room, 8th Floor
Staff: Monica, **CLOSED PRESS**
12:50 pm **PRE-BRIEF w/ STAFF**
1:00 pm Secretary's Anteroom
1:00 pm **JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY w/INDONESIAN FM MARTY NATALEGAWA**
1:15 pm Treaty Room, 7th Floor
1:30 pm **(T)SCHEDULING w/HUMA AND LONA (T)**
2:00 pm Secretary's Office
2:00 pm **VIDEOS (5)**
2:15 pm George Marshall Room, Staff: Case
2:15 pm **PHONE CALL w/DEPUTY SECRETARY BILL BURNS**
2:30pm Secretary's Outer Office
2:35 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route U.S. Capitol
2:50 pm **ARRIVE** U.S. Capitol
3:00 pm **BRIEFING FOR MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE**
3:50 pm U.S. Capitol, CVC Auditorium, Staff: Monica and Philippe, **CLOSED PRESS**
3:50 pm **DEPART** CVC Auditorium *En route SVC 217
[walk time: 10 minutes]
4:00 pm **ARRIVE** SVC 217
4:00 pm **BRIEFING FOR MEMBERS OF THE SENATE**
5:00 pm U.S. Capitol, SVC 217
Staff: Monica and Philippe, **CLOSED PRESS**

5:05 pm **DEPART** U.S. Capitol *En route State Department

5:20 pm **ARRIVE** State Department

5:25 pm **OFFICE TIME**

6:00 pm **Secretary's Office**

6:00 pm **DEPART** State Department *En route Private Residence

6:10 pm **ARRIVE** Private Residence

####

HRC RON Washington, DC

WJC RON Chappaqua, NY

Weather:

Washington, DC: Sunny, 78/60.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 6:36 PM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Question and update

--I approved. Will it be picked up?

--call w King should be scheduled so keep working w Huma

--I will speak to Holder. Does he need to speak secure? I can do either.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:33 PM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Question and update

- do you approve the War Powers Act action memo?

- The King of Morocco has not gotten back to us with a time but ops will try again when its a reasonable hour for the Moroccans.

- Attorney General Holder has requested to speak with you regarding the Department of Justice's Libya investigation. He is standing by. Would you like to take this tonight?

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 30, 2012 10:19 PM
To: Oscar Flores
Subject: Fw: Bill Keller piece

Pls print.

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2012 09:42 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Bill Keller piece

An interesting piece. The argument that worked on my conservative Obama-hating (Hillary-respecting) friends, which Keller hints at in the "slack" he'll cut us, is that our denunciations of the video aren't an effort to debate the mob; they are an effort to give ammo to the right side to win the battle that Keller himself identifies (between extremists seeking to put "pressure" on weak transitional governments and the more mainstream majority that supports those governments). And you could say it worked. Governments stepped up. Extremist groups in Tunisia are backpedalling. Etc.

So we need to make this argument forcefully.

From: Valliani, Amira
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2012 09:18 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Bill Keller piece

The Satanic Video

By BILL KELLER

THE alchemy of modern media works with amazing speed. Start with a cheesy anti-Muslim video that resembles a bad trailer for a Sacha Baron Cohen comedy. It becomes YouTube fuel for protest across the Islamic world and a pretext for killing American diplomats. That angry spasm begets an inflammatory Newsweek cover, "MUSLIM RAGE," which in turn inspires a Twitter hashtag that reduces the whole episode to a running joke:

"There's no prayer room in this nightclub. #MuslimRage."

"You lose your nephew at the airport but you can't yell his name because it's JIHAD. #MuslimRage."

From provocation to trauma to lampoon in a few short news cycles. It's over in a week, forgotten in two. Now back to Snooki and Honey Boo Boo.

Except, of course, it's far from over. It moves temporarily off-screen, and then it is back: the Pakistani retailer accused last week of "blasphemy" because he refused to close his shops

during a protest against the video; France locking down diplomatic outposts in about 20 countries because a Paris satirical newspaper has published new caricatures of the prophet.

It's not really over for Salman Rushdie, whose new memoir recounts a decade under a clerical death sentence for the publication of his novel "The Satanic Verses." That fatwa, if not precisely the starting point in our modern confrontation with Islamic extremism, was a major landmark. The fatwa was dropped in 1998 and Rushdie is out of hiding, but he is still careful. His book tour for "Joseph Anton" (entitled for the pseudonym he used in his clandestine life) won't be taking him to Islamabad or Cairo.

Rushdie grew up in a secular Muslim family, the son of an Islam scholar. His relationship to Islam was academic, then literary, before it became excruciatingly personal. His memoir is not a handbook on how America should deal with the Muslim world. But he brings to that subject a certain moral authority and the wisdom of an unusually motivated thinker. I invited him to help me draw some lessons from the stormy Arab Summer.

The first and most important thing Rushdie will tell you is, it's not about religion. Not then, not now.

When the founding zealot of revolutionary Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini, issued his Rushdie death warrant in 1989, the imam was not defending the faith; he was trying to regenerate enthusiasm for his regime, sapped by eight years of unsuccessful war with Iraq. Likewise, Muslim clerics in London saw the fatwa against a British Indian novelist as an opportunity to arouse British Muslims, who until that point were largely unstirred by sectarian politics. "This case was a way for the mosque to assert a kind of primacy over the community," the novelist said the other day. "I think something similar is going on now."

It's pretty clear that the protests against that inane video were not spontaneous. Antisecular and anti-American zealots, beginning with a Cairo TV personality whose station is financed by Saudi fundamentalists, seized on the video as a way to mobilize pressure on the start-up governments in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya. The new governments condemned the violence and called in police to protect American diplomatic outposts, but not before a good bit of nervous wobbling.

(One of the principal goals of the extremists, I was reminded by experts at Human Rights First, who follow the region vigilantly, is to pressure these transitional governments to enact and enforce strict laws against blasphemy. These laws can then be used to purge secularists and moderates.)

Like the fanatics in the Middle East and North Africa, our homegrown hatemongers have an interest in making this out to be a great clash of faiths. The Islamophobes — the fringe demagogues behind the Koran-burning parties and that tawdry video, the more numerous

(mainly right-wing Republican) defenders against the imaginary encroachment of Islamic law on our domestic freedom — are easily debunked. But this is the closest thing we have to a socially acceptable form of bigotry. And their rants feed the anti-American opportunists.

Rushdie acknowledges that there are characteristics of Islamic culture that make it tinder for the inciters: an emphasis on honor and shame, and in recent decades a paranoiac sense of the world conspiring against them. We can argue who is more culpable — the hostile West, the sponsors, the appeasers, the fanatics themselves — but Islam has been particularly susceptible to the rise of identity politics, Rushdie says. “You define yourself by what offends you. You define yourself by what outrages you.”

But blaming Islamic culture dismisses the Muslim majorities who are not enraged, let alone violent, and it leads to a kind of surrender: Oh, it’s just the Muslims, nothing to be done. I detect a whiff of this cultural fatalism in Mitt Romney’s patronizing remarks about the superiority of Israeli culture and the backwardness of Palestinian culture. That would explain his assertion, on that other notorious video, that an accommodation with the Palestinians is “almost unthinkable.” That’s a strangely defeatist line of thought for a man who professes to be an optimist and a problem-solver.

Romney and Rushdie are a little more in tune when it comes to mollifying the tender feelings of irate Muslims.

In his new book, Rushdie recounts being urged by the British authorities who were protecting him to “lower the temperature” by issuing a statement that could be taken for an apology. He does so. It fills him almost immediately with regret, and the attacks on him are unabated. He “had taken the weak position and was therefore treated as a weakling,” he writes.

Of the current confrontation, he says, “I think it’s very important that we hold our ground. It’s very important to say, ‘We live like this.’” Rushdie made his post-fatwa life in America in part because he reveres the freedoms, including the freedom, not so protected in other Western democracies, to say hateful, racist, blasphemous things.

“Terrible ideas, reprehensible ideas, do not disappear if you ban them,” he told me. “They go underground. They acquire a kind of glamour of taboo. In the harsh light of day, they are out there and, like vampires, they die in the sunlight.”

And so he would have liked a more robust White House defense of the rights that made the noxious video possible.

“It’s not for the American government to regret what American citizens do. They should just say, ‘This is not our affair and the [violent] response is completely inappropriate.’”

I would cut the diplomats a little more slack when they are trying to defuse an explosive situation. But I agree that the administration pushed up against the line that separates prudence from weakness. And the White House request that Google consider taking down the anti-Muslim video, however gentle the nudge, was a mistake.

By far the bigger mistake, though, would be to write off the aftermath of the Arab Spring as a lost cause.

It is fairly astounding to hear conservatives who were once eager to invade Iraq — ostensibly to plant freedom in the region — now giving up so quickly on fledgling democracies that might actually be won over without 10 bloody years of occupation. Or lamenting our abandonment of that great stabilizing autocrat Hosni Mubarak. Or insisting that we bully and blackmail the new governments to conform to our expectations.

These transition governments present an opportunity. Fortifying the democratic elements in the post-Arab Spring nation-building, without discrediting them as American stooges, is a delicate business. The best argument we have is not our aid money, though that plays a part. It is the choice between two futures, between building or failing to build a rule of law, an infrastructure of rights, and an atmosphere of tolerance. One future looks something like Turkey, prospering, essentially secular and influential. The other future looks a lot like Pakistan, a land of fear and woe.

We can't shape the Islamic world to our specifications. But if we throw up our hands, if we pull back, we now have a more vivid picture of what will fill the void.

RELEASE
IN FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 2:02 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Wash Post: Hillary Clinton tries to calm anti-U.S. sentiment as protesters storm embassy in Yemen

From: Nuland, Victoria J
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 11:38 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: FW: Wash Post: Hillary Clinton tries to calm anti-U.S. sentiment as protesters storm embassy in Yemen

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: PA Clips [mailto:paclips@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 11:36 AM
To: PA-Monitoring-Group-DL; NEA-Press-DL; CAPRESSREQUESTS; DS PA Media; DRL Public Affairs
Subject: Wash Post: Hillary Clinton tries to calm anti-U.S. sentiment as protesters storm embassy in Yemen

Hillary Clinton tries to calm anti-U.S. sentiment as protesters storm embassy in Yemen

By Debbi Wilgoren and Michael Birnbaum, Updated: Thursday, September 13, 11:06 AM

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton on Thursday tried to distance the U.S. government from a movie that has sparked protests throughout the Muslim world, calling it “disgusting and reprehensible” but also condemning efforts to avenge the movie through bloodshed.

"The U.S. government has absolutely nothing to do with this video. We absolutely reject its content and messages," Clinton said. "But there is no justification — none at all — for responding to this video with violence."

Clinton spoke two days after U.S. Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens and three other Americans were killed at the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi, Libya, an attack that analysts was staged by militants to coincide with a demonstration against the controversial movie. Protests denouncing the film have raged outside the U.S. Embassy in Egypt for three days, and demonstrators on Tuesday breached the walls of that heavily guarded compound, pulled down an American flag and destroyed it.

In Sanaa, Yemen, hundreds of demonstrators converged on a usually-sealed-off street in front of the embassy on Thursday for a protest that also turned violent, witnesses said. Protesters stormed a wall, set fire to a building inside the compound, broke windows and carried away office supplies and other souvenirs before being pushed back and dispersed by Yemeni security forces.

"We want to expel the American ambassador," said Abdelwadood al-Mutawa, a protester who was walking out of the embassy compound. He said he was motivated by reports of the movie mocking the prophet Muhammad. "We cannot accept any insult to our prophet," Mutawa said. "It's a red line."

Another protester said that some of the security forces protecting the building appeared sympathetic to the demonstrators' cause. "Some soldiers were telling me, 'These are dogs, and we cannot accept insulting our prophet,' " said Yusef Mohammad.

Smaller protests were reported in front of diplomatic offices in Iran and outside a mosque in Bangladesh.

Yemen's president, Abed Rabbo Mansour Hadi, quickly issued an apology to the United States, and ordered an investigation into incident.

"The Government of Yemen condemns any and all acts of violence against diplomatic personnel and facilities," a statement from Yemen's government said. "We strongly urge all those that would wish to incite others to violence to cease immediately."

But the violence in Yemen again raised questions about whether vulnerable Middle East governments are willing or even able to protect American targets in their

countries. It was a further measure of the depth of anger about the film insulting the prophet Muhammad, which was reportedly made in California, although much about its origins remains unknown.

President Obama spoke by phone with Libyan President Mohamed Yusuf al-Magariaf late Wednesday, accepting condolences for the American deaths in Benghazi and expressing appreciation for the cooperation between the United States and the people and government of Libya in the wake of the attack, the White House said.

In Brussels, meanwhile, Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi on Thursday gave his strongest condemnation yet of the attack on the Cairo embassy. He had issued only tepid statements on Wednesday, and his Muslim Brotherhood organization had called for further protests in front of the diplomatic compound.

Morsi said he condemned the security breach "in the clearest terms."

"I assured Barack Obama that we will not permit any attacks" on U.S. diplomatic compounds across Egypt, said Morsi, who is in Belgium for a visit to the European Union.

But Morsi also denounced the anti-Islamic film that appears to have sparked many of the protests, adding that he had spoken to Obama about it. "I called him to ask him to put an end to such behavior," Morsi said, referring to the making of the film.

In her remarks, made in Washington during an appearance with the Moroccan foreign minister, Clinton said the United States cannot and should not prevent people from making films that express their opinions. Doing so, she emphasized, would violate the country's staunch commitment to free and open speech.

"Now I know it is hard for some people to understand why the United States cannot or does not just prevent these kinds of reprehensible videos from ever seeing the light of day," Clinton said. "... Even if it were possible, our country does have a long tradition of free expression, which is enshrined in our Constitution and our law. And we do not stop individual citizens from expressing their views, no matter how distasteful they may be."

Noting that countless generations of immigrants, including "millions of Muslims" have left other countries for the United States in order to enjoy those same

freedoms, Clinton repeatedly denounced violent responses to offensive speech. She called on other world leaders to do the same.

“We all -- whether we are leaders in government, leaders in civil society or religious leaders -- must draw the line at violence,” Clinton said. “And any responsible leader should be standing up now and drawing that line.”

In Cairo on Thursday, security forces eventually pushed the demonstrators away from the U.S. Embassy onto Tahrir Square -- the crucial site of Egypt’s 2011 revolution.

In Dhaka, the Bangladeshi capital, about 100 demonstrators burned an American flag and chanted slogans on Thursday, including “We won’t accept mocking of Prophet Muhammad” and “Down with American imperialism,” Agence France Press reported.

The news agency said the protesters were mostly seminary student. They gathered outside the Baitul Mokarram Mosque, the largest in the country, but called for more protests Friday and said the U.S. embassy could be the target. Bangladeshi police told AFP that security at the embassy was being enhanced.

In Tehran, anti-American protesters gathered outside the Swiss Embassy, which represents U.S. interests in Iran, CNN reported. The United States does not have an embassy in Iran.

Birnbaum reported from Cairo. Karen DeYoung in Washington and Mohammad al-Qadhi in Sanaa, Yemen contributed to this report.

DGH

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 2:14 PM
To: 'abedinh@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Saudi Grand Mufti calls attacks on foreign embassies un-Islamic (Reuters)

I thanked Prince Saud.

From: Abedin, Huma [mailto:AbedinH@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 12:17 PM
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Subject: Fw: Saudi Grand Mufti calls attacks on foreign embassies un-Islamic (Reuters)

There is probably no greater islamic authority for sunni muslims than him (there are actually a few of them, but he's the oldest). And they don't do this often.

From: OpsNewsTicker@state.gov [mailto:OpsNewsTicker@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 11:10 AM
To: NEWS-Mahogany
Subject: Saudi Grand Mufti calls attacks on foreign embassies un-Islamic (Reuters)

RIYADH (Reuters) - Saudi Arabia's Grand Mufti, the highest religious authority in the birthplace of Islam, on Saturday denounced attacks on diplomats and embassies as un-Islamic after deadly protests against a U.S.-made film mocking Islam's founder.

Sheikh Abdulaziz bin Abdullah Al al-Sheikh also called on governments and international bodies to criminalise insults against prophets and excoriated the film that has prompted a wave of fury across the Middle East.

"It is forbidden to punish the innocent for the wicked crimes of the guilty, or to attack those who have been granted protection of their lives and property, or to expose public buildings to fire or destruction," he said in a speech carried by state news agency SPA.

Describing the release of the crudely made short film as "miserable" and "criminal", he added that attacks on the innocent and diplomats "are also a distortion of the Islamic religion and are not accepted by God".

At least nine people were killed after noon prayers on Friday in demonstrations across the Middle East.

NewsTickers alert senior Department officials to breaking news. This item appears as it did in its original publication and does not contain analysis or commentary by Department sources.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 2:11 PM
To: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: Meet The Right-Wing Extremist Behind Anti-Muslim Film That Sparked Deadly Riots

Pls print.

From: [redacted] [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 01:00 PM
To: H
Subject: Meet The Right-Wing Extremist Behind Anti-Muslim Film That Sparked Deadly Riots

<http://maxblumenthal.com/2012/09/meet-the-right-wing-extremist-behind-anti-muslim-film-that-sparked-deadly-riots/>

Sent from my Verizon Wireless 4G LTE DROID

B6

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 2:39 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Re: 'Meet the Press' Transcript: U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice

B5

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 02:36 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: 'Meet the Press' Transcript: U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice

Good.

From: Operations Center
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 02:11 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: SES-O; SES_DutyDeputies
Subject: 'Meet the Press' Transcript: U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice

Dear Mr. Sullivan,

As per your request, here is the transcript from Ambassador Rice's appearance on NBC's "Meet the Press." We will forward the transcripts from the other Sunday morning shows as we receive them. Thank you.

Announcer: From NBC News in Washington, MEET THE PRESS with David Gregory.

GREGORY: And good morning. Relative calm this morning in the Middle East after several days of intense anti-American protests raged across many parts of the Islamic world. But word this morning that the Obama administration has ordered the evacuation of all but emergency personnel from diplomatic missions in Tunisia and Sudan. And defense secretary Leon Panetta saying this morning, the Pentagon has deployed forces to several areas in an increased effort to protect U.S. personnel and property from the potential of violent protests, the latest consequences, of course, of this troubling unrest. Joining me now for the very latest, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Susan Rice. Ambassador Rice, welcome back to MEET THE PRESS.

MS. SUSAN RICE (U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations): Thank you, good to be here.

GREGORY: The images as you well know are jarring to Americans watching all of this play out this week, and we'll share the map of all of this turmoil with our viewers to show the scale of it across not just the Arab world, but the entire Islamic world and flashpoints as well. In Egypt, of course, the

protests outside the U.S. embassy there that Egyptian officials were slow to put down. This weekend in Pakistan, protests as well there. More anti-American rage. Also protests against the drone strikes. In Yemen, you also had arrests and some deaths outside of our U.S. embassy there. How much longer can Americans expect to see these troubling images and these protests go forward?

MS. RICE: Well, David, we can't predict with any certainty. But let's remember what has transpired over the last several days. This is a response to a hateful and offensive video that was widely disseminated throughout the Arab and Muslim world. Obviously, our view is that there is absolutely no excuse for violence and that-- what has happened is condemnable, but this is a-- a spontaneous reaction to a video, and it's not dissimilar but, perhaps, on a slightly larger scale than what we have seen in the past with *The Satanic Verses* with the cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad. Now, the United States has made very clear and the president has been very plain that our top priority is the protection of American personnel in our facilities and bringing to justice those who...

GREGORY: All right.

MS. RICE: ...attacked our facility in Benghazi.

GREGORY: Well, let's talk-- talk about-- well, you talked about this as spontaneous. Can you say definitively that the attacks on-- on our consulate in Libya that killed ambassador Stevens and others there security personnel, that was spontaneous, was it a planned attack? Was there a terrorist element to it?

MS. RICE: Well, let us-- let me tell you the-- the best information we have at present. First of all, there's an FBI investigation which is ongoing. And we look to that investigation to give us the definitive word as to what transpired. But putting together the best information that we have available to us today our current assessment is that what happened in Benghazi was in fact initially a spontaneous reaction to what had just transpired hours before in Cairo, almost a copycat of-- of the demonstrations against our facility in Cairo, which were prompted, of course, by the video. What we think then transpired in Benghazi is that opportunistic extremist elements came to the consulate as this was unfolding. They came with heavy weapons which unfortunately are readily available in post revolutionary Libya. And it escalated into a much more violent episode. Obviously, that's-- that's our best judgment now. We'll await the results of the investigation. And the president has been very clear--we'll work with the Libyan authorities to bring those responsible to justice.

GREGORY: Was there a failure here that this administration is responsible for, whether it's an intelligence failure, a failure to see this coming, or a failure to adequately protect U.S. embassies and installations from a spontaneous kind of reaction like this?

MS. RICE: David, I don't think so. First of all we had no actionable intelligence to suggest that-- that any attack on our facility in Benghazi was imminent. In Cairo, we did have indications that there was the risk that the video might spark some-- some protests and our embassy, in fact, acted accordingly, and had called upon the Egyptian authorities to-- to reinforce our facility. What we have seen as-- with respect to the security response, obviously we had security personnel in Benghazi, a-- a significant number, and tragically, among those four that were killed were two of our security personnel. But what happened, obviously, overwhelmed the security we had in place which is why the president ordered additional reinforcements to Tripoli and-- and why elsewhere in the world we have been working with governments to ensure they take up their obligations to protect us and we reinforce where necessary.

GREGORY: The president and the secretary of state have talked about a mob mentality. That's my words, not their words, but they talked about the-- the tyranny of mobs operating in this part of the world. Here's the reality, if you look at foreign aid--U.S. direct foreign aid to the two countries involved here, in Libya and Egypt, this is what you'd see: two hundred million since 2011 to Libya, over a billion a year to Egypt and yet Americans are seeing these kinds of protests and attacks on our own diplomats. Would-- what do you say to members of congress who are now weighing whether to suspend our aid to these countries if this is the response that America gets?

MS. RICE: Well, first of all, David, let's put this in perspective. As I said, this is a response to a-- a very offensive video. It's not the first time that American facilities have come under attack in the Middle East, going back to 1982 in-- in Beirut, going back to the Khobar Towers in-- in Saudi Arabia, or even the attack on our embassy in 2008 in Yemen.

GREGORY: Or Iran in 1979.

MS. RICE: This has-- this has happened in the past, but there-- and so I don't think that-- that we should misunderstand what this is. The reason we provide aid in Egypt and in Libya is because it serves American interests because the relationships...

GREGORY: But-- but our Americans are not being served if this is the response.

MS. RICE: It serves our interests to have Egypt willing and able to-- to maintain its peace treaty with Israel, it serves our interest for Egypt to continue to be a strong partner. Now, let's be clear, the government, once President Obama called President Morsi, immediately in Egypt the security forces came out and have provided very significant protection. Same in Tunisia, same in Libya, same in Yemen. And all of these leaders have very forcefully conveyed their condemnation of what has transpired.

GREGORY: But there were conflicting messages from the Morsi government. In Arabic they encourage protests, in English they said stop the protests. This from an ally that we give over a billion dollars?

MS. RICE: What has happened in fact is that the Egyptian government has come out and protected our facilities. Our embassy is open today, things are calm. And Morsi has repeatedly been clear in his condemnation of-- of what has occurred. We-- we are in these partnerships, David, over the long-term. We think that-- that-- despite this very bumpy path we're on and the very disturbing images we've seen, it's in the United States fundamental interest that people have the ability to choose their own governments, that the governments be democratic and free. That's in our long-term best interest.

GREGORY: You know that this...

MS. RICE: We need to reinforce that with our assistance.

GREGORY: We are in the middle of a heated presidential campaign, there are different foreign policy visions. That's why we wanted to dedicate the hour to this today to really understand these different views. Mitt Romney spoke out this week, he criticized the administration, talked about whether the United States was apologizing for some of the initial response to this. These were his comments this week.

(Videotape; Wednesday)

MR. MITT ROMNEY: The administration was wrong to stand by a statement sympathizing with those who had breached our embassy in Egypt instead of condemning their actions. I think it's a-- a-- a terrible course to-- for America to-- to stand in apology for our values.

(End videotape)

GREGORY: Our embassies did not stand up for speech-- free speech in this initial response to this violence. And the Republican charge is that it's weakness on the part of this administration that invites this kind of chaos, that the administration has not been tough enough on radical extremists that are beginning to take root in these countries. How do you respond to that?

MS. RICE: First of all, I think the American people and certainly our diplomats and-- and development experts who are putting their lives on the line around the world every day expect from our leadership unity in times of challenge and strong, steady, steadfast leadership of the sort that President Obama has been providing. With respect to this, I think, vacuous charge of weakness,

let's-- lets recall, I think, the American people fully understand that this is an administration led by a president who said when he ran for office that he would take the fight to al Qaeda. We have decimated al Qaeda. Osama bin Laden is dead. He said we would end the war responsibly in Iraq. We've done that. He has restored relationships around the world. I spend every day up at the United Nations where I have to interact with 192 other countries. I know how well the United States is viewed. I know that our standing is much improved and it's translated into important support for strong American positions, for example with sanctions against Iran.

GREGORY: Was it inappropriate for Governor Romney to level the criticism he leveled?

MS. RICE: I'm not going to get into politics, David. That's not my role in this job. But I think the American people welcome and appreciate strong, steady, unified leadership, bipartisan in times of challenge. And for those men and women in our diplomatic service, including those we tragically lost, they look to our leadership to be unified and responsible.

GREGORY: Let's talk about another area where the administration is on the defensive in terms of leadership in the world, and that is the nuclear threat from Iran. Another area of tension between the United States and Israel. In just a couple of minutes we will show our interview with the prime minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu. And our viewers will see that. One aspect is how close Iran is getting to becoming a nuclear power. I asked him about that. I want to show you a piece of the interview and get your reaction to it.

(Videotape)

PRIME MINISTER BENJAMIN NETANYAHU (Prime Minister of Israel): I can tell you, David, that Iran has been placed with some clear red lines on a few matters, and they have avoided crossing them. So I think that as they get closer and closer and closer to the achievement of the weapons-grade material, and they're very close, they're six months away from being about 90 percent of having the enriched uranium for an atom bomb, I think that you have to place that red line before them now, before it's-- it's too late.

GREGORY: As the prime minister of Israel, has Iran crossed your red line?

MR. NETANYAHU: Well, the way I would say it, David, is they are in the red zone. You know, they are in the last 20 yards. And you can't let them cross that goal line. You can't let them score a touchdown, because that would have unbelievable consequences, grievous consequences, for the peace and security of us all-- of the world really.

(End videotape)

GREGORY: What is President Obama's line in the sand, the point at which he says to Iran don't cross this with your nuclear program or there's going to be a military consequence?

MS. RICE: David, the president has been very, very clear. Our bottom line, if you want to call it a red line, president's bottom line has been that Iran will not acquire a nuclear weapon and we will take no option off the table to ensure that it does not acquire a nuclear weapon, including the military option.

GREGORY: The prime minister says...

MS. RICE: But...

GREGORY: ...they are acquiring.

MS. RICE: ...he's talking about a-- a red zone which is a new concept...

GREGORY: No, no, but he's talking about how close they are to actually becoming a nuclear power-- having to develop a capacity to become a nuclear power.

MS. RICE: They're not there yet. They are not there yet. And our assessment is, and-- and we share this regularly with our Israeli counterparts in the intelligence and defense community, that there is time and space for the pressure we are mounting, which is unprecedented in terms of sanctions, to still yield results. This is not imminent. The window is not infinite, but let's be clear--the sanctions that-- that are now in place reached their high point in July. The-- the Iranian economy is suffering. It's shrinking for the first time. Negative one percent growth. The amount of production of Iranian oil has dropped 40 percent over the last several months. Their currency has plummeted 40 percent over the last several months. This pressure is even to use the Iranian's own words crippling.

GREGORY: But can you say...

MS. RICE: And we think...

GREGORY: ...that President Obama's strategy to keep Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon almost at the end of his first term is succeeding or failing?

MS. RICE: David, what is clear is Iran does not have a nuclear weapon. And that Iran is more isolated than ever internationally. The economic pressure it is facing is much greater than ever. When President Obama came to office the international community was divided about Iran. And Iran was internally very united. The exact opposite is the case today. The international community is united. We just had another strong resolution out of the IAEA Board of Governors. And

the internal dynamics in Iran are-- are fracturing and the leadership is divided. We are committed and President Obama is committed to preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. It is not a policy of containment. But, David, the most difficult and profound decision that any president has to make is the decision to go to war. And this president is committed to exhausting pressure, economic pressure, and diplomacy while there is-- is still time before making a decision of such consequence.

GREGORY: Ambassador Rice, the debate continues. Thank you very much...

MS. RICE: Thank you.

GREGORY: ...for your views this morning.

Now to this looming nuclear threat from Iran from the Israeli perspective. There were new tensions between the Obama administration in Israel this week. Earlier, I spoke with the prime minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu about where things stand and whether he is trying to influence the outcome of our presidential campaign.

Regards,
Prashanth Rajan
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 6:08 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Secretary's remarks

FYI

From: Walsh, Matthew P
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 5:37 PM
To: Daniel, Joshua J; Benaim, Daniel; Rooney, Megan; Schwerin, Daniel B
Subject: FW: Secretary's remarks

Don't know if you guys have seen this, but there is an article on Slate right now that describes the below as "her most eloquent news conference as Secretary of State." Really nice work guys.

http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/war_stories/2012/09/libya_u_s_embassy_attack_hillary_clinton_was_elloquent_regarding_ambassador_stevens_mitt_romney_smirked_.html

From: McAuliffe, Marisa S
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 5:31 PM
To: SP_Expanded
Subject: Secretary's remarks

For anyone who missed the Secretary's remarks this morning, they are worth a read:

<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2012/09/197654.htm>

Remarks on the Deaths of American Personnel in Benghazi, Libya
Remarks
Hillary Rodham Clinton
Secretary of State
Treaty Room
Washington, DC
September 12, 2012

Yesterday, our U.S. diplomatic post in Benghazi, Libya was attacked. Heavily armed militants assaulted the compound and set fire to our buildings. American and Libyan security personnel battled the attackers together. Four Americans were killed. They included Sean Smith, a Foreign Service information management officer, and our Ambassador to Libya Chris Stevens. We are still making next of kin notifications for the other two individuals.

This is an attack that should shock the conscience of people of all faiths around the world. We condemn in the strongest terms this senseless act of violence, and we send our prayers to the families, friends, and colleagues of those we've lost.

All over the world, every day, America's diplomats and development experts risk their lives in the service of our country and our values, because they believe that the United States must be a force for peace and progress in the world, that

these aspirations are worth striving and sacrificing for. Alongside our men and women in uniform, they represent the best traditions of a bold and generous nation.

In the lobby of this building, the State Department, the names of those who have fallen in the line of duty are inscribed in marble. Our hearts break over each one. And now, because of this tragedy, we have new heroes to honor and more friends to mourn.

Chris Stevens fell in love with the Middle East as a young Peace Corps volunteer teaching English in Morocco. He joined the Foreign Service, learned languages, won friends for America in distant places, and made other people's hopes his own.

In the early days of the Libyan revolution, I asked Chris to be our envoy to the rebel opposition. He arrived on a cargo ship in the port of Benghazi and began building our relationships with Libya's revolutionaries. He risked his life to stop a tyrant, then gave his life trying to help build a better Libya. The world needs more Chris Stevenses. I spoke with his sister, Ann, this morning, and told her that he will be remembered as a hero by many nations.

Sean Smith was an Air Force veteran. He spent 10 years as an information management officer in the State Department, he was posted at The Hague, and was in Libya on a brief temporary assignment. He was a husband to his wife Heather, with whom I spoke this morning. He was a father to two young children, Samantha and Nathan. They will grow up being proud of the service their father gave to our country, service that took him from Pretoria to Baghdad, and finally to Benghazi.

The mission that drew Chris and Sean and their colleagues to Libya is both noble and necessary, and we and the people of Libya honor their memory by carrying it forward. This is not easy. Today, many Americans are asking – indeed, I asked myself – how could this happen? How could this happen in a country we helped liberate, in a city we helped save from destruction? This question reflects just how complicated and, at times, how confounding the world can be.

But we must be clear-eyed, even in our grief. This was an attack by a small and savage group – not the people or Government of Libya. Everywhere Chris and his team went in Libya, in a country scarred by war and tyranny, they were hailed as friends and partners. And when the attack came yesterday, Libyans stood and fought to defend our post. Some were wounded. Libyans carried Chris' body to the hospital, and they helped rescue and lead other Americans to safety. And last night, when I spoke with the President of Libya, he strongly condemned the violence and pledged every effort to protect our people and pursue those responsible.

The friendship between our countries, borne out of shared struggle, will not be another casualty of this attack. A free and stable Libya is still in America's interest and security, and we will not turn our back on that, nor will we rest until those responsible for these attacks are found and brought to justice. We are working closely with the Libyan authorities to move swiftly and surely. We are also working with partners around the world to safeguard other American embassies, consulates, and citizens.

There will be more time later to reflect, but today, we have work to do. There is no higher priority than protecting our men and women wherever they serve. We are working to determine the precise motivations and methods of those who carried out this assault. Some have sought to justify this vicious behavior, along with the protest that took place at our Embassy in Cairo yesterday, as a response to inflammatory material posted on the internet. America's commitment to religious tolerance goes back to the very beginning of our nation. But let me be clear – there is no justification for this, none. Violence like this is no way to honor religion or faith. And as long as there are those who would take innocent life in the name of God, the world will never know a true and lasting peace.

It is especially difficult that this happened on September 11th. It's an anniversary that means a great deal to all Americans. Every year on that day, we are reminded that our work is not yet finished, that the job of putting an end to violent extremism and building a safe and stable world continues. But September 11th means even more than that. It is a day on which we remember thousands of American heroes, the bonds that connect all Americans, wherever we are on this Earth, and the values that see us through every storm. And now it is a day on which we will remember Sean, Chris, and their colleagues.

May God bless them, and may God bless the thousands of Americans working in every corner of the world who make this country the greatest force for peace, prosperity, and progress, and a force that has always stood for human dignity – the greatest force the world has ever known. And may God continue to bless the United States of America.

Thank you.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 12:46 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Visas Obtained

-----Original Message-----

From: Jones, Beth E
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 12:46 PM
To: Kennedy, Patrick F; Mills, Cheryl D; Sherman, Wendy R; Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J
Subject: FW: Visas Obtained

FBI got their visas for Libya today: Five members of team and three crew members. Legatt was counted separately and already has visa. The FBI team is Enroute tonight, I am told.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 6:33 PM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Question and update

- do you approve the War Powers Act action memo?

- The King of Morocco has not gotten back to us with a time but ops will try again when its a reasonable hour for the Moroccans.

- Attorney General Holder has requested to speak with you regarding the Department of Justice's Libya investigation. He is standing by. Would you like to take this tonight?

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 3:50 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: US intelligence warned embassy in Egypt of concern about anti-Muslim film

From: Nuland, Victoria J
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 03:48 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Kennedy, Patrick F; Boswell, Eric J; Mills, Cheryl D; Goldberg, Philip S; Jones, Beth E
Subject: Fw: US intelligence warned embassy in Egypt of concern about anti-Muslim film

Here we go...

From: Pelton, Erin
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 03:37 PM
To: Nuland, Victoria J
Subject: CNN: US intelligence warned embassy in Egypt of concern about anti-Muslim film

Hey, have you had any Q's on this? If so, what are you saying? -E

US intelligence warned embassy in Egypt of concern about anti-Muslim film

By Suzanne Kelly

Concerned about the reaction to an anti-Muslim film that was gaining attention online, the U.S. intelligence community sent a cable to the embassy in Egypt warning of the concern, a U.S. official told CNN. It was sent 48 hours before the protests in Cairo and Benghazi in Libya, the official said.

The cable did not discuss any specific threat, the official said. It warned instead about the existence of the movie being posted on the internet and the fact that it was gaining attention. A seven minute portion of the movie aired on an Egyptian TV talk show the weekend before the protests started, according to a Department of Homeland Security/Federal Bureau of Intelligence memo obtained by CNN on Thursday.

The cable was not sent to the embassy in Tripoli, Libya or the consulate in Benghazi. US officials have said there was no intelligence ahead of the attack in Benghazi, which intelligence officials still believe was not planned. The White House spokesman Jay Carney said Friday there was no "actionable intelligence" indicating an attack was being planned.

There are hundreds if not thousands of cables sent each day, the official said, and there was no specific threat attached to this one, because a specific threat was not known

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 8:36 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Not a dry eye in NEA

From: Randolph, Lawrence M
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 04:33 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: RE: Not a dry eye in NEA

Including mine. Her remarks were really moving. Chris was an amazing man. Such a huge loss. You know, I was in Libya before coming here and in my almost ten years, I have never worked with such a calm, cool headed, funny diplomat. Made it all seem really easy- even in one of the hardest places to work in the world.

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 10:56 AM
To: Randolph, Lawrence M
Subject: Re: Not a dry eye in NEA

Thx

From: Randolph, Lawrence M
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 10:09 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: FW: Not a dry eye in NEA

This is from the spokesperson in NEA. It's true.

From: Snipe, Aaron D
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 10:07 AM
To: Randolph, Lawrence M
Subject: Not a dry eye in NEA

Please tell the Secretary how much her words meant to us down here. The statement was amazing and the delivery was so heartfelt and genuine.

We're really blown away.

Please thank her for us.

Aaron D. Snipe
Spokesperson | Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs | U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street NW | Room 6250 | Washington, DC, 20520
Office: +1 202-647-9533 | Email: snipead@state.gov

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 6:38 PM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Re: PDB

Yes. I'll give memo to Service downstairs.

What about Holder? And the King?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:36 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Yes, just confirmed that Dan will come at 9am tomorrow.

Ops can pick up the pouch in about 30 minutes. Does that work for you? Secret Service can grab it from the bench if you'd like.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:30 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Is Dan coming at 9?

Also, I signed the action memo. Will it be picked up?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 01:29 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Have not heard from Dan yet.

We are planning for a drop tomorrow at 9am, but we are not sure if he will have read and return. Will get back to you as soon as we know.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 01:10 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Did you hear back from Dan?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 11:10 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Checking now

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 11:06 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

If he can't come today, how about 9am tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:59 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Checking now. He left a pouch at your residence of the items you can keep.

You'll notice on the schedule in your pouch from the office, that the Somali president is listed at 2:45. We are hoping to move that to 3pm in case Dav goes long. Is that OK with you?

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:56 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Could Dan come back at 3?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:51 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

A pouch with all of your call sheets and the schedule in en route to you. Here it is below as well.

Also in the pouch are a few read items, and an action memo authorizing the War Powers resolution for Tunisia that the office would like you to approve today. Ops can send a courier over to pick up the action memo later today.

12:00 UK FM Hague
12:15 Egyptian FM Amr
12:30 Israeli PM Netanyahu
1:15 French FM Fabius
1:30 Saudi FM Saud al-Faisal
2:00 Somali Former Transitional President Sharif
2:15 Libyan PM-elect Abu-Shakour
2:30 Turkish FM Davutoglu

3:00 Somali President Mohamoud (T)

- Moroccan King is still pending.
- NEW CALL: King Juan Carlos of Spain called today and offered anytime today or tomorrow. His office relayed that it is a personal call inquiring after the status of the Embassies in the Middle East. We are working on a call sheet

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:43 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

I just woke up so I missed Dan. Could he come back after I finish my calls? But I don't have the call schedule yet so I don't know when that would be. Do you?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 09:35 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: PDB

He will be ready closer to 10am.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 09:17 AM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'huma@clintonemail.com' <huma@clintonemail.com>
Subject: PDB

Dan will be at Whitehaven with the PDB at 9:30am this morning.

He has some sensitive items that he would like to personally show you when he arrives.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 7:13 PM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Holder

Ok.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 07:01 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: Holder

No I'm sorry
I'm actually in Florida for the weekend.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:53 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: Holder

Ok. Thx.

Also, are you in DC?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:52 PM
To: H
Subject: Holder

He can speak at 7pm. He said that it does not have to be secure. Ops will connect to your residence.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:41 PM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re: PDB

Thank you.

We are offering 7pm to Holder and waiting to hear if he would like to speak secure.

We likely won't hear from the King for several hours but will keep you posted as soon as we do.

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 28, 2012 2:46 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: ARB Panel

FYI

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Friday, September 28, 2012 2:37 PM
To: Mull, Stephen D
Cc: Zeya, Uzra S; Burns, William J; Kennedy, Patrick F; Macmanus, Joseph E (S); Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: ARB Panel

Steve

Catherine Bertini agreed to serve on the ARB panel today. [REDACTED] Her best email is [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

B6

If we could finalize the entire panel today and get formal letters out to them for their service, that would be ideal so they can begin next week.

Best.

cdm

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Russo, Robert V <RussoRV@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 7:29 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin; Abedin, Huma; Hanley, Monica R; Valmoro, Lona J; Coleman, Claire L
Subject: Mini for Today - Friday, September 14, 2012

8:25 am **DEPART** Private Residence * En route State Department

8:35 am **ARRIVE** State Department

8:35 am **PRESIDENTIAL DAILY BRIEFING**

8:40 am Secretary's Office

8:45 am **DAILY SENIOR STAFF MEETING**

9:15 am Secretary's Conference Room

9:20 am **GROUP PHOTO w/FEMALE MILITARY OFFICERS FROM AFRICA**

9:25 am Treaty Room, 7TH Floor

Closed Press (Official Photographer Only), Staff: Monica, A/S Carson will greet and escort to the Treaty Room

-Approx. 25-30 people attending; consecutive French and Portuguese interpretation

9:30 am **WEEKLY MEETING w/UN AMBASSADOR SUSAN RICE**

10:00 am Secretary's Office

10:05 am **AWARD PRESENTATION TO DEPUTY EXECUTIVE SECRETARY**

10:10 am **PAM QUANRUD**

Secretary's Outer Office

Closed Press (Official Photographer only), Staff: Rob and Lona

-15 people expected, YOU present the Superior Honor Award to Pam

10:15 am **MEETING w/ASSISTANT SECRETARY MIKE POSNER AND CHERYL**

10:45 am Secretary's Outer Office

10:45 am **PRE-BRIEF w/WENDY AND JAKE FOR WH MEETING**

11:15 am Secretary's Outer Office

11:20 am **DEPART** State Department * En Route White House

11:25 am **ARRIVE** White House

11:30 am **MEETING**

1:00 pm White House Situation Room

1:00 pm **DEPART** White House * En Route Andrews Air Force Base

1:30 pm **ARRIVE** Andrews Air Force Base

2:15 pm **CEREMONY FOR RETURN OF THE REMAINS OF DEPARTMENT**

2:45 pm **COLLEAGUES FROM BENGHAZI, LIBYA**

Andrews Air Force Base

Press TBD, Scenario TBD, Staff: Monica

3:00 pm (t)**DEPART** Andrews Air Force Base * En Route State Department

3:30 pm (t)**ARRIVE** State Department

3:30 pm **OFFICE TIME**

TBD Secretary's Office

TBD **DEPART** State Department *En Route Andrews Air Force Base

TBD **ARRIVE** Andrews Air Force Base

TBD **DEPART** Andrews Air Force Base via Air Force Aircraft Tail #60204

En route White Plains, NY

TBD **ARRIVE** Westchester County Airport

TBD DEPART Westchester County Airport * En route Private Residence

TBD ARRIVE Private Residence

####

RELEASE IN
FULL

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Sent: Sunday, September 23, 2012 10:29 PM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
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Pls print.

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Subject: Re: Not a dry eye in NEA

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To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
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Subject: FW: Not a dry eye in NEA

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From: Snipe, Aaron D
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 10:07 AM
To: Randolph, Lawrence M
Subject: Not a dry eye in NEA

Please tell the Secretary how much her words meant to us down here. The statement was amazing and the delivery was so heartfelt and genuine.

We're really blown away.

Please thank her for us.

Aaron D. Snipe

Spokesperson | Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs | U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street NW | Room 6250 | Washington, DC, 20520
Office: +1 202-647-9533 | Email: snipead@state.gov

RELEASE IN
PART B6

B6

From: PIR [REDACTED]
Sent: Saturday, September 22, 2012 7:45 AM
To: H
Cc: CDM; Jake Sullivan
Subject: Libya

Associated Press
Published September 21, 2012

BENGHAZI, LIBYA – Hundreds of protesters angry over last week's killing of the U.S. ambassador to Libya stormed the compound of the Islamic extremist militia suspected in the attack, evicting militiamen and setting fire to their building Friday.

In an unprecedented show of public anger at Libya's rampant militias, the crowd overwhelmed the compound of the Ansar Al-Shariah Brigade in the center of the eastern city of Benghazi.

Ansar Al-Shariah fighters initially fired in the air to disperse the crowd, but eventually abandoned the site with their weapons and vehicles after it was overrun by waves of protesters shouting "No to militias."

"I don't want to see armed men wearing Afghani-style clothes stopping me in the street to give me orders, I only want to see people in uniform," said Omar Mohammed, a university student who took part in the takeover of the site, which protesters said was done in support of the army and police.

No deaths were reported in the incident, which came after tens of thousands marched in Benghazi against armed militias. One vehicle was also burned at the compound.

For many Libyans, the Sept. 11 attack on the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi was the last straw in one of the biggest problems Libya has faced since the ouster and death of longtime dictator Moammar Qaddafi around a year ago -- the multiple mini-armies that with their arsenals of machine guns and rocket-propelled grenades are stronger than the regular armed forces and police.

The militias, a legacy of the rag-tag popular forces that fought Qaddafi's regime, tout themselves as protectors of Libya's revolution, providing security where police cannot. But many say they act like gangs, detaining and intimidating rivals and carrying out killings.

Militias made up of Islamic radicals like Ansar Al-Shariah are notorious for attacks on Muslims who don't abide by their hardline ideology. Officials and witnesses say fighters from Ansar Al-Shariah led the attack on the U.S. consulate, which killed Amb. Chris Stevens and three other Americans.

After taking over the Ansar compound, protesters then drove to attack the Benghazi headquarters of another Islamist militia, Rafallah Sahati. The militiamen opened fire on the protesters, who were largely unarmed. At least 20 were wounded, and there were unconfirmed witness reports of three protesters killed.

Earlier in the day, some 30,000 people filled a broad boulevard as they marched along a lake in central Benghazi on Friday to the gates of the headquarters of Ansar Al-Shariah.

"No, no, to militias," the crowd chanted, filling a broad boulevard. They carried banners and signs demanding that militias disband and that the government build up police to take their place in keeping security. "Benghazi is in a trap," signs read. "Where is the army, where is the police?"

Other signs mourned the killing of Stevens, reading, "The ambassador was Libya's friend" and "Libya lost a friend." Military helicopters and fighter jets flew overhead, and police mingled in the crowd, buoyed by the support of the protesters.

The march was the biggest seen in Benghazi, Libya's second largest city and home to 1 million people, since the fall of Qaddafi in August 2011. The public backlash comes in part in frustration with the interim government, which has been unable to rein in the armed factions. Many say that officials' attempts to co-opt fighters by paying them have only fueled the growth of militias without bringing them under state control or integrating them into the regular forces.

Residents of another main eastern city, Darna, have also begun to stand up against Ansar Al-Shariah and other militias.

The anti-militia fervor in Darna is notable because the city, in the mountains along the Mediterranean coast north of Benghazi, has long had a reputation as a stronghold for Islamic extremists. During the Qaddafi era, it was the hotbed of a deadly Islamist insurgency against his regime.

A significant number of the Libyan jihadists who travelled to Afghanistan and Iraq during recent wars came from Darna. During the revolt against him last year, Qaddafi's regime warned that Darna would declare itself an Islamic Emirate and ally itself with Al Qaeda.

But now, the residents are lashing out against Ansar Al-Shariah, the main Islamic extremist group in the city.

"The killing of the ambassador blew up the situation. It was disastrous," said Ayoub al-Shedwi, a young bearded Muslim preacher in Darna who says he has received multiple death threats because he has spoken out against militias on a radio show he hosts. "We felt that the revolution is going in vain."

Leaders of tribes, which are the strongest social force in eastern Libya, have come forward to demand that the militias disband.

Tribal leaders in Benghazi and Darna announced this week that members of their tribes who are militiamen will no longer have their protection in the face of anti-militia protests. That means the tribe will not avenge them if they are killed.

Activists and residents have held a sit-in for the past eight days outside Darna's Sahaba Mosque, calling on tribes to put an end to the "state of terrorism" created by the militias.

Militiamen have been blamed for a range of violence in Darna. On the same day Stevens was killed in Benghazi, a number of elderly Catholic nuns and a priest who have lived in Darna for decades providing free medical services, were attacked, reportedly beaten or stabbed. There have been 32 killings over the past few months, including the city security chief and assassinations of former officers from Qaddafi's military.

Darna's residents are conservative, but they largely don't fit the city's reputation as extremists.

Women wear headscarves, but not the more conservative black garb and veil that covers the entire body and face. In the ancient city's narrow alleys, shops display sleeveless women dresses and the young men racing by in cars blare Western songs.

And many are impatient with Ansar Al-Shariah's talk of imposing its strict version of Islamic law. The group's name means "Supporters of Shariah Law."

"We are not infidels for God sake. We have no bars, no discos, we are not practicing vice in the street," said Wassam ben Madin, a leading activist in the city who lost his right eye in clashes with security forces on the first day of the uprising against Qaddafi. "This is not the time for talk about Shariah. Have a state first then talk to me about Shariah."

"If they are the 'supporters of Shariah' then who are we?" he said. "We don't want the flag of Al Qaeda raised over heads," he added, referring to Ansar Al-Shariah's black banner.

One elder resident at the Sahaba Mosque sit-in, Ramadan Youssef, said, "We will talk to them peacefully. We will tell them you are from us and you fought for us" during the civil war against Qaddafi. But "if you say no (to integrating into the) police and army, we will storm your place. It's over."

Officials in the interim government and security forces say they are not strong enough to crack down on the militias. The armed factions have refused government calls for them to join the regular army and police.

So the government has created a "High Security Committee" aimed at grouping the armed factions as a first step to integration. Authorities pay fighters a salary of as much as 1,000 dinars, around \$900, to join -- compared to the average police monthly salary of around \$200.

However, the militias that join still do not abide by government authority, and critics say the lure of salaries has only prompted more militias to form.

Officials and former rebel commanders estimate the number of rebels that actually fought in the 8-month civil war against Gadhafi at around 30,000. But those now listed on the High Security Committee payroll have reached several hundred thousand.

"All these militia and entities are fake ones but it is mushrooming," said Khaled Hadar, a Benghazi-based lawyer. "The government is only making temporarily solutions, but you are creating a disaster."

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RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 3:21 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Meant to email earlier

----- Original Message -----

From: Hochstein, Amos J
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 01:54 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Meant to email earlier

I thought her speech on Friday was excellent and the ceremony overall was strong and moving.

Thank you.
Sent From My BB

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Burns, William J <BurnsWJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 6:37 PM
To: H
Subject: Thanks

Your remarks this afternoon at Andrews were wonderful. Thanks for doing so much for our institution on such a sad day.

Just sent you a hi side note on visits to Jordan and Iraq, and look forward to catching up. Enjoy the weekend in the meantime.

Bill

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 7:50 AM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Holder

Is Dan coming at 9?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 07:01 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: Holder

No I'm sorry
I'm actually in Florida for the weekend.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:53 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: Holder

Ok. Thx.

Also, are you in DC?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:52 PM
To: H
Subject: Holder

He can speak at 7pm. He said that it does not have to be secure. Ops will connect to your residence.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:41 PM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re: PDB

Thank you.
We are offering 7pm to Holder and waiting to hear if he would like to speak secure.

We likely won't hear from the King for several hours but will keep you posted as soon as we do.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:38 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R

Subject: Re: PDB

Yes. I'll give memo to Service downstairs.

What about Holder? And the King?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:36 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Yes, just confirmed that Dan will come at 9am tomorrow.

Ops can pick up the pouch in about 30 minutes. Does that work for you? Secret Service can grab it from the bench if you'd like.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:30 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Is Dan coming at 9?

Also, I signed the action memo. Will it be picked up?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 01:29 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Have not heard from Dan yet.

We are planning for a drop tomorrow at 9am, but we are not sure if he will have read and return. Will get back to you as soon as we know.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 01:10 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Did you hear back from Dan?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 11:10 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Checking now

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 11:06 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

If he can't come today, how about 9am tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:59 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Checking now. He left a pouch at your residence of the items you can keep.

You'll notice on the schedule in your pouch from the office, that the Somali president is listed at 2:45. We are hoping to move that to 3pm in case Dav goes long. Is that OK with you?

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:56 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Could Dan come back at 3?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:51 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

A pouch with all of your call sheets and the schedule in en route to you. Here it is below as well.

Also in the pouch are a few read items, and an action memo authorizing the War Powers resolution for Tunisia that the office would like you to approve today. Ops can send a courier over to pick up the action memo later today.

12:00 UK FM Hague
12:15 Egyptian FM Amr
12:30 Israeli PM Netanyahu
1:15 French FM Fabius
1:30 Saudi FM Saud al-Faisal
2:00 Somali Former Transitional President Sharif
2:15 Libyan PM-elect Abu-Shakour
2:30 Turkish FM Davutoglu
3:00 Somali President Mohamoud (T)

- Moroccan King is still pending.

- NEW CALL: King Juan Carlos of Spain called today and offered anytime today or tomorrow. His office relayed that it is a personal call inquiring after the status of the Embassies in the Middle East. We are working on a call sheet

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:43 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

I just woke up so I missed Dan. Could he come back after I finish my calls? But I don't have the call schedule yet so I don't know when that would be. Do you?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 09:35 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: PDB

He will be ready closer to 10am.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 09:17 AM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'huma@clintonemail.com' <huma@clintonemail.com>
Subject: PDB

Dan will be at Whitehaven with the PDB at 9:30am this morning.

He has some sensitive items that he would like to personally show you when he arrives.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 1:20 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Item

From: Kennedy, Patrick F
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 1:08 PM
To: Reines, Philippe I
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Item

Philippe

Beth Jones has confirmed that Chris's notebook is in the hands of the Italian CG.

The plan is for the CG to travel on Sat (in one week) to Tripoli and give the notebook to the Italian Amb who will get it to Greg. In the meantime, the Italians will secure it in Benghazi.

Regards

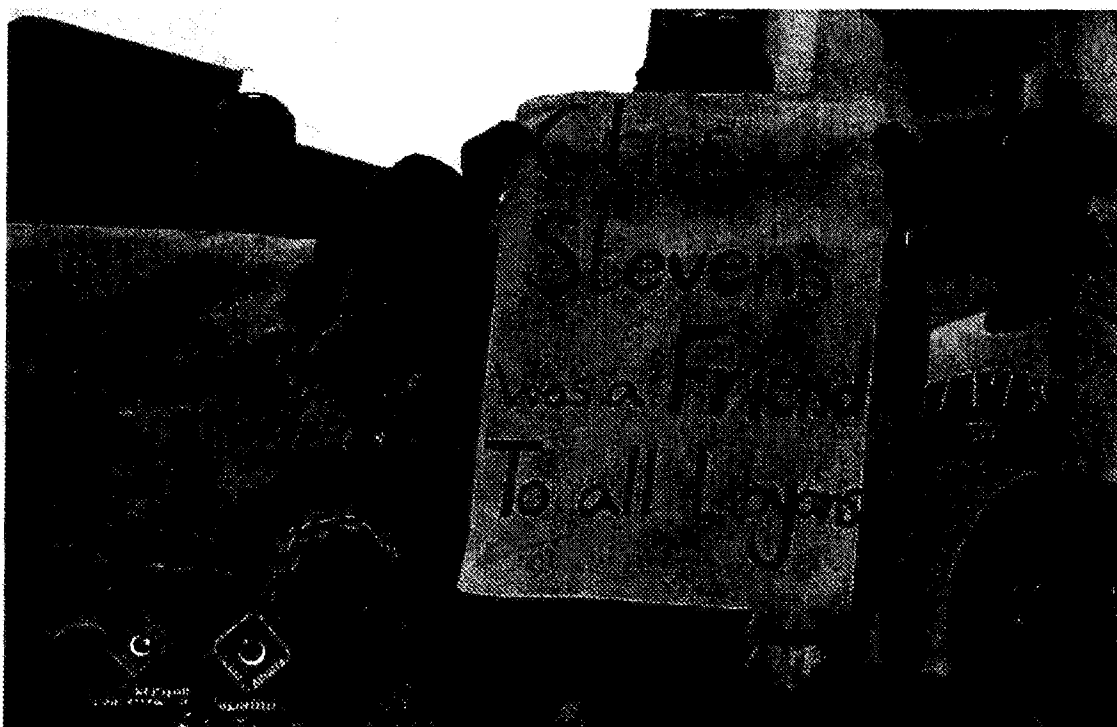
pat

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sherman, Wendy R <ShermanWR@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 10:03 PM
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Nuland, Victoria J; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Fw: One More Photo

Another photo.

From: Lakhdhir, Kamala S
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 09:59 PM
To: Sherman, Wendy R
Cc: Escrogima, Ana A
Subject: One More Photo



Kamala Lakhdhir
P Executive Assistant
202-647-1598

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 5:53 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F
Cc: H
Subject: Re: You do great work - thanks for making our heros have the homecoming they deserved.

By leadership - let me be clear - meant the 3 of you -- especially our Secretary- lovely speech!

From: Marshall, Capricia P
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 05:18 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F
Cc: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re: You do great work - thanks for making our heros have the homecoming they deserved.

Great teamwork -- great leadership!

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 04:58 PM
To: Marshall, Capricia P; Kennedy, Patrick F
Cc: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: You do great work - thanks for making our heros have the homecoming they deserved.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 23, 2012 10:29 PM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: S today

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 10:25 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: S today

This is nice.

----- Original Message -----

From: Sherwood-Randall, Liz [mailto:]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 10:08 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: S today

B6

Jake -- I was so moved by Hillary's powerful presence today on the screen as I watched along with millions in America and around the world. She was emphathetic and unflinching and inspiring; she was wise and steady and strong. My 80 year old mother called from LA to say "She was like our rock of Gibraltar". What greater compliment for the Secretary of State on such an awful day? I salute her as well as you and your colleagues who crafted her remarks under tremendous time and factual constraints. It really showed everyone the stuff of which she's made. With admiration and affection --
Liz

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 21, 2012 6:37 PM
To: H
Subject: RE: Anything to report?

Sorry – I've been flat out. (And I've agreed to have dinner with Anne-Marie at 7!)

1. We'll get you a new CGI draft tomorrow morning for you to noodle on. Feel free to call when you've looked at it and we can talk about other directions if it doesn't feel right.
2. Tom met with Barak today; I will get readout from Sam V tomorrow afternoon. Wendy is going to write points for you.
3. Yousef called to say now that Jeff is gone ABZ has no one to talk to on a regular basis and asked if he could talk to Bill Burns.
4. Ben Rhodes sent me the draft UNGA speech which I will forward to you shortly.
5. Bill/Wendy are currently in a SVTC on some information that they may want to report to you on – but unclear whether there is anything to it.
6. We've nailed down a \$15 mm non-lethal support and \$15 mm humanitarian support announcement for next Friday's Friends of Syria meeting.
7. Hold on Rick Olson was lifted by Paul.
8. Protestors stormed Ansar al Sharia's headquarters in Benghazi, and a huge number marched against militias.
9. I saw Dennis Ross today for one of our S/P sessions. I can fill you in on the latest on his effort. Also, he will send you some stuff in advance of your relevant meetings (he was just in Israel).

That's the key stuff for now. More medium-range stuff to discuss in NY.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, September 21, 2012 6:08 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Anything to report?

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, September 17, 2012 9:19 AM
To: H
Subject: FW: Thanks

From: Mull, Stephen D
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 12:34 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Sherman, Wendy R; Marshall, Capricia P
Subject: FW: Thanks

Touching words from [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Kudos to Pat and Capricia and all who organized so well.

B6

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 7:31 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: thanks

From: Barton, Rick (CSO)
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 6:15 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: thanks

Cheryl, Please extend our thanks to the Secretary for today's moving event. As always, her remarks (the President's and the chaplain's) were just right. I will also send a note to Pat and Capricia to thank them for a well led day that helped build solidarity, despite the sorrow.

Thanks also for Cindy and Yael – they are a pleasure to work with every day.

We are making real progress.

Best, Rick

Rick Barton
Ambassador
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations
202.663.0807

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 8:35 AM
To: H
Subject: FW: SITUATION REPORT No. 1 09/14/I (SBU)

From: OpsAlert
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 6:53 AM
Subject: SITUATION REPORT No. 1 09/14/I (SBU)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED



EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
Operations Center

SITUATION REPORT No. 1
Middle East Protests Monitoring Group MGMEP01
Friday, September 14, 2012
0600 EDT

EGYPT

- (U) Riot police used tear gas in an attempt to disperse demonstrators. Egyptian authorities erected large concrete barriers to block the route to the embassy and deployed approximately 4000 security personnel to the area. *(Ops/DS Command Center telcon, Reuters)*
- (U) Embassy Cairo reported the Muslim Brotherhood cancelled earlier calls for nationwide demonstrations at major mosques, but supported symbolic demonstrations at Tahrir Square. *(MGMEP01/Embassy Cairo telcon)*

LIBYA

(U) Air traffic in Benghazi was suspended September 13 due to security reasons. *(AFP)*

YEMEN

- (SBU) Embassy Sana'a reported increased security presence but no apparent protests at the Sheraton hotel. *(Ops/Embassy Sana'a telcon)*
- (U) Yemeni security forces blocked streets surrounding the U.S. Embassy, where approximately 30 protesters gathered. *(Reuters)*

KUWAIT

- (SBU) Around 400 protesters, including parliament members and prominent Sunni Islamists, congregated peacefully for nearly two hours in front of the Embassy September 13. Police arrested several youth who tried to jump the compounds outermost perimeter. *(MGMEP01/Embassy Kuwait City e-mail)*
- (SBU) Embassy Kuwait City reported another demonstration is planned for 1200 EDT/1900 Kuwait City. The embassy and the government added extra security around the compound and received security reinforcements from the government. *(MGMEP01/Embassy Kuwait City telcon)*

PAKISTAN

- (SBU) Consulate General Lahore reported calls for nationwide protests, including large demonstrations at the consulate's press club. Authorities deployed riot police to the consulate and limited access to the road. Consulate General Lahore dismissed all employees at 0300 EDT/1200 Lahore. *(MGMEP01/Consulate General Lahore e-mail)*
- (SBU) Embassy Islamabad reported police are preparing to prevent demonstrators from approaching diplomatic enclaves and police reserves are on stand-by. Embassy Islamabad dismissed non-emergency personnel. *(MGMEP01/Embassy Islamabad e-mail)*
- (SBU) Consulate General Peshawar reported two protests were scheduled to take place approximately four kilometers from the consulate. Additional police was assigned to reinforce security. *(MGMEP01/Consulate General Peshawar e-mail)*
- (SBU) Consulate General Karachi reported riot police were deployed to the compound, with more on standby. *(MGMEP01/Consulate General Karachi e-mail)*

INDONESIA

- (SBU) Embassy Jakarta reported a peaceful demonstration of approximately 300 people. *(Embassy Jakarta Emergency Message)*
- (U) Over 250 riot police were put on alert ahead of the demonstrations. Indonesian leaders urged calm. *(AP)*

MALAYSIA

- (SBU) Police said they are prepared for demonstrations near the U.S. Embassy and mosques in various cities. *(Embassy Kuala Lumpur Emergency Message)*
- (U) Around 30 people gathered peacefully outside the Embassy and submitted a memorandum demanding an apology and action from the U.S. government against the filmmakers. *(The Star)*

SUDAN

(U) Islamic scholars called for the expulsion of the U.S. and German Ambassadors and for peaceful mass protests at their embassies in Khartoum. *(Reuters)*

INDIA

(U) A small group of protesters gathered peacefully September 13 in Kashmir. The most senior Islamic cleric in Kashmir told U.S. citizens to "immediately leave" the region. *(AFP)*

IRAN

(SBU) The Swiss Embassy in Tehran will be closed in anticipation of planned demonstrations. *(MGMEP01/Iran desk e-mail)*

INTERNATIONAL REACTION

- (U) Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov said the Benghazi attack confirms "the need for the joint efforts of our countries, as well as the global community in combating the evil of terrorism." *(Russia Today)*
- (U) The Arab League condemned the Benghazi attack and called on the U.S. government to take a serious position against the film producers. *(MENA)*
- (SBU) The Bahamas, Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Jamaica, Panama, Peru, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, and Venezuela have also issued condemnations and condolences, bringing to 26 the number of countries in the western hemisphere condemning the attacks in Benghazi. *(MGMEP01/Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs Office of Policy Planning and Coordination e-mail)*
- (U) Libyan Prime Minister Abu Shagour said he will work "vigorously" to improve security by boosting the national police force and army as well as implementing programs to collect and regulate weapons. *(Reuters)*

- (U) Yemeni President Hadi apologized for the attack September 13, and ordered an expeditious and thorough investigation. *(Embassy of Yemen Statement)*

Additional updates on events in LIBYA are available through our classified website
at <http://ses.state.sgov.gov>

Drafted: THNguyen

Approved: TBFullerton

Dist: State (all bureaus), NSS, OSD, NMCC, JCS, CIA, OSC, NCTC, DHS, DNI

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, September 17, 2012 4:20 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Video shows Libyans helping rescue US ambassador after attack (Reuters)

From: OpsNewsTicker@state.gov [mailto:OpsNewsTicker@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, September 17, 2012 3:08 PM
To: Middle East Protests; NEWS-Libya; NEWS-Mahogany
Subject: Video shows Libyans helping rescue US ambassador after attack (Reuters)

BENGHAZI (Reuters) - An amateur video appears to show Libyans trying to rescue U.S. ambassador Christopher Stevens from a room filled with smoke at the U.S. mission where he was found unconscious after last week's attack by a mob protesting against a film that denigrates the Prophet Mohammad.

The video, which appeared on the internet and a copy of which was obtained by Reuters in Benghazi, confirms reports that suggested the U.S. envoy died of asphyxiation after the building caught fire.

The footage also sheds new light on the circumstances of the ambassador's death, apparently showing for the first time that some of the people who forced their way into the U.S. compound later tried to rescue Stevens after they found him lying alone, with no security detail, in one of the rooms in the building.

The video shows a group of young men who had earlier stormed the compound telling other protesters by the light of torches and mobile phones that they had found someone who appeared to be a foreigner lying on the floor.

"There is someone inside ... He is a foreigner, he is a foreigner. Take him out," said one man, shouting for help.

"Bring him out, man! Bring him out," another said.

"The man is alive. Bring him out, man. Bring him out," said a third.

"Alive, Alive! God is Greatest," the crowd cried. Someone called for a car.

"Make space, is there someone who is a medic around? Anyone who can get a car quickly?" another man can be heard saying.

Stevens and three other embassy staff died when gunmen attacked the U.S. consulate and a safe house in the eastern Libyan city on Tuesday night. The attackers were part of a crowd blaming America for a film they said insulted the Prophet Mohammad.

Security personnel were separated from Stevens during the attack, U.S. officials said, in the chaos of smoke and gunfire that ensued.

The identity and motive of the attackers remain unclear. Activists who took part in the protest said the motive was rage at the video produced in California and which describes the Prophet as a homosexual and

womaniser.

Some Libyan officials blamed the attack on radical Islamist groups linked to al Qaeda, such as regional affiliate Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, and Ansar al-Sharia. Both groups back the introduction of Islamic Sharia law rather than democracy.

The footage shows Stevens lying on the floor in a smoke-filled room after protesters had stormed the compound and set fire to its buildings.

Minutes later he was pulled out of the room through a window, and then placed on the courtyard's stone tile floor. A young man is seen putting his hand on his neck to check if he was breathing.

A protester wearing a white T-shirt who had carried Stevens out of the room was hugged by a fellow protestor in a traditional expression of gratitude.

Seconds after the protesters found Stevens was alive, a young man in the background can be heard shouting: "Take him to my car, bring him to my car."

A doctor on duty in the emergency room at the Benghazi Medical Centre that night has said local civilians brought in the ambassador at around 1 a.m. While the doctor performed CPR for 45 minutes, Stevens died of asphyxiation due to smoke inhalation. His body was later returned to U.S. custody.

NewsTickers alert senior Department officials to breaking news. This item appears as it did in its original publication and does not contain analysis or commentary by Department sources.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 4:00 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Anti-Muslim film director in hiding, following Libya, Egypt violence

From: Tolv, Nora F
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 1:48 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Anti-Muslim film director in hiding, following Libya, Egypt violence

The Washington Post

Anti-Muslim film director in hiding, following Libya, Egypt violence

By **Nia-Malika Henderson** and **Michelle Boorstein**, Updated: Wednesday, September 12, 1:30 PM

The director of a controversial anti-Islam film has gone into hiding, according to reports, fearing reprisals over a work that has sparked violence in Egypt and Libya and led to the deaths of four Americans.

Sam Bacile, a California real estate developer, posted a 13-minute clip of "The Innocence of Muslims," in July, and the film became a lightning rod after the Egyptian media began showing parts of it on air and dubbed versions of the English-language film appeared on the Internet.

It depicts the Prophet Muhammad as a bumbling idiot, born out of wedlock and making up verses to the Islamic holy book to suit his purposes and desires. The film also shows him as having intimate relations with women and suggests that he was gay.

Any flesh-and-blood depiction of Muhammad is offensive to Muslims.

"This is a political movie," Bacile, 56, told the Associated Press, adding that he didn't expect the film to spark such fury. "The U.S. lost a lot of money and a lot of people in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, but we're fighting with ideas."

Bacile identified himself to several news organizations as an Israeli-born Jew who works as a real estate developer in California. Yet his identity remains something of a mystery--Bacile is not listed in any directories or incorporations or real estate deeds and is not licensed in California as a real estate broker. And Israeli authorities told the Associated Press that they don't have any records of Bacile.

There are also questions about whether the film sparked the violence in Libya, which according to some reports seemed to be more coordinated than the protests in Egypt where some 2,000 gathered outside the U.S. Embassy in Cairo.

The eruption of violence came around the 11th anniversary of the Sept. 11 terror attacks, as Americans paused to remember the 3,000 people who lost their lives.

Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens and three others were killed after protesters attacked the U.S. consulate in Benghazi.

Nihad Awad, national executive director of the Washington-based Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), condemned both the killings and the film. Awad said in a statement:

“We urge that this ignorant attempt to provoke the religious feelings of Muslims in the Arabic-speaking world be ignored and that its extremist producers not be given the cheap publicity they so desperately seek.

“Those who created this trashy film do not represent the people of America or the Christian faith. The only proper response to intentional provocations such as this film is to redouble efforts to promote mutual understanding between faiths and to marginalize extremists of all stripes.”

A controversial Florida pastor was among those promoting “The Innocence of Muslims,” which cost \$5 million to make and stars amateur actors, some of whom appear to be wearing make-up to darken their faces.

Bacile said that the film was backed by 100 Jewish donors, according to Bacile.

Among the promoters is Morris Sadek, who heads the National American Coptic Assembly and the Rev. Terry Jones, leader of a small group that holds virulently anti-Islam events.

Tuesday evening, Jones sent out a press release blaming the Muslim faith for the protests and saying the group would be running a trailer later in the evening for the film.

The trailer was part of a one-to-two hour “live event” that Jones was doing from his Gainesville center for Sept. 11, said Fran Ingram, a spokeswoman for his group, Stand Up America. The whole broadcast included the handlebar-moustached pastor in a black “infidel” t-shirt standing in front of a fabric lynched devil dressed in a white turban for what they group dubbed “International Judge Muhammed Day.”

It wasn’t clear if Jones, who garnered worldwide attention in recent years with his threats to burn the Koran, had promoted “The Innocence of Muslims” before the rioting began.

Asked if Jones was connected in any way with the making of the film, Ingram said she couldn’t comment.

Alice Crites contributed to this story.

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RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 6:52 PM
To: H
Subject: Holder

He can speak at 7pm. He said that it does not have to be secure. Ops will connect to your residence.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:41 PM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re: PDB

Thank you.

We are offering 7pm to Holder and waiting to hear if he would like to speak secure.

We likely won't hear from the King for several hours but will keep you posted as soon as we do.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:38 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Yes. I'll give memo to Service downstairs.

What about Holder? And the King?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:36 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Yes, just confirmed that Dan will come at 9am tomorrow.

Ops can pick up the pouch in about 30 minutes. Does that work for you? Secret Service can grab it from the bench if you'd like.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:30 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Is Dan coming at 9?

Also, I signed the action memo. Will it be picked up?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 01:29 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Have not heard from Dan yet.

We are planning for a drop tomorrow at 9am, but we are not sure if he will have read and return. Will get back to you as soon as we know.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 01:10 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Did you hear back from Dan?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 11:10 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Checking now

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 11:06 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

If he can't come today, how about 9am tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:59 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Checking now. He left a pouch at your residence of the items you can keep.

You'll notice on the schedule in your pouch from the office, that the Somali president is listed at 2:45. We are hoping to move that to 3pm in case Dav goes long. Is that OK with you?

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:56 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Could Dan come back at 3?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:51 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

A pouch with all of your call sheets and the schedule in en route to you. Here it is below as well.

Also in the pouch are a few read items, and an action memo authorizing the War Powers resolution for Tunisia that the office would like you to approve today. Ops can send a courier over to pick up the action memo later today.

12:00 UK FM Hague
12:15 Egyptian FM Amr
12:30 Israeli PM Netanyahu
1:15 French FM Fabius
1:30 Saudi FM Saud al-Faisal
2:00 Somali Former Transitional President Sharif
2:15 Libyan PM-elect Abu-Shakour
2:30 Turkish FM Davutoglu
3:00 Somali President Mohamoud (T)

- Moroccan King is still pending.
- NEW CALL: King Juan Carlos of Spain called today and offered anytime today or tomorrow. His office relayed that it is a personal call inquiring after the status of the Embassies in the Middle East. We are working on a call sheet

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:43 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

I just woke up so I missed Dan. Could he come back after I finish my calls? But I don't have the call schedule yet so I don't know when that would be. Do you?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 09:35 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: PDB

He will be ready closer to 10am.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 09:17 AM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'huma@clintonemail.com' <huma@clintonemail.com>
Subject: PDB

Dan will be at Whitehaven with the PDB at 9:30am this morning.

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 12:44 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Cairo Condemnation - Final

From: Smith, Dana S (PA)
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 11:53 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: FW: Cairo Condemnation - Final

From: Snipe, Aaron D
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 1:31 PM
To: Smith, Dana S (PA)
Subject: FW: Cairo Condemnation - Final

FYI -

From: Snipe, Aaron D
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 6:18 AM
To: Schwartz, Larry; Ranz, David J; Sievers, Marc J; Linfield, David E; Sayles, Ambrose G; NEA-Press-DL; NEA-Egypt; Shea, Peter T
Cc: Mitchell, Andrew B
Subject: RE: Cairo Condemnation - Final

All,

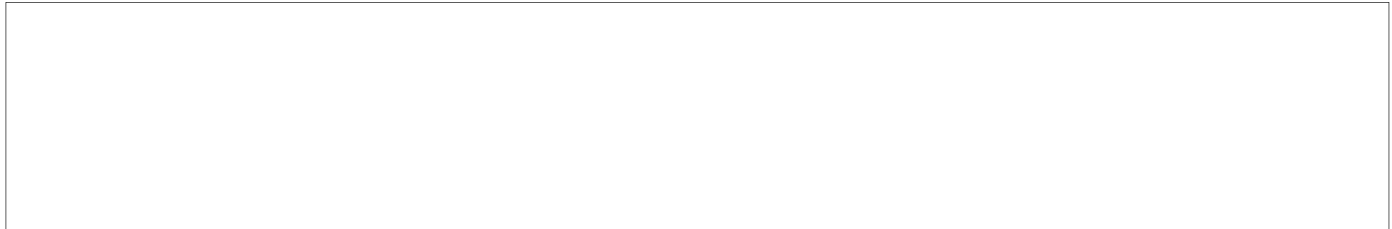
ADS

Aaron D. Snipe

Spokesperson | Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs | U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street NW | Room 6250 | Washington, DC, 20520

Office: +1 202-647-9533 | Email: snipead@state.gov

From: Schwartz, Larry
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 5:26 AM
To: Ranz, David J; Sievers, Marc J; Linfield, David E; Sayles, Ambrose G; NEA-Press-DL; NEA-Egypt; Shea, Peter T
Cc: Mitchell, Andrew B
Subject: Cairo Condemnation - Final
Importance: High



B5

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 23, 2012 10:36 PM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: Thanks

Pls print.

From: Burns, William J [mailto:BurnsWJ@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 06:37 PM
To: H
Subject: Thanks

Your remarks this afternoon at Andrews were wonderful. Thanks for doing so much for our institution on such a sad day.

Just sent you a hi side note on visits to Jordan and Iraq, and look forward to catching up. Enjoy the weekend in the meantime.

Bill

RELEASE
IN FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 8:57 AM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Re: King of Morocco

I can do it right now.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 08:49 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: King of Morocco

His office called and said that he is available now.
Do you want to take it this morning?

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:35 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: Question and update

--I approved. Will it be picked up?

--call w King should be scheduled so keep working w Huma

--I will speak to Holder. Does he need to speak secure? I can do either.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:33 PM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Question and update

- do you approve the War Powers Act action memo?

- The King of Morocco has not gotten back to us with a time but ops will try again when its a reasonable hour for the Moroccans.

- Attorney General Holder has requested to speak with you regarding the Department of Justice's Libya investigation. He is standing by. Would you like to take this tonight?

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 12:48 PM
To: 'millsd@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Visas Obtained

As planned....

----- Original Message -----

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 12:45 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Visas Obtained

-----Original Message-----

From: Jones, Beth E
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 12:46 PM
To: Kennedy, Patrick F; Mills, Cheryl D; Sherman, Wendy R; Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J
Subject: FW: Visas Obtained

FBI got their visas for Libya today: Five members of team and three crew members. Legatt was counted separately and already has visa. The FBI team is Enroute tonight, I am told.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Koh, Harold Hongju <KohHH@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 9:12 PM
To: H
Subject: Thank you

I asked to attend your svtc today with Embassy Tripoli, because I had first met so many of that staff when I went with you from Malta to Tripoli for the reopening of our Embassy.

Today's deaths hit me much harder than I would have guessed. I am always proud to serve under you, but never have your words been more meaningful than on today's svtc. Every day of your tenure has been extraordinary, but none more so than today. Thank you again for your inspirational leadership and example.

As ever,
Harold

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 2:41 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: 'Meet the Press' Transcript: U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice

Will do.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 02:39 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: 'Meet the Press' Transcript: U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice

B5

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 02:36 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: 'Meet the Press' Transcript: U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice

Good.

From: Operations Center
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 02:11 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: SES-O; SES_DutyDeputies
Subject: 'Meet the Press' Transcript: U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice

Dear Mr. Sullivan,

As per your request, here is the transcript from Ambassador Rice's appearance on NBC's "Meet the Press." We will forward the transcripts from the other Sunday morning shows as we receive them. Thank you.

Announcer: From NBC News in Washington, MEET THE PRESS with David Gregory.

GREGORY: And good morning. Relative calm this morning in the Middle East after several days of intense anti-American protests raged across many parts of the Islamic world. But word this morning that the Obama administration has ordered the evacuation of all but emergency personnel from diplomatic missions in Tunisia and Sudan. And defense secretary Leon Panetta saying this morning, the Pentagon has deployed forces to several areas in an increased effort to protect U.S. personnel and property from the potential of violent protests, the latest consequences, of course, of this troubling unrest. Joining me now for the very latest, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Susan Rice. Ambassador Rice, welcome back to MEET THE PRESS.

MS. SUSAN RICE (U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations): Thank you, good to be here.

GREGORY: The images as you well know are jarring to Americans watching all of this play out this week, and we'll share the map of all of this turmoil with our viewers to show the scale of it across not just the Arab world, but the entire Islamic world and flashpoints as well. In Egypt, of course, the protests outside the U.S. embassy there that Egyptian officials were slow to put down. This weekend in Pakistan, protests as well there. More anti-American rage. Also protests against the drone strikes. In Yemen, you also had arrests and some deaths outside of our U.S. embassy there. How much longer can Americans expect to see these troubling images and these protests go forward?

MS. RICE: Well, David, we can't predict with any certainty. But let's remember what has transpired over the last several days. This is a response to a hateful and offensive video that was widely disseminated throughout the Arab and Muslim world. Obviously, our view is that there is absolutely no excuse for violence and that-- what has happened is condemnable, but this is a-- a spontaneous reaction to a video, and it's not dissimilar but, perhaps, on a slightly larger scale than what we have seen in the past with *The Satanic Verses* with the cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad. Now, the United States has made very clear and the president has been very plain that our top priority is the protection of American personnel in our facilities and bringing to justice those who...

GREGORY: All right.

MS. RICE: ...attacked our facility in Benghazi.

GREGORY: Well, let's talk-- talk about-- well, you talked about this as spontaneous. Can you say definitively that the attacks on-- on our consulate in Libya that killed ambassador Stevens and others there security personnel, that was spontaneous, was it a planned attack? Was there a terrorist element to it?

MS. RICE: Well, let us-- let me tell you the-- the best information we have at present. First of all, there's an FBI investigation which is ongoing. And we look to that investigation to give us the definitive word as to what transpired. But putting together the best information that we have available to us today our current assessment is that what happened in Benghazi was in fact initially a spontaneous reaction to what had just transpired hours before in Cairo, almost a copycat of-- of the demonstrations against our facility in Cairo, which were prompted, of course, by the video. What we think then transpired in Benghazi is that opportunistic extremist elements came to the consulate as this was unfolding. They came with heavy weapons which unfortunately are readily available in post revolutionary Libya. And it escalated into a much more violent episode. Obviously, that's-- that's our best judgment now. We'll await the results of the investigation. And the president has been very clear--we'll work with the Libyan authorities to bring those responsible to justice.

GREGORY: Was there a failure here that this administration is responsible for, whether it's an intelligence failure, a failure to see this coming, or a failure to adequately protect U.S. embassies and installations from a spontaneous kind of reaction like this?

MS. RICE: David, I don't think so. First of all we had no actionable intelligence to suggest that-- that any attack on our facility in Benghazi was imminent. In Cairo, we did have indications that there was the risk that the video might spark some-- some protests and our embassy, in fact, acted accordingly, and had called upon the Egyptian authorities to-- to reinforce our facility. What we have seen as-- with respect to the security response, obviously we had security personnel in Benghazi, a-- a significant number, and tragically, among those four that were killed were two of our security personnel. But what happened, obviously, overwhelmed the security we had in place which is why the president ordered additional reinforcements to Tripoli and-- and why elsewhere in the world we have been working with governments to ensure they take up their obligations to protect us and we reinforce where necessary.

GREGORY: The president and the secretary of state have talked about a mob mentality. That's my words, not their words, but they talked about the-- the tyranny of mobs operating in this part of the world. Here's the reality, if you look at foreign aid--U.S. direct foreign aid to the two countries involved here, in Libya and Egypt, this is what you'd see: two hundred million since 2011 to Libya, over a billion a year to Egypt and yet Americans are seeing these kinds of protests and attacks on our own diplomats. Would-- what do you say to members of congress who are now weighing whether to suspend our aid to these countries if this is the response that America gets?

MS. RICE: Well, first of all, David, let's put this in perspective. As I said, this is a response to a-- a very offensive video. It's not the first time that American facilities have come under attack in the Middle East, going back to 1982 in-- in Beirut, going back to the Khobar Towers in-- in Saudi Arabia, or even the attack on our embassy in 2008 in Yemen.

GREGORY: Or Iran in 1979.

MS. RICE: This has-- this has happened in the past, but there-- and so I don't think that-- that we should misunderstand what this is. The reason we provide aid in Egypt and in Libya is because it serves American interests because the relationships...

GREGORY: But-- but our Americans are not being served if this is the response.

MS. RICE: It serves our interests to have Egypt willing and able to-- to maintain its peace treaty with Israel, it serves our interest for Egypt to continue to be a strong partner. Now, let's be clear, the government, once President Obama called President Morsi, immediately in Egypt the security forces came out and have provided very significant protection. Same in Tunisia, same in Libya, same in

Yemen. And all of these leaders have very forcefully conveyed their condemnation of what has transpired.

GREGORY: But there were conflicting messages from the Morsi government. In Arabic they encourage protests, in English they said stop the protests. This from an ally that we give over a billion dollars?

MS. RICE: What has happened in fact is that the Egyptian government has come out and protected our facilities. Our embassy is open today, things are calm. And Morsi has repeatedly been clear in his condemnation of-- of what has occurred. We-- we are in these partnerships, David, over the long-term. We think that-- that-- despite this very bumpy path we're on and the very disturbing images we've seen, it's in the United States fundamental interest that people have the ability to choose their own governments, that the governments be democratic and free. That's in our long-term best interest.

GREGORY: You know that this...

MS. RICE: We need to reinforce that with our assistance.

GREGORY: We are in the middle of a heated presidential campaign, there are different foreign policy visions. That's why we wanted to dedicate the hour to this today to really understand these different views. Mitt Romney spoke out this week, he criticized the administration, talked about whether the United States was apologizing for some of the initial response to this. These were his comments this week.

(Videotape; Wednesday)

MR. MITT ROMNEY: The administration was wrong to stand by a statement sympathizing with those who had breached our embassy in Egypt instead of condemning their actions. I think it's a-- a-- a terrible course to-- for America to-- to stand in apology for our values.

(End videotape)

GREGORY: Our embassies did not stand up for speech-- free speech in this initial response to this violence. And the Republican charge is that it's weakness on the part of this administration that invites this kind of chaos, that the administration has not been tough enough on radical extremists that are beginning to take root in these countries. How do you respond to that?

MS. RICE: First of all, I think the American people and certainly our diplomats and-- and development experts who are putting their lives on the line around the world every day expect from our leadership unity in times of challenge and strong, steady, steadfast leadership of the sort that President Obama has been providing. With respect to this, I think, vacuous charge of weakness, let's-- let's recall, I think, the American people fully understand that this is an administration led by a president who said when he ran for office that he would take the fight to al Qaeda. We have decimated al Qaeda. Osama bin Laden is dead. He said we would end the war responsibly in Iraq. We've done that. He has restored relationships around the world. I spend every day up at the United Nations where I have to interact with 192 other countries. I know how well the United States is viewed. I know that our standing is much improved and it's translated into important support for strong American positions, for example with sanctions against Iran.

GREGORY: Was it inappropriate for Governor Romney to level the criticism he leveled?

MS. RICE: I'm not going to get into politics, David. That's not my role in this job. But I think the American people welcome and appreciate strong, steady, unified leadership, bipartisan in times of challenge. And for those men and women in our diplomatic service, including those we tragically lost, they look to our leadership to be unified and responsible.

GREGORY: Let's talk about another area where the administration is on the defensive in terms of leadership in the world, and that is the nuclear threat from Iran. Another area of tension between the United States and Israel. In just a couple of minutes we will show our interview with the prime minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu. And our viewers will see that. One aspect is how close Iran is getting to becoming a nuclear power. I asked him about that. I want to show you a piece of the interview and get your reaction to it.

(Videotape)

PRIME MINISTER BENJAMIN NETANYAHU (Prime Minister of Israel): I can tell you, David, that Iran has been placed with some clear red lines on a few matters, and they have avoided crossing them. So I think that as they get closer and closer and closer to the achievement of the weapons-grade material, and they're very close, they're six months away from being about 90 percent of having the enriched uranium for an atom bomb, I think that you have to place that red line before them now, before it's-- it's too late.

GREGORY: As the prime minister of Israel, has Iran crossed your red line?

MR. NETANYAHU: Well, the way I would say it, David, is they are in the red zone. You know, they are in the last 20 yards. And you can't let them cross that goal line. You can't let them score a touchdown, because that would have unbelievable consequences, grievous consequences, for the peace and security of us all-- of the world really.

(End videotape)

GREGORY: What is President Obama's line in the sand, the point at which he says to Iran don't cross this with your nuclear program or there's going to be a military consequence?

MS. RICE: David, the president has been very, very clear. Our bottom line, if you want to call it a red line, president's bottom line has been that Iran will not acquire a nuclear weapon and we will take no option off the table to ensure that it does not acquire a nuclear weapon, including the military option.

GREGORY: The prime minister says...

MS. RICE: But...

GREGORY: ...they are acquiring.

MS. RICE: ...he's talking about a-- a red zone which is a new concept...

GREGORY: No, no, but he's talking about how close they are to actually becoming a nuclear power-- having to develop a capacity to become a nuclear power.

MS. RICE: They're not there yet. They are not there yet. And our assessment is, and-- and we share this regularly with our Israeli counterparts in the intelligence and defense community, that there is time and space for the pressure we are mounting, which is unprecedented in terms of sanctions, to still yield results. This is not imminent. The window is not infinite, but let's be clear--the sanctions that-- that are now in place reached their high point in July. The-- the Iranian economy is suffering. It's shrinking for the first time. Negative one percent growth. The amount of production of Iranian oil has dropped 40 percent over the last several months. Their currency has plummeted 40 percent over the last several months. This pressure is even to use the Iranian's own words crippling.

GREGORY: But can you say...

MS. RICE: And we think...

GREGORY: ...that President Obama's strategy to keep Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon almost at the end of his first term is succeeding or failing?

MS. RICE: David, what is clear is Iran does not have a nuclear weapon. And that Iran is more isolated than ever internationally. The economic pressure it is facing is much greater than ever. When President Obama came to office the international community was divided about Iran. And Iran was internally very united. The exact opposite is the case today. The international community is united. We just had another strong resolution out of the IAEA Board of Governors. And the internal dynamics in Iran are-- are fracturing and the leadership is divided. We are committed and President Obama is committed to preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. It is not a policy of containment. But, David, the most difficult and profound decision that any president has to make is the decision to go to war. And this president is committed to exhausting pressure, economic pressure, and diplomacy while there is-- is still time before making a decision of such consequence.

GREGORY: Ambassador Rice, the debate continues. Thank you very much...

MS. RICE: Thank you.

GREGORY: ...for your views this morning.

Now to this looming nuclear threat from Iran from the Israeli perspective. There were new tensions between the Obama administration in Israel this week. Earlier, I spoke with the prime minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu about where things stand and whether he is trying to influence the outcome of our presidential campaign.

Regards,
Prashanth Rajan
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 2:38 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: 'State of the Union' Transcript: U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice

Nothing to this one.

From: Operations Center
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 02:18 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: SES-O; SES_DutyDeputies
Subject: 'State of the Union' Transcript: U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice

Dear Mr. Sullivan,

As per your request, here is the transcript from Ambassador Rice's appearance on CNN's "State of the Union." We will forward the transcripts from the other Sunday morning shows as we receive them. Thank you.

CROWLEY: Joining me is the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Susan Rice.

Madam Ambassador, thank you for joining us.

RICE: Good to be with you, Candy.

CROWLEY: One of the things when I spoke with the Israeli prime minister that struck me was the conviction that he has that for certain Iran is building -- on its way to building a nuclear weapon, and his sense of urgency that at this moment the U.S. needs to set what he calls a "red line" for the U.S.

Does the U.S. share the conviction that Iran is, indeed, building a nuclear weapon? And, B, what about the concept of a red line?

RICE: Well, Candy, the United States is in constant communication with Israel and Israeli intelligence, Israeli policy makers, the military. We're sharing our assessments every day. And our assessments, our intelligence assessments are very similar. Obviously, we share a grave concern about Iran pursuing a nuclear weapon. We are determined to prevent that from happening. President Obama has been absolutely clear, and on this there's absolutely no daylight between the United States and Israel that we will do what it takes to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon.

We are not at that stage yet. They do not have a nuclear weapon. Our shared intelligence assessments is that there is still a considerable time and space before they will have a nuclear weapon should they make the decision to go for that. But we've been very clear. The United States is not interested and is not pursuing a policy of containment. President Obama has been very plain. We will keep all option on the table, including the military option, as necessary, to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon.

But, Candy, the fact is we have just seen the imposition of another layer of the toughest sanctions that have ever been impose odd a country. In this case, Iran. Their economy is beginning to buckle. Their oil production is down 40 percent. Their currency has plummeted 40 percent in the last year. Their economy is now shrinking. And this is only going to intensify.

So we think that there's still considerable time for this pressure to work. But this is not an infinite window. And we've made very clear that the president's bottom line is Iran will not have a nuclear weapon.

CROWLEY: Let me move you to what's gone on in the Middle East in Arab countries and elsewhere. There is a "New York Times" story this morning that suggests that the administration thinks this is a foreshadowing of a fall that will see sustained instability. Does the administration expect to see these sorts of protests outside U.S. embassies and elsewhere throughout the fall?

RICE: Well, Candy, first of all, let's recall what has happened in the last several days. There was a hateful video that was disseminated on the internet. It had nothing to do with the United States government and it's one that we find disgusting and reprehensible. It's been offensive to many, many people around the world.

That sparked violence in various parts of the world, including violence directed against western facilities including our embassies and consulates. That violence is absolutely unacceptable, it's not a response that one can ever condone when it comes to such a video. And we have been working very closely and, indeed, effectively with the governments in the region and around the world to secure our personnel, secure our embassy, condemn the violent response to this video.

And, frankly, we've seen these sorts of incidents in the past. We've seen violent responses to "Satanic Verses." We've seen violent responses to the cartoons depicting the Prophet Mohammed in an evil way. So this is something we've seen in the past, and we expect that it's possible that these kinds of things could percolate into the future. What we're focused on is securing our personnel, securing our facilities.

CROWLEY: Do you at this moment feel that U.S. embassies abroad are secure?

RICE: We are doing our utmost to secure our facilities and our personnel and in various vulnerable places. We have demanded and we are receiving the cooperation of host governments. Host governments have also put out very strong messages in Libya, in Egypt, in Yemen and Tunisia condemning violence, saying that it's a completely unacceptable response to such a video. And we feel that we are now in a position doing the maximum that we can to protect our people.

CROWLEY: Why would one not look at what is going on in the Middle East now and say that the president's outreach to Muslims, which began at the beginning of his administration in Cairo and elsewhere has not worked because, yes, this video sparked it, but there is an underlying anti-Americanism that is very evident on the streets. So Why not look at it and think that this is this outreach has failed?

RICE: For the same reason, Candy, when you look back at history and we had the horrible experience of our facilities and our personnel being attacked Beirut in 1981, we had the attack on Khobar Towers in the 1990s. We had an attack on our embassy in Yemen in 2008. There have been such attacks. There have been expressions of hostility towards the west.

CROWLEY: But this was sort of a reset, was it not? It was supposed to be a reset of U.S.-Muslim relations?

RICE: And indeed, in fact, there had been substantial improvements. I have been to Libya and walked the streets of Benghazi myself. And despite what we saw in that horrific incident where some mob was hijacked ultimately by a handful of extremists, the United States is extremely popular in Libya and the outpouring of sympathy and support for Ambassador Stevens and his colleagues from the government, from people is evidence of that.

The fact is, Candy, that this is a turbulent time. It's a time of dramatic change. It's a change that the United States has backed because we understand that when democracy takes root, when human rights and people's freedom of expression can be manifested, it may lead to turbulence in the short-term, but over the long-term, that is in the interest of the United States.

The mobs we've seen on the outside of these embassies are small minority. They're the ones who have largely lost in

these emerging democratic processes, and just as the people of these countries are not going to allow their lives to be hijacked by a dictator, they're not going to allow an extremist mob to hijack their future and their freedom,. And we're going to continue to stand with the vast majority of the populations in these countries.

They want freedom. They want a better future. And understand that we're with them in that long-term endeavor.

CROWLEY: All right. U.S. ambassador to the U.N., Susan Rice. I got to let you go here.

RICE: Thank you. Thank you very much.

Regards,
Prashanth Rajan
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Marshall, Capricia P <MarshallCP@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 5:18 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F
Cc: H
Subject: Re: You do great work - thanks for making our heros have the homecoming they deserved.

Great teamwork -- great leadership!

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 04:58 PM
To: Marshall, Capricia P; Kennedy, Patrick F
Cc: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: You do great work - thanks for making our heros have the homecoming they deserved.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 8:59 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: King of Morocco

Ops is building the call now.
Do you have the call sheet? We can email if not.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 08:56 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: King of Morocco

I can do it right now.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 08:49 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: King of Morocco

His office called and said that he is available now.
Do you want to take it this morning?

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:35 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: Question and update

--I approved. Will it be picked up?

--call w King should be scheduled so keep working w Huma

--I will speak to Holder. Does he need to speak secure? I can do either.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:33 PM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Question and update

- do you approve the War Powers Act action memo?

- The King of Morocco has not gotten back to us with a time but ops will try again when its a reasonable hour for the Moroccans.

- Attorney General Holder has requested to speak with you regarding the Department of Justice's Libya investigation. He is standing by. Would you like to take this tonight?

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, September 17, 2012 6:54 PM
To: H
Subject: Les Gelb on the Obama response

The whole thing is worth a read, but a very tough judge gives you and the President credit:

By any standard of reason, President Obama and Secretary of State Clinton conducted themselves very well amid the confusion and crises. Of course they didn't do everything perfectly; for example, some unidentified administration official disowned the embassy statement condemning the video. Such creepiness served only to make it look like Obama was running for cover at the expense of our embattled diplomats. But minor miscues aside, Obama and Clinton nailed the main points, especially Clinton. In her first statement soon after the riots, here's what she said: "The United States deplores any intentional effort to denigrate the religious beliefs of others. Our commitment to religious tolerance goes back to the very beginning of our nation. But let me be clear: There is never any justification for violent acts of this kind."

<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/09/17/leslie-h-gelb-on-the-mysteries-of-the-middle-east-riots.html>

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 7:36 PM
To: H
Subject: FW:

-----Original Message-----

From: Brett McGurk [mailto:**Sent:** Friday, September 14, 2012 5:50 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re:

B6

Cheryl, I can't imagine what this week has been like for you but wanted to write after attending the Andrews ceremony today. I was with some NEA hands who knew Chris well and they all noted the Secretary's visit to their offices earlier in the week and how pitch-perfect this has been handled. The remarks today were beautiful and moving. I did not have a personal connection to the four lost this week but the President and Secretary seemed to be speaking as well to those I did know and still mourn. So I wanted to write to say thank you. This is among the most challenging and uncertain periods in our history -- and our nation is more fortunate than it knows to have such a steady team at the helm.
Brett

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 6:09 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Amb Stevens [REDACTED]

Remind me to discuss

From: Coleman, Claire L
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 04:09 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Jones, Beth E
Cc: Macmanus, Joseph E (S); S_SpecialAssistants; Abbaszadeh, Nima; Coleman, Claire L
Subject: RE: Amb Stevens [REDACTED]

I just wanted to let all of you know that [REDACTED] called back at 3:40pm today to thank the Secretary for her condolence call earlier today. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] I did tell her that the Secretary spoke with [REDACTED] She was aware of that.

B6

FYI – the Secretary has not yet spoken with [REDACTED] I have the name and number on the call grid.

From: Abbaszadeh, Nima
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 8:52 AM
To: Coleman, Claire L
Cc: Macmanus, Joseph E (S); S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: FW: Amb Stevens [REDACTED]

NEA says [REDACTED] he told Beth Jones [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

From: Jamjoom, Kareem N
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 8:50 AM
To: Randolph, Lawrence M; Sidereas, Evyenia
Cc: NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL; S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: RE: Amb Stevens [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

From: Randolph, Lawrence M
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 8:38 AM
To: Sidereas, Evyenia
Cc: NEA-Staff-Assistants-DL
Subject: RE: Amb Stevens [REDACTED]
Importance: High

Can we get the right number?

Thanks,
L

From: Cline, Dwayne L
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 8:25 AM
To: S_SpecialAssistants
Cc: SES-O_SWO; SES-O; SES_DutyDeputies
Subject: Amb Stevens [REDACTED]

S Specials, per your request:

[REDACTED]

B6

Dwayne L. Cline
Senior Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
(202) 647-1512

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 23, 2012 10:57 PM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: Libyans march against Islamist militias in Benghazi

Pls print.

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, September 21, 2012 04:04 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Libyans march against Islamist militias in Benghazi

From: Toiv, Nora F
Sent: Friday, September 21, 2012 3:48 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Libyans march against Islamist militias in Benghazi

Libyans march against Islamist militias in Benghazi

By Peter Graff and Suleiman Al-Khalidi

BENGHAZI, Libya | Fri Sep 21, 2012 2:23pm EDT

(Reuters) - Thousands of Libyans marched in Benghazi on Friday in support of democracy and against the Islamist militias that Washington blames for an attack on the U.S. consulate last week that killed four Americans including the ambassador.

The "Rescue Benghazi day" demonstration called for the government to disband armed groups that have refused to give up their weapons since the NATO-backed revolution that toppled Muammar Gaddafi last year.

Marchers headed for a main square where a much smaller counter demonstration of hundreds of supporters of hardline Islamist group Ansar al-Sharia were waiting.

"It's obvious that this protest is against the militias. All of them should join the army or security forces as individuals, not as groups," medical student Ahmed Sanallah, 27, said. "Without that there will be no prosperity and no success for the new Libya."

The late afternoon demonstration had a cheerful atmosphere as families marched with small children on their shoulders.

Fighter jets and helicopters roared overhead in a show of official support for the demonstration, which has been enthusiastically promoted by the city's authorities.

"Those military battalions that want to impose their ideology on the people of Libya will be confronted," Saleh Gaouda, a member of new ruling national congress, said.

"This city wants to go back to stability and participate in building the state."

In a sign of the cheerful atmosphere, one car had a giant cardboard model of Benghazi's landmark lighthouse strapped to the roof. As the sun set and the crowd began to disperse, someone shot fireworks into the air.

"DEFEND BENGHAZI"

Although the main demands of the marchers did not mention the attack on the U.S. consulate, it seems to have provided a strong impetus for the authorities to rally support behind the country's weak government.

U.S. ambassador Christopher Stevens was well liked in Libya, and many people who were angered by an anti-Islamic film made in the United States consider the attack on the embassy to have been excessive. Some placards in English, intended for international news cameras, read: "We demand justice for Stevens" and "Libya lost a friend".

"I am out today to defend Benghazi. Killing the ambassador is a completely separate thing," 26-year-old Amjad Mohammed Hassan, a network engineer, said. "I don't give a damn about the killing of the ambassador because the Americans offended the Prophet. I am just here for Benghazi."

Benghazi, 1,000 km (600 miles) from Tripoli across largely empty desert, is controlled by various armed groups, including some comprised of Islamists who openly proclaim their hostility to democratic government and the West.

Some of these have been identified by local people as being among those who were at the consulate protest last week. U.S. officials have described the violence as a "terrorist attack".

One group linked to the attack is Ansar al-Sharia, which has denied involvement in the violence.

Abu Al-Qaa, a demonstrator at the Ansar al-Sharia counter demonstration, said Stevens "was preparing for the entry of American troops into Libya".

"The will of the Prophet was to expel infidels from Muslim lands so that Muslims prevail. Terrorizing your enemy is one of Islam's tenets."

He said he had fought against American troops in Iraq where he was arrested and sent back to Gaddafi's Libya and jailed for three years.

One banner at that demonstration read: "Day to rescue Benghazi or day to rescue America?"

In southern Libya, at least six people were killed and 12 injured in clashes between security forces and a local group, a security official and a resident said on Friday.

Security forces were sent to the town of Brak, 700 km (400 miles) south of Tripoli, on Wednesday to stop a group broadcasting songs about Gaddafi on the radio, the official said. The security forces, made up of former rebel fighters, came under attack upon arrival.

(Additional reporting by Omar Al-Mosmary and Ali Shuaib; Editing by Giles Elgood)

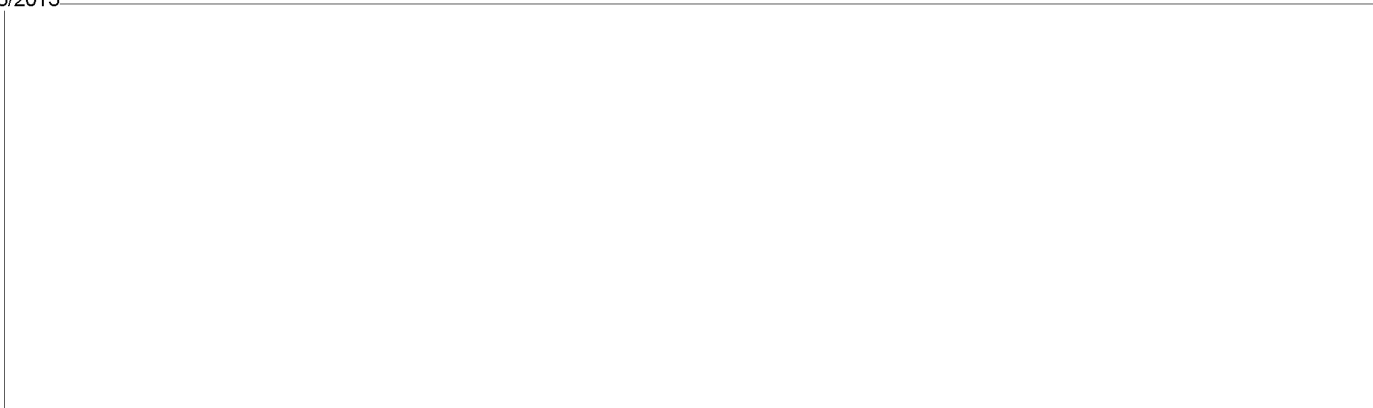
From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2012 8:43 AM
To: H
Cc: Hanley, Monica R; Abedin, Huma
Subject: Edits

[Redacted]

B5

[Redacted] Hopefully Mon or Huma can work these in teleprompter.

[Redacted]



RELEASE IN FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 10:16 AM
To: H
Subject: FW: Wow

From: Brose, Christian (Armed Services) [mailto:Christian_Brose@armed-services.senate.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 10:09 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Wow

What a wonderful, strong and moving statement by your boss. please tell her how much Sen. McCain appreciated it. Me too

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2012 8:47 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; H
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re: Edits

Got it

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2012 08:42 AM
To: 'hdr22@clintonemail.com' <hdr22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Hanley, Monica R; Abedin, Huma
Subject: Edits

Hopefully Mon or Huma can work these in teleprompter.

B5

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 2:37 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: 'Meet the Press' Transcript: U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice

Good.

From: Operations Center
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 02:11 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: SES-O; SES_DutyDeputies
Subject: 'Meet the Press' Transcript: U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice

Dear Mr. Sullivan,

As per your request, here is the transcript from Ambassador Rice's appearance on NBC's "Meet the Press." We will forward the transcripts from the other Sunday morning shows as we receive them. Thank you.

Announcer: From NBC News in Washington, MEET THE PRESS with David Gregory.

GREGORY: And good morning. Relative calm this morning in the Middle East after several days of intense anti-American protests raged across many parts of the Islamic world. But word this morning that the Obama administration has ordered the evacuation of all but emergency personnel from diplomatic missions in Tunisia and Sudan. And defense secretary Leon Panetta saying this morning, the Pentagon has deployed forces to several areas in an increased effort to protect U.S. personnel and property from the potential of violent protests, the latest consequences, of course, of this troubling unrest. Joining me now for the very latest, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Susan Rice. Ambassador Rice, welcome back to MEET THE PRESS.

MS. SUSAN RICE (U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations): Thank you, good to be here.

GREGORY: The images as you well know are jarring to Americans watching all of this play out this week, and we'll share the map of all of this turmoil with our viewers to show the scale of it across not just the Arab world, but the entire Islamic world and flashpoints as well. In Egypt, of course, the protests outside the U.S. embassy there that Egyptian officials were slow to put down. This weekend in Pakistan, protests as well there. More anti-American rage. Also protests against the drone strikes. In Yemen, you also had arrests and some deaths outside of our U.S. embassy there. How much longer can Americans expect to see these troubling images and these protests go forward?

MS. RICE: Well, David, we can't predict with any certainty. But let's remember what has transpired over the last several days. This is a response to a hateful and offensive video that was widely disseminated throughout the Arab and Muslim world. Obviously, our view is that there is absolutely no excuse for violence and that-- what has happened is condemnable, but this is a-- a spontaneous reaction to a video, and it's not dissimilar but, perhaps, on a slightly larger scale than what we have seen in the past with *The Satanic Verses* with the cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad. Now, the United States has made very clear and the president has been very plain that our top priority is the protection of American personnel in our facilities and bringing to justice those who...

GREGORY: All right.

MS. RICE: ...attacked our facility in Benghazi.

GREGORY: Well, let's talk-- talk about-- well, you talked about this as spontaneous. Can you say definitively that the attacks on-- on our consulate in Libya that killed ambassador Stevens and others there security personnel, that was spontaneous, was it a planned attack? Was there a terrorist element to it?

MS. RICE: Well, let us-- let me tell you the-- the best information we have at present. First of all, there's an FBI investigation which is ongoing. And we look to that investigation to give us the definitive word as to what transpired. But putting together the best information that we have available to us today our current assessment is that what happened in Benghazi was in fact initially a spontaneous reaction to what had just transpired hours before in Cairo, almost a copycat of-- of the demonstrations against our facility in Cairo, which were prompted, of course, by the video. What we think then transpired in Benghazi is that opportunistic extremist elements came to the consulate as this was unfolding. They came with heavy weapons which unfortunately are readily available in post revolutionary Libya. And it escalated into a much more violent episode. Obviously, that's-- that's our best judgment now. We'll await the results of the investigation. And the president has been very clear--we'll work with the Libyan authorities to bring those responsible to justice.

GREGORY: Was there a failure here that this administration is responsible for, whether it's an intelligence failure, a failure to see this coming, or a failure to adequately protect U.S. embassies and installations from a spontaneous kind of reaction like this?

MS. RICE: David, I don't think so. First of all we had no actionable intelligence to suggest that-- that any attack on our facility in Benghazi was imminent. In Cairo, we did have indications that there was the risk that the video might spark some-- some protests and our embassy, in fact, acted accordingly, and had called upon the Egyptian authorities to-- to reinforce our facility. What we have seen as-- with respect to the security response, obviously we had security personnel in Benghazi, a-- a

significant number, and tragically, among those four that were killed were two of our security personnel. But what happened, obviously, overwhelmed the security we had in place which is why the president ordered additional reinforcements to Tripoli and-- and why elsewhere in the world we have been working with governments to ensure they take up their obligations to protect us and we reinforce where necessary.

GREGORY: The president and the secretary of state have talked about a mob mentality. That's my words, not their words, but they talked about the-- the tyranny of mobs operating in this part of the world. Here's the reality, if you look at foreign aid--U.S. direct foreign aid to the two countries involved here, in Libya and Egypt, this is what you'd see: two hundred million since 2011 to Libya, over a billion a year to Egypt and yet Americans are seeing these kinds of protests and attacks on our own diplomats. Would-- what do you say to members of congress who are now weighing whether to suspend our aid to these countries if this is the response that America gets?

MS. RICE: Well, first of all, David, let's put this in perspective. As I said, this is a response to a-- a very offensive video. It's not the first time that American facilities have come under attack in the Middle East, going back to 1982 in-- in Beirut, going back to the Khobar Towers in-- in Saudi Arabia, or even the attack on our embassy in 2008 in Yemen.

GREGORY: Or Iran in 1979.

MS. RICE: This has-- this has happened in the past, but there-- and so I don't think that-- that we should misunderstand what this is. The reason we provide aid in Egypt and in Libya is because it serves American interests because the relationships...

GREGORY: But-- but our Americans are not being served if this is the response.

MS. RICE: It serves our interests to have Egypt willing and able to-- to maintain its peace treaty with Israel, it serves our interest for Egypt to continue to be a strong partner. Now, let's be clear, the government, once President Obama called President Morsi, immediately in Egypt the security forces came out and have provided very significant protection. Same in Tunisia, same in Libya, same in Yemen. And all of these leaders have very forcefully conveyed their condemnation of what has transpired.

GREGORY: But there were conflicting messages from the Morsi government. In Arabic they encourage protests, in English they said stop the protests. This from an ally that we give over a billion dollars?

MS. RICE: What has happened in fact is that the Egyptian government has come out and protected our facilities. Our embassy is open today, things are calm. And Morsi has repeatedly been clear in his condemnation of-- of what has occurred. We-- we are in these partnerships, David, over the long-term. We think that-- that-- despite this very bumpy path we're on and the very disturbing images we've seen, it's in the United States fundamental interest that people have the ability to choose their own governments, that the governments be democratic and free. That's in our long-term best interest.

GREGORY: You know that this...

MS. RICE: We need to reinforce that with our assistance.

GREGORY: We are in the middle of a heated presidential campaign, there are different foreign policy visions. That's why we wanted to dedicate the hour to this today to really understand these different views. Mitt Romney spoke out this week, he criticized the administration, talked about whether the United States was apologizing for some of the initial response to this. These were his comments this week.

(Videotape; Wednesday)

MR. MITT ROMNEY: The administration was wrong to stand by a statement sympathizing with those who had breached our embassy in Egypt instead of condemning their actions. I think it's a-- a-- a terrible course to-- for America to-- to stand in apology for our values.

(End videotape)

GREGORY: Our embassies did not stand up for speech-- free speech in this initial response to this violence. And the Republican charge is that it's weakness on the part of this administration that invites this kind of chaos, that the administration has not been tough enough on radical extremists that are beginning to take root in these countries. How do you respond to that?

MS. RICE: First of all, I think the American people and certainly our diplomats and-- and development experts who are putting their lives on the line around the world every day expect from our leadership unity in times of challenge and strong, steady, steadfast leadership of the sort that President Obama has been providing. With respect to this, I think, vacuous charge of weakness, let's-- let's recall, I think, the American people fully understand that this is an administration led by a president who said when he ran for office that he would take the fight to al Qaeda. We have decimated al Qaeda. Osama bin Laden is dead. He said we would end the war responsibly in Iraq. We've done that. He has restored relationships around the world. I spend every day up at the United Nations where I have to interact with 192 other countries. I know how well the United States is

viewed. I know that our standing is much improved and it's translated into important support for strong American positions, for example with sanctions against Iran.

GREGORY: Was it inappropriate for Governor Romney to level the criticism he leveled?

MS. RICE: I'm not going to get into politics, David. That's not my role in this job. But I think the American people welcome and appreciate strong, steady, unified leadership, bipartisan in times of challenge. And for those men and women in our diplomatic service, including those we tragically lost, they look to our leadership to be unified and responsible.

GREGORY: Let's talk about another area where the administration is on the defensive in terms of leadership in the world, and that is the nuclear threat from Iran. Another area of tension between the United States and Israel. In just a couple of minutes we will show our interview with the prime minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu. And our viewers will see that. One aspect is how close Iran is getting to becoming a nuclear power. I asked him about that. I want to show you a piece of the interview and get your reaction to it.

(Videotape)

PRIME MINISTER BENJAMIN NETANYAHU (Prime Minister of Israel): I can tell you, David, that Iran has been placed with some clear red lines on a few matters, and they have avoided crossing them. So I think that as they get closer and closer and closer to the achievement of the weapons-grade material, and they're very close, they're six months away from being about 90 percent of having the enriched uranium for an atom bomb, I think that you have to place that red line before them now, before it's-- it's too late.

GREGORY: As the prime minister of Israel, has Iran crossed your red line?

MR. NETANYAHU: Well, the way I would say it, David, is they are in the red zone. You know, they are in the last 20 yards. And you can't let them cross that goal line. You can't let them score a touchdown, because that would have unbelievable consequences, grievous consequences, for the peace and security of us all-- of the world really.

(End videotape)

GREGORY: What is President Obama's line in the sand, the point at which he says to Iran don't cross this with your nuclear program or there's going to be a military consequence?

MS. RICE: David, the president has been very, very clear. Our bottom line, if you want to call it a red line, president's bottom line has been that Iran will not acquire a nuclear weapon and we will take no option off the table to ensure that it does not acquire a nuclear weapon, including the military option.

GREGORY: The prime minister says...

MS. RICE: But...

GREGORY: ...they are acquiring.

MS. RICE: ...he's talking about a-- a red zone which is a new concept...

GREGORY: No, no, but he's talking about how close they are to actually becoming a nuclear power-- having to develop a capacity to become a nuclear power.

MS. RICE: They're not there yet. They are not there yet. And our assessment is, and-- and we share this regularly with our Israeli counterparts in the intelligence and defense community, that there is time and space for the pressure we are mounting, which is unprecedented in terms of sanctions, to still yield results. This is not imminent. The window is not infinite, but let's be clear--the sanctions that-- that are now in place reached their high point in July. The-- the Iranian economy is suffering. It's shrinking for the first time. Negative one percent growth. The amount of production of Iranian oil has dropped 40 percent over the last several months. Their currency has plummeted 40 percent over the last several months. This pressure is even to use the Iranian's own words crippling.

GREGORY: But can you say...

MS. RICE: And we think...

GREGORY: ...that President Obama's strategy to keep Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon almost at the end of his first term is succeeding or failing?

MS. RICE: David, what is clear is Iran does not have a nuclear weapon. And that Iran is more isolated than ever internationally. The economic pressure it is facing is much greater than ever. When President Obama came to office the international community was divided about Iran. And Iran was internally very united. The exact opposite is the case today. The international community is united. We just had another strong resolution out of the IAEA Board of Governors. And the internal dynamics in Iran are-- are fracturing and the leadership is divided. We are committed and President Obama is committed to preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. It is not a policy of containment. But, David, the most difficult and profound decision that any president has to make is

the decision to go to war. And this president is committed to exhausting pressure, economic pressure, and diplomacy while there is-- is still time before making a decision of such consequence.

GREGORY: Ambassador Rice, the debate continues. Thank you very much...

MS. RICE: Thank you.

GREGORY: ...for your views this morning.

Now to this looming nuclear threat from Iran from the Israeli perspective. There were new tensions between the Obama administration in Israel this week. Earlier, I spoke with the prime minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu about where things stand and whether he is trying to influence the outcome of our presidential campaign.

Regards,
Prashanth Rajan
Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
202-647-1512

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, September 20, 2012 11:10 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: WSJ - Miscues Before Libya Assault

From: Nuland, Victoria J
Sent: Thursday, September 20, 2012 10:42 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I; Mills, Cheryl D; Nides, Thomas R; Sherman, Wendy R; Kennedy, Patrick F; Boswell, Eric J
Subject: Fw: WSJ - Miscues Before Libya Assault

This is a real hit piece - they intentionally twisted and misused info shared to help them understand how we work, while using Libyan sourcing as gospel. Totally unprofessional and egregiously inflammatory.

From: PA Clips [mailto:paclips@state.gov]
Sent: Thursday, September 20, 2012 10:19 PM
To: PA-Monitoring-Group-DL
Subject: WSJ - Miscues Before Libya Assault

Miscues Before Libya Assault
Wall Street Journal
Updated September 20, 2012, 9:15 p.m. EDT
By MARGARET COKER in Benghazi, Libya, and ADAM ENTOUS, JAY SOLOMON and SIOBHAN GORMAN in Washington

Limited Security in Benghazi, Secrecy Over Safe House, Contributed to Tragedy

The U.S. Consulate in Benghazi under attack on Sept. 11. The deadly assault raised questions about security lapses and misjudgments by U.S. officials.

The deadly assault on a U.S. diplomatic mission in Libya on Sept. 11 was preceded by a succession of security lapses and misjudgments, compounded by fog-of-battle decisions, that raise questions about whether the scope of the tragedy could have been contained.

U.S. officials issued alerts and ordered security precautions in neighboring Egypt ahead of protests and violence on Sept. 11, but largely overlooked the possibility of trouble at other diplomatic postings in the region.

The State Department chose to maintain only limited security in Benghazi, Libya, despite months of sporadic attacks there on U.S. and other Western missions. And while the U.S. said it would ask Libya to boost security there, it did so just once, for a one-week period in June, according to Libyan officials.

The U.S. didn't seriously consider sending in the military during the attack. It summoned rapid-response teams of Marines only after the U.S. ambassador was dead. State Department officials said they doubted the Pentagon could have mobilized a rescue force quickly enough to make a difference during the fighting. The Pentagon waited for guidance from State, which is responsible for diplomatic security, a senior military official said.

Adding a new dimension to the chain of events, the siege also engulfed what officials now describe as a secret safe house used by American officials and security personnel involved in sensitive government programs after last year's Libyan revolution.

Even when that building, also known as the "annex," came under attack, U.S. officials were reluctant to divulge its existence, and the secrecy complicated the Libyan response and the eventual American evacuation, according to Libyan security officials.

The Obama administration has defended levels of security in place. Though intelligence officials are investigating indications al Qaeda's North African affiliate had connections with militants who mounted the attack, U.S. officials say the evidence still indicates it was a spontaneous response to protests in Cairo against an anti-Islamic video. But a detailed review based on interviews with more than a dozen U.S. and Libyan officials shows months of ominous signals suggesting the need for better security, along with missed chances for delivering it.

President Barack Obama, in his re-election campaign, gets high marks from voters on national security, but has drawn Republican criticism over his handling of the anti-American protests.

After a classified briefing to lawmakers by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton Thursday, Sen. Susan Collins (R., Maine) called the security "woefully inadequate, given the security-threat environment." The State Department has convened an Accountability Review Board to investigate the attack, something it is required to do after such an incident.

U.S. officials still are struggling to piece together details of the attack. For more than a week after U.S. Ambassador Christopher Stevens was killed, the State Department couldn't say why he was in Benghazi. On Thursday, officials said they believed he was there to attend the launch of a joint U.S.-Libyan cultural and educational program.

Mr. Stevens and Sean Smith, an information officer, were killed at the consulate, in the first wave of the attack. Former Navy SEALs Glen Doherty and Tyrone Woods died later, at the sensitive safe house or annex a kilometer away. It remains unclear to U.S. and Libyan officials whether the militants knew of that facility or just followed a U.S. convoy to it after the consulate attack.

The apparent lapses extended to firefighting equipment. Rescue attempts at the main building were thwarted in part by the absence of smoke-protection masks and fire extinguishers, said Libyan guards. Senior State Department officials said these wouldn't have provided sufficient protection against the diesel-fueled inferno.

State Department officials said security for the consulate was frequently reviewed and was deemed sufficient to counter what U.S. officials considered to be the most likely threat at the time: a limited hit-and-run attack with rocket-propelled grenades or improvised explosive devices, or IEDs.

There was a string of attacks in Benghazi in the months before Sept. 11, including a June 6 IED explosion outside the consulate compound. "These types of incidents were the ones that were our principal concerns," a senior State Department official said. Based on the outcome of the June 6 attack, in which a perimeter wall was damaged but no Americans hurt, a second State Department official added: "Our security plan worked."

Current and former officials said the security choices in Benghazi reflected efforts by Mr. Stevens to maintain a low-profile security posture and show faith in Libya's new leaders, despite questions about their ability to rein in heavily armed bands of militants. Officials say Mr. Stevens personally advised against having Marines posted at the embassy in Tripoli, apparently to avoid a militarized U.S. presence.

The security plan for the consulate also reflected confidence Mr. Stevens felt in a city where he worked for months with rebels battling Moammar Gadhafi's rule. State Department officials said he didn't consult with Washington before traveling to Benghazi, located in an area that has become notorious for its volatile mix of Islamist militancy and heavy weaponry.

"This is what happens when you're relying on a government that's not in control of the whole country," said Randa Fahmy Hudome, a former U.S. official. Benghazi "was awash with weapons in the hands of various brigades who were all in combat with one another. It wasn't a secret."

A State Department official said Washington doesn't control the travels of ambassadors within countries where they are posted. But some current and former U.S. officials say it was a mistake for the administration to put so much faith in the Libyans to provide adequate security so soon after the revolution, and questioned why more robust contingency plans weren't in place.

One senior State Department official described the Benghazi consulate as a "temporary office" that security officers treated as a "subsidiary" of the embassy in Tripoli, where more strenuous procedures and precautions were in place. "So Tripoli had the plan and the idea was that these people would just fall back on Tripoli, which they did in this situation, so it worked," the official said.

Alarm bells about security in Benghazi started sounding this spring.

On April 10, someone threw an explosive device at a convoy carrying United Nations envoy Ian Martin. On May 22, a rocket-propelled grenade hit offices of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

After the June 6 IED attack on the U.S. consulate, the U.S. asked Libya to step up security around American installations, said a State Department spokesman. Libyan officials say the request was only for one week. A State Department official said the temporary security buildup was needed to repair damage to the wall.

The Libyan who received the request said the added security was two extra cars of men plus some heavy machine guns. After the repairs, Libyan security returned to normal levels: a four-man team of armed guards protecting the perimeter and four unarmed Libyan guards inside to screen visitors.

Tensions remained high, however. On June 11, a rocket-propelled grenade hit a convoy in Benghazi carrying Britain's ambassador to Libya, injuring two bodyguards. Britain closed its consulate in Benghazi.

The U.S. deemed the security level sufficient and decided to stay, "given the very important mission that we have in eastern Libya to support U.S. national security interests," said a senior State Department official. He said "robust" security improvements had been made to the compound since the Americans moved into it in May 2011, including cement barriers and barbed wire.

As the attacks mounted in Benghazi, intelligence agencies warned of the growing security risks, but didn't have specific intelligence about particular threats or planned attacks. On Aug. 27, the State Department issued a travel warning for Libya, citing a threat of assassinations and car bombings in both Benghazi and Tripoli. The warning said the embassy's ability to intervene was limited because armed groups behind the attacks were "neither sanctioned nor controlled by the Libyan government."

In the days before Sept. 11, intelligence agencies issued their annual warning of heightened security risks around the anniversary of the 2001 attacks. Many counterterrorism officials saw a lessened risk this year than last year, which was the 10th anniversary and the first one after the killing of Osama bin Laden.

In Libya, embassy personnel conducted a security review right before the anniversary. It determined there was no reason to think an attack was planned or the consulate in Benghazi was "insufficiently postured," said a senior administration official.

Across the border in Egypt, red flags appeared on Sept. 8, after a radical Egyptian cleric aired on television portions of an anti-Islam video believed made in the U.S. Officials at the U.S. embassy in Cairo that night sent the first of several messages alerting Washington and other embassies in the region to the video and seeking guidance about responding and the potential for a backlash.

The embassy in Cairo knew the film was beginning to get attention because it was monitoring social media, according to State Department officials. "That was well ahead of any intelligence that they got from Washington," one official said.

On Monday, Sept. 10, intelligence agencies sent a warning directly to the U.S. embassy in Cairo saying the protests could turn violent. Diplomatic security officers in Cairo sent most embassy personnel home.

Intelligence analysts at the time had no reason to believe the unrest would spill over to neighboring Libya or beyond, officials said. State Department officials likewise found no reason to put other embassies in the region on heightened alert and decided not to call in Marine teams to help in Cairo.

"We have to put this in context: We've had protest after protest in Cairo. We know where the military is. We know where to find them when we need them," a senior State Department official said.

Ethan Chorin, an American development economist working with U.S. and Libyan officials on a hospital in Benghazi, said he spoke by phone to Mr. Stevens about an hour before the assault, and the ambassador told him there was "no indication of trouble" following the protests in Egypt. Mr. Chorin said a subsequent conversation he had with the ambassador's security officer was cut short by what the officer said was a serious problem. Several minutes later, he could hear explosions from his hotel room across town as the assault began.

During a final call by Mr. Chorin to a security officer at the consulate, the attack began, and his call was cut off.

The attack on the consulate compound started shortly after 9:30 p.m. Benghazi time, which was 3:30 p.m. Eastern time, according to Libyan security guards.

Besides the four armed Libyans outside, five armed State Department diplomatic security officers were at the consulate.

Diplomatic security agent David Ubben was inside the main building with Mr. Stevens and Mr. Smith, the information-management officer, when the attackers set it on fire around 15 minutes after the shooting started.

The three took refuge in a safe room, but found themselves overcome by smoke and agreed they would make a break for it through a window, according to a State Department official familiar with Mr. Ubben's role.

Mr. Ubben, a 30-year-old Iraq war veteran, managed to escape, but lost contact with Messrs. Stevens and Smith in the dense smoke, the official said.

In Washington, officials said, National Security Adviser Tom Donilon informed Mr. Obama of the attack in progress ahead of a 5 p.m. Eastern time Oval Office meeting with Defense Secretary Leon Panetta and Gen. Martin Dempsey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. By then, the main villa in the consulate compound was on fire.

There was no serious consideration at that hour of intervening with military force, officials said. Doing so without Libya's permission could represent a violation of sovereignty and inflame the situation, they said. Instead, the State Department reached out to the Libyan government to get reinforcements to the scene.

The Libyans sent about two dozen security men, according to members of the reinforcement team, who arrived at the consulate 30 minutes after the fighting had started.

In addition to the shooting, thick black smoke and flames hindered a proper search inside the consulate, an effort further hampered by the absence of fire extinguishers and masks.

Mr. Ubben and the other security agents made several trips into the building to try to find the diplomats but could spend only brief periods inside, and suffered varying degrees of lung damage, said the official familiar with Mr. Ubben's role.

On one trip in, they found Mr. Smith's body and pulled it out. There was no sign of the ambassador.

The American security personnel evacuated the consulate and made their way to the secret site called the annex.

A plane with an American security team from Tripoli arrived in Benghazi about 1:30 a.m., according to the Libyan account. The team found its way to the annex using global positioning devices. Libyans who accompanied the Americans to the scene weren't told of the annex's location because of its connection to sensitive programs, and the Americans didn't give them the GPS coordinates or address. Libyans at an emergency operation center in Benghazi were also kept in the dark to the exact location.

As the U.S. and Libyan reinforcement team arrived from the airport, fighting broke out at the annex.

That assault, using rocket-propelled grenades and mortars, was described in U.S. and Libyan accounts as more sophisticated than the earlier attack on the consulate, and it appeared to involve militants with possible links to al Qaeda.

The Libyans led a convoy of roughly 30 Americans from the safe house to the airport, where a plane had been waiting. But they quickly realized the plane was too small to evacuate everyone at once.

"We were surprised at the numbers of Americans who were at the airport," said Libyan Deputy Prime Minister Mustafa Abushagour. "We figured three or four people. No one told us the numbers ahead of time."

The deputy prime minister said that he learned about the extent of U.S. intelligence operations only after the incident. "We have no problem with intelligence sharing or gathering, but our sovereignty is also key," said Mr. Abushagour.

The first to be flown to Tripoli were American diplomats and civilians. The U.S. security team waited for a second flight. During the wait, Libyan troops went, without any Americans, to the Benghazi Medical Center to retrieve the ambassador's body. Around 8 a.m., according to Libyan officials, the security detail flew back to Tripoli, carrying the body.

Some officials say the U.S. could have sent military forces to Benghazi from U.S. Naval Air Station Sigonella, which is some 450 miles away in Sicily, or mobilized a Marine team in Rota, Spain. Some officials said the U.S. could also have sent aircraft to the scene in a "show of force" to scare off the attackers.

State Department officials dismissed the suggestions as unrealistic. "They would not have gotten there in two hours, four hours or six hours. They don't have troops sitting in a room next to an airplane with a pilot just sitting in the next room drinking coffee," one senior State Department official said.

Some defense officials agreed with that assessment, given limited communications to Americans on the ground during the assault. "It was the fog of war," one said.

At the annex, Mr. Ubben suffered head and leg injuries from a mortar explosion. He was released this week from intensive care but remains at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center, in Bethesda, Md., the State Department official familiar with his role said.

Mr. Ubben, a Marylander, is married and has a stepdaughter and an infant son. He is conscious and able to communicate, according to his father, Rex Ubben.

"He's in good spirits," the senior Mr. Ubben said. "They're pretty confident that he'll be able to walk again."

—Julian E. Barnes and Michael M. Phillips contributed to this article.

Harry Edwards • Press Officer • Press Desk • U.S. Department of State

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| ✉: edwardshg@state.gov

B6

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 8:57 AM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Re: King of Morocco

I can do it right now.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 08:49 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: King of Morocco

His office called and said that he is available now.
Do you want to take it this morning?

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:35 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: Question and update

--I approved. Will it be picked up?

--call w King should be scheduled so keep working w Huma

--I will speak to Holder. Does he need to speak secure? I can do either.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:33 PM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Question and update

- do you approve the War Powers Act action memo?

- The King of Morocco has not gotten back to us with a time but ops will try again when its a reasonable hour for the Moroccans.

- Attorney General Holder has requested to speak with you regarding the Department of Justice's Libya investigation. He is standing by. Would you like to take this tonight?

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sherman, Wendy R <ShermanWR@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 9:57 PM
To: H; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Nuland, Victoria J; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Fw: The Youth of Libya

Hope. See picture below Kamala sent.

From: Lakhdhir, Kamala S
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 09:47 PM
To: Sherman, Wendy R
Cc: Escrogima, Ana A; Grantham, Chris W
Subject: The Youth of Libya



Libya Alhurra TV via Facebook

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 9:21 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: SITUATION REPORT No. 1 09/14/I (SBU)

I'm giving you credit for inspiring the "peaceful" protests.

From: OpsAlert
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 06:53 AM
Subject: SITUATION REPORT No. 1 09/14/I (SBU)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED



EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
Operations Center

SITUATION REPORT No. 1
Middle East Protests Monitoring Group MGMEP01
Friday, September 14, 2012
0600 EDT

EGYPT

- (U) Riot police used tear gas in an attempt to disperse demonstrators. Egyptian authorities erected large concrete barriers to block the route to the embassy and deployed approximately 4000 security personnel to the area. *(Ops/DS Command Center telcon, Reuters)*
- (U) Embassy Cairo reported the Muslim Brotherhood cancelled earlier calls for nationwide demonstrations at major mosques, but supported symbolic demonstrations at Tahrir Square. *(MGMEP01/Embassy Cairo telcon)*

LIBYA

- (U) Air traffic in Benghazi was suspended September 13 due to security reasons. *(AFP)*

YEMEN

- (SBU) Embassy Sana'a reported increased security presence but no apparent protests at the Sheraton hotel. *(Ops/Embassy Sana'a telcon)*
- (U) Yemeni security forces blocked streets surrounding the U.S. Embassy, where approximately 30 protesters gathered. *(Reuters)*

KUWAIT

- (SBU) Around 400 protesters, including parliament members and prominent Sunni Islamists, congregated peacefully for nearly two hours in front of the Embassy September 13. Police arrested several youth who tried to jump the compounds outermost perimeter. *(GMEP01/Embassy Kuwait City e-mail)*
- (SBU) Embassy Kuwait City reported another demonstration is planned for 1200 EDT/1900 Kuwait City. The embassy and the government added extra security around the compound and received security reinforcements from the government. *(MGMEP01/Embassy Kuwait City telcon)*

PAKISTAN

- (SBU) Consulate General Lahore reported calls for nationwide protests, including large demonstrations at the consulate's press club. Authorities deployed riot police to the consulate and limited access to the road. Consulate General Lahore dismissed all employees at 0300 EDT/1200 Lahore. *(MGMEP01/Consulate General Lahore e-mail)*
- (SBU) Embassy Islamabad reported police are preparing to prevent demonstrators from approaching diplomatic enclaves and police reserves are on stand-by. Embassy Islamabad dismissed non-emergency personnel. *(MGMEP01/Embassy Islamabad e-mail)*
- (SBU) Consulate General Peshawar reported two protests were scheduled to take place approximately four kilometers from the consulate. Additional police was assigned to reinforce security. *(MGMEP01/Consulate General Peshawar e-mail)*
- (SBU) Consulate General Karachi reported riot police were deployed to the compound, with more on standby. *(MGMEP01/Consulate General Karachi e-mail)*

INDONESIA

- (SBU) Embassy Jakarta reported a peaceful demonstration of approximately 300 people. *(Embassy Jakarta Emergency Message)*
- (U) Over 250 riot police were put on alert ahead of the demonstrations. Indonesian leaders urged calm. *(AP)*

MALAYSIA

- (SBU) Police said they are prepared for demonstrations near the U.S. Embassy and mosques in various cities. *(Embassy Kuala Lumpur Emergency Message)*
- (U) Around 30 people gathered peacefully outside the Embassy and submitted a memorandum demanding an apology and action from the U.S. government against the filmmakers. *(The Star)*

SUDAN

(U) Islamic scholars called for the expulsion of the U.S. and German Ambassadors and for peaceful mass protests at their embassies in Khartoum. *(Reuters)*

INDIA

(U) A small group of protesters gathered peacefully September 13 in Kashmir. The most senior Islamic cleric in Kashmir told U.S. citizens to "immediately leave" the region. *(AFP)*

IRAN

(SBU) The Swiss Embassy in Tehran will be closed in anticipation of planned demonstrations. *(MGMEP01/Iran desk e-mail)*

INTERNATIONAL REACTION

- (U) Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov said the Benghazi attack confirms "the need for the joint efforts of our countries, as well as the global community in combating the evil of terrorism." *(Russia Today)*
- (U) The Arab League condemned the Benghazi attack and called on the U.S. government to take a serious position against the film producers. *(MENA)*
- (SBU) The Bahamas, Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Jamaica, Panama, Peru, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, and Venezuela have also issued condemnations and condolences, bringing to 26 the number of countries in the western hemisphere condemning the attacks in Benghazi. *(MGMEP01/Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs Office of Policy Planning and Coordination e-mail)*
- (U) Libyan Prime Minister Abu Shagour said he will work "vigorously" to improve security by boosting the national police force and army as well as implementing programs to collect and regulate weapons. *(Reuters)*

- (U) Yemeni President Hadi apologized for the attack September 13, and ordered an expeditious and thorough investigation. *(Embassy of Yemen Statement)*

Additional updates on events in LIBYA are available through our classified website
at <http://ses.state.sgov.gov>

Drafted: THNguyen

Approved: TBFullerton

Dist: State (all bureaus), NSS, OSD, NMCC, JCS, CIA, OSC, NCTC, DHS, DNI

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:52 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

A pouch with all of your call sheets and the schedule is en route to you. Here it is below as well.

Also in the pouch are a few read items, and an action memo authorizing the War Powers resolution for Tunisia that the office would like you to approve today. Ops can send a courier over to pick up the action memo later today.

12:00 UK FM Hague
12:15 Egyptian FM Amr
12:30 Israeli PM Netanyahu
1:15 French FM Fabius
1:30 Saudi FM Saud al-Faisal
2:00 Somali Former Transitional President Sharif
2:15 Libyan PM-elect Abu-Shakour
2:30 Turkish FM Davutoglu
3:00 Somali President Mohamoud (T)

- Moroccan King is still pending.
- NEW CALL: King Juan Carlos of Spain called today and offered anytime today or tomorrow. His office relayed that it is a personal call inquiring after the status of the Embassies in the Middle East. We are working on a call sheet

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:43 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

I just woke up so I missed Dan. Could he come back after I finish my calls? But I don't have the call schedule yet so I don't know when that would be. Do you?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 09:35 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: PDB

He will be ready closer to 10am.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 09:17 AM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'huma@clintonemail.com' <huma@clintonemail.com>
Subject: PDB

Dan will be at Whitehaven with the PDB at 9:30am this morning.

He has some sensitive items that he would like to personally show you when he arrives.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 5:41 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Condolences from PM Netanyahu

FYI

From: Shapiro, Daniel B (Tel Aviv)
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 5:37 PM
To: Jones, Beth E; Dibble, Elizabeth L; Hale, David M; Sullivan, Jacob J; simon, steven N; Abell, J Andrew
Cc: [REDACTED] Goldberger, Thomas H; Gardner, Rebecca V
Subject: Condolences from PM Netanyahu

B6

Prime Minister Netanyahu called me tonight and asked me to pass on to President Obama, Secretary Clinton, and the families of those we lost in Libya his and the Israeli people's most profound condolences. He said Israelis know too well how difficult these moments are, and he wanted us all to know that Israelis stand shoulder-to-shoulder with us at such a difficult time.

Please pass this up your chains of command. Thank you.

Dan

RELEASE
IN FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 21, 2012 7:28 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Protesters storm main Islamist militia HQ in Libya's Benghazi (Reuters)

From: OpsNewsTicker@state.gov [mailto:OpsNewsTicker@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, September 21, 2012 05:33 PM
To: NEWS-Mahogany
Subject: Protesters storm main Islamist militia HQ in Libya's Benghazi (Reuters)

BENGHAZI (Reuters) - Hundreds of pro-government protesters stormed the headquarters of the main Islamist militia group in Libya's eastern city of Benghazi on Friday, Reuters witnesses said.

Chanting "Libya, Libya", the demonstrators pulled down flags of the Ansar Al-Sharia militia and torched a vehicle inside the base. There was no sign of resistance from the militia.

Earlier, protesters entered a separate compound belonging to the militia.

NewsTickers alert senior Department officials to breaking news. This item appears as it did in its original publication and does not contain analysis or commentary by Department sources.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 26, 2012 3:33 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: NYT: Clinton Cites Clear Link Betwe

We are working with Schmitt, who is being a pain in the ass.

I feel okay about it.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, September 26, 2012 03:30 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: NYT: Clinton Cites Clear Link Betwe

Well, this is a stretch beyond what I said or intended, but I don't think we need to say more. Do you agree?
<http://mobile.nytimes.com/2012/09/27/world/africa/clinton-cites-clear-link-between-al-qaeda-and-attack-in-libya.xml?jsessionid=581E00F49F16387FBF0E82271859DB70?f=19>

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, September 27, 2012 1:49 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Isakson/Corker Letter
Attachments: 9-26-12 McKeon et al to POTUS.PDF

----- Original Message -----

From: Blumenfeld, Joshua R
Sent: Thursday, September 27, 2012 01:33 PM
To: Reines, Philippe I; Adams, David S; Kennedy, Patrick F
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: RE: Isakson/Corker Letter

Hi Philippe,

Attached is the McKeon letter.

Thanks,
Josh

-----Original Message-----

From: Blumenfeld, Joshua R
Sent: Thursday, September 27, 2012 1:25 PM
To: Reines, Philippe I; Adams, David S; Kennedy, Patrick F
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: RE: Isakson/Corker Letter

Yes, attached are 1) the Corker-Isakson letter; the 2) McCain-Graham-Ayotte letter. We don't yet have the 10 Republican House Members letters, but are tracking it down now.

-----Original Message-----

From: Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Thursday, September 27, 2012 1:18 PM
To: Adams, David S; Blumenfeld, Joshua R; Kennedy, Patrick F
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Isakson/Corker Letter

H Friends -

Do we have the full letter reference in this article?

GOP Lawmakers Demand Details Of Deadly Attack On U.S. Consulate In Libya By Ernesto Londoño The Washington Post
Thursday, September 27, 2012

Republican lawmakers demanded Wednesday that the Obama administration disclose details about the Sept. 11 attack on U.S. compounds in eastern Libya that killed an ambassador and three other government employees.

The requests for information about the assault, including any cables about security written by slain Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens, underscored the extent to which the incident has become a political liability for the White House during the final stretch of President Obama's reelection campaign.

Lawmakers are asking whether the administration overlooked warning signs about the threat level in Libya, and some have suggested the security at the U.S. installations in Benghazi was inadequate.

Senior administration officials, including Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and Director of National Intelligence James Clapper, have briefed Congress. But details on the events in Benghazi are still being assembled.

After initially describing the attack as a spontaneous act of mob violence in response to a video that disparaged Islam, administration officials in recent days have begun to suggest it was a well-planned terrorist attack.

Clinton mentioned the Benghazi assault Wednesday during a speech at the U.N. General Assembly about the rise of extremist militants in North Africa. Clinton did not specifically ascribe the attack to al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, the African offshoot of the terrorist organization, but she said the violent deaths of American officials underscored the importance of defeating the group.

"With a larger safe haven and increased freedom to maneuver, terrorists are seeking to extend their reach and their networks in multiple directions," Clinton said, according to an official transcript of her remarks. "And they are now working with other violent extremists to undermine the democratic transitions underway in North Africa, as we tragically saw in Benghazi."

U.S. counterterrorism chief Matthew Olsen told the the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee last week that analysts are exploring whether al-Qaeda's African branch played a role in the attack. Investigators are also looking for evidence linking the assault to leaders of Ansar al-Sharia, a loose coalition of hard-line militants with a strong presence in Libya.

Republican congressmen took the administration to task for what they called contradictory statements about the Benghazi raid and initial information portraying it as a protest that turned violent.

"This seems like a pre-9/11 mindset — treating an act of war solely as a criminal matter," a group of 10 congressmen wrote Wednesday in a letter to the president, referring to the 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States.

Sens. Johnny Isakson (Ga.) and Bob Corker (Tenn.), GOP members of the Foreign Relations Committee, sent a letter Tuesday to Clinton expressing concern about the "lack of security preparations made despite a demonstrable increase in risks to U.S. officials and facilities in Benghazi." The senators asked to see any relevant cables that Stevens wrote in the days before he was killed.

The State Department has launched a type of probe called an accountability panel. The FBI is conducting a separate criminal investigation into the incident. Citing the inquiries, administration officials have provided few new details about the Benghazi raid in recent days. U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice made the most extensive remarks about the attack four days after the deaths. Her early accounts have come under scrutiny because they suggested that U.S. government officials did not believe the assault had been well planned or coordinated.

"We look forward to a timely response that explains how the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations could characterize an attack on a U.S. consulate so inaccurately," Sen. John McCain (Ariz.) and three fellow Republican senators wrote Wednesday in a letter to Rice.

###

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

September 25, 2012

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to express grave concern about the events surrounding the terrorist attack in Benghazi, Libya on September 11, 2012, that led to the murder of the United States Ambassador to Libya, Christopher Stevens, and three other U.S. Government personnel. We profoundly regret the loss of lives and seek to ensure all necessary steps are being taken to bring the perpetrators to justice and prevent similar future attacks. While we appreciate your willingness to provide the House of Representatives with an interagency briefing last week, many of the members' questions were left unanswered. To that end, we are seeking additional information regarding the intelligence leading up to the attack, the security posture of our embassy, the role former Guantanamo Bay detainees may have played, as well as the way forward in Libya and, indeed, the region.

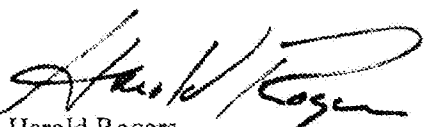
We are also disturbed by the public statements made by members of the Administration that would lead the American public to believe this attack was a protest gone wrong, rather than what it truly was -- a terrorist attack on the United States on the anniversary of 9/11. Decades after al Qaeda attacked our embassies in East Africa, which catalyzed a series of events that led to the attacks on 9/11, it appears they executed a highly coordinated and well-planned attack against us again. Clearly, the threat from al Qaeda and affiliated groups has metastasized; yet we do not appear to be learning from the past. For example, although brave Americans were once more murdered by terrorists, it seems our response is to rely on a late-to-the-scene FBI investigation. Media reports indicate investigators were prevented from arriving in Libya until more than a week after the attack, but it is not clear that they have gone to Benghazi and have, therefore, been unable to secure valuable information, such as the Ambassador's journal. The FBI has expertise in these situations, and they have a role to play. However, this seems like a pre-9/11 mindset -- treating an act of war solely as a criminal matter, rather than also prioritizing the gathering of intelligence to prevent future attacks. Moreover, given that violence in the region continues unabated, what actions are we undertaking to deter terrorists from capitalizing

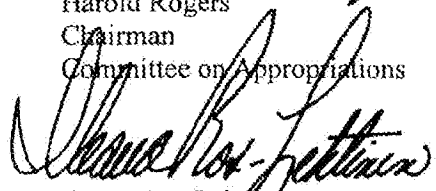
The President
September 25, 2012
Page 2


on the successful Benghazi attack, or launching similar attacks elsewhere in the region or in the homeland?


Thank you for your consideration of these concerns. We place significant weight on our constitutional responsibility to conduct appropriate oversight even when Congress is not in session and stand ready to return to Washington. Therefore, we respectfully request a joint briefing to respond to the questions enclosed, as classified Attachment A, at the earliest opportunity and would appreciate your commitment to continue to keep Congress informed even as the FBI investigation proceeds.

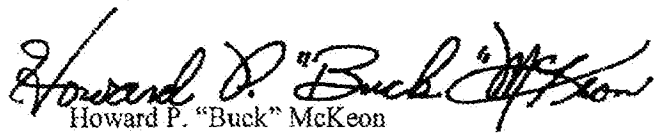
Respectfully,

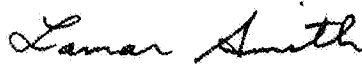

Harold Rogers
Chairman
Committee on Appropriations



Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Affairs

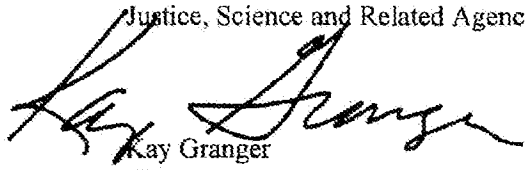

Mike Rogers M.C.
Chairman
Permanent Select Committee on
Intelligence


C.W. Bill Young
Chairman
Appropriations Subcommittee on
Defense


Howard P. "Buck" McKeon
Chairman
Committee on Armed Services


Lamar Smith
Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary


Frank R. Wolf
Chairman
Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce
Justice, Science and Related Agencies


Kay Granger
Chairwoman
Appropriations Subcommittee on State,
Foreign Operations, and Related Programs

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 9:01 AM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Re: King of Morocco

I have it.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 08:59 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: King of Morocco

Ops is building the call now.
Do you have the call sheet? We can email if not.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 08:56 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: King of Morocco

I can do it right now.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Sunday, September 16, 2012 08:49 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: King of Morocco

His office called and said that he is available now.
Do you want to take it this morning?

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:35 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: Question and update

--I approved. Will it be picked up?

--call w King should be scheduled so keep working w Huma

--I will speak to Holder. Does he need to speak secure? I can do either.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:33 PM

To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Question and update.

- do you approve the War Powers Act action memo?

- The King of Morocco has not gotten back to us with a time but ops will try again when its a reasonable hour for the Moroccans.

- Attorney General Holder has requested to speak with you regarding the Department of Justice's Libya investigation. He is standing by. Would you like to take this tonight?

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 8:56 PM
To: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: CNN Belief Blog. Prothero

Pls print.

From: Burns Strider [mailto:]
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 12:40 PM
To: H
Subject: CNN Belief Blog. Prothero

B6

<http://religion.blogs.cnn.com/2012/09/13/my-take-a-deadly-link-between-islamic-and-anti-islamic-extremists/>

***Editor's Note:** Stephen Prothero, a Boston University religion scholar and author of "The American Bible: How Our Words Unite, Divide, and Define a Nation," is a regular CNN Belief Blog contributor.*

By **Stephen Prothero**, Special to CNN

What should we make of the **attacks on the U.S. consulates in Egypt, Libya and Yemen**, and the deaths of four Americans, including U.S. ambassador to Libya **Chris Stevens**?

It depends on who you mean by "we."

From the perspective of those who stormed the embassies, taking down the American flag in Egypt and replacing it with a black flag reading, "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his messenger," theirs was an act of justice on behalf of the One True Faith.

The Americans had it coming, according to this view, because Americans are on the wrong side in the clash of civilizations between the Judeo-Christian West and the Muslim world. And the creation of an anti-Islamic video (ironically entitled "Innocence of Muslims") by a **producer thought to be an American** provided the catalyst (or excuse) for the protests.

Why Muslims are sensitive about portraying the Prophet Mohammed

Most Americans operate by a different "we." From our perspective, the assault was an unjust and cowardly attack on (among other things) the rule of law, the institution of diplomacy and the right of free speech.

Libyan Deputy Prime Minister Mustafa Abushagur gave voice to this perspective when he said on Twitter, "I condemn these barbaric attacks in the strongest possible terms. This is an attack on America, Libya and free people everywhere."

"Some have sought to justify this vicious behavior as a response to inflammatory material posted on the Internet," Secretary of State Hillary Clinton added. "The United States deplores any intentional effort to denigrate the religious beliefs of others. Our commitment to religious tolerance goes back to the very beginning of our nation."

In a **commencement speech** at Kenyon College in 2005, later published as *"This Is Water,"* novelist David Foster Wallace urged student to scrutinize the "natural, basic self-centeredness" that puts "me" at the center of the world.

This unconscious "default setting" fosters the sort of "blind certainty" that manifests as arrogant atheism and fundamentalism alike, Wallace said. And the point of education is to shake us out of that "default setting" — to begin to see things from the perspectives of others.

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Wallace focused in his speech on the individual "I." But his critique can be applied as well to another "default setting" (this one more cultural than natural): our tendency to understand the world from the perspective of "we."

According to those who stormed the embassies, "Innocence of Muslims" was not made by an individual (whoever the shadowy "Sam Bacile" may — or may not — be). It was made by *an American*.

Moreover, according to this groupthink, Americans as a group are responsible for the sins of individual Americans, so it makes perfect sense to strike out at embassy personnel who issued a statement before the protests turned deadly, condemning "the continuing efforts by misguided individuals to hurt the religious feelings of Muslims, as we condemn efforts to offend believers of all religions."

CNN's Belief Blog: The faith angles behind the biggest stories

Meanwhile, the shadowy figures who produced and distributed "Innocence of Muslims" are imprisoned in some groupthink of their own, which gathers all the world's Muslims under the category of an evil Islamic empire. Their film doesn't just depict Mohammed as a con man, philanderer, and pedophile. It portrays his followers as dupes.

Unfortunately, the events of recent days have done nothing to jar the alleged producer out of this default setting. When questioned about his film in the aftermath of the Libyan and Egyptian attacks, a man identifying himself as "Sam Bacile" reportedly told the Wall Street Journal that "Islam is a cancer."

You don't need a Kenyon college degree to see how this vicious cycle of provocation and violence is fueled, and you don't need to be a moral relativist to see that it takes two sides to keep it running.

I am an American who is justly proud of the First Amendment and its protections of freedom of speech and religion. And I believe that killing your opponents in the name of God or nation is a far greater offense than offending them with an ignorant movie.

Nonetheless, the root problem on display here is in my view what Wallace denounced as "blind certainty."

Our world is not divided first and foremost along religious or national lines, into Muslims and Christians and Hindus or Israelis and Americans and Egyptians.

Neither is it divided into secularists and people of faith — the New Atheists and partisans of old-time religion.

The real "red line" in the modern world divides the certain from the uncertain. And in the tragic events of recent days, those who produced and distributed this hateful movie stand on the same side of this line as the killers of innocents in Libya and Egypt.

Both groups are possessed by the unholy spirit of "blind certainty," unacquainted with both the complexity and contradictions of life on Earth and the "cloud of unknowing" that hovers over every major religion.

The great religious thinkers in Judaism, Christianity and Islam always knew enough to know that they did not know everything.

They knew the difference between the eternal decrees of the God of Abraham and the all-too-flawed thoughts of ordinary people. They knew, in short, that they are not God, who alone is charged with creating and destroying the world and discriminating along the way between the real and the illusory.

The killers in Libya have forgotten that. So have the not-so-innocent producers and distributors of “Innocence of Islam.”

The opinions expressed in this commentary are solely those of Stephen Prothero.

CNN's Belief Blog: The faith angles behind the biggest stories

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, September 27, 2012 3:42 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Google and YouTube

From: Toiv, Nora F
Sent: Thursday, September 27, 2012 01:35 PM
To: 'McDonough, Denis R.' [redacted] Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: 'Joyce, Sean M.' [redacted]; Haines, Avril
[redacted] Brennan, John O. [redacted] Canegallo, Kristie A.
[redacted]
Subject: RE: Google and YouTube

B6

Sue just called back and the **block will stay through Monday**. They will not/not be unblocking it before then.

Nora Toiv
Office of the Secretary
202-647-8633

From: McDonough, Denis R. [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, September 27, 2012 12:35 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Toiv, Nora F; Kennedy, Patrick F; Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: 'Joyce, Sean M.' [redacted]; Haines, Avril; Brennan, John O.; Canegallo, Kristie A.
Subject: Google and YouTube

GOOGLE CEO – Larry Page
Mobile: [redacted]
Office: [redacted]

YOUTUBE CEO – Salar Kamangar
Mobile: [redacted]
Office: [redacted]

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 10:26 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: S today

This is nice.

----- Original Message -----

From: Sherwood-Randall, Liz [mailto:]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 10:08 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: S today

B6

Jake -- I was so moved by Hillary's powerful presence today on the screen as I watched along with millions in America and around the world. She was emphathetic and unflinching and inspiring; she was wise and steady and strong. My 80 year old mother called from LA to say "She was like our rock of Gibraltar". What greater compliment for the Secretary of State on such an awful day? I salute her as well as you and your colleagues who crafted her remarks under tremendous time and factual constraints. It really showed everyone the stuff of which she's made. With admiration and affection --
Liz

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 5:59 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Pretty powerful piece on standing up for diplomats

Fyi

----- Original Message -----

From: Klevorick, Caitlin B
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 04:18 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F
Subject: Pretty powerful piece on standing up for diplomats

OP-ED CONTRIBUTOR

In Libya and Elsewhere, Our Diplomats Deserve Better

By PRUDENCE BUSHNELL

Published: September 14, 2012

Falls Church, Va.

THERE is a black wall in a State Department lobby inscribed with the names of those who died while serving overseas. Every time I passed that wall after Al Qaeda blew up two American Embassies in East Africa in 1998, I thought of the 12 American and 32 Kenyan friends and colleagues who died on my watch as ambassador. I thought of my own journey that day down flights of stairs in the building next door to the embassy, after having been knocked out by the blast, of the people who risked their lives to save others, and of how we carried on under horrendous circumstances. Now every time I pass the black marble wall, I will think of Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens and his colleagues who died after an attack on our consulate in Benghazi, Libya, this week.

Diplomats don't often make headlines until something horrible happens. Even then, it is policy and politics that get the attention. We had barely learned of the attack before talking heads began to expound on Middle East policies and the words administration officials used, or should have used, to uphold our national dignity. Where were the conversations about the diplomats who were actually carrying out those policies in faraway, often dangerous places, the people who take care of us despite the hardship and risk? Imagine what it must have been like trying to escape the raging fire in the Benghazi consulate or enduring hours of assault in the nearby annex waiting for relief from the Libyan government. Diplomacy is a dangerous profession. You cannot exert influence by whispering in diplomatic code to your government counterparts behind closed doors. You do not spread American values - especially in places where passions are high, governments fragile and guns plentiful - by remote control from Washington. You have to get out from behind the walls and engage with people. We know this can put us in harm's way; our people in the Benghazi consulate knew it. And they did their jobs anyway.

That is because, hokey as it sounds, the people who represent us overseas really do believe they can make a difference. They confront violent behavior and strong passions with American leadership, smart power and peaceful means. We must make that work safer. The reasons for violence change with time and place but the human effects are the same. For two years before we were blown up in Nairobi, Kenya, my team and I fought ("nagged" was the word State Department colleagues used) to have security threats and vulnerabilities addressed. We were too close to the street, an easy target. Washington's assessment was that things were O.K. Anyway, I was told, there was no money for a more secure embassy. What was Washington's assessment of our consulate in Benghazi? We may not like the image of American diplomats working out of fortified boxes, but we cannot let them work in buildings that can be overrun by attackers. This is a lesson our government still hasn't learned since 1979 in Tehran.

If the Benghazi tragedy traces the same journey we made from the rubble in Nairobi, heartfelt pronouncements will be made; the dead will be given due homage and then they will be buried. The press will alight on other stories. A Congressionally mandated accountability review board will determine what happened and what needs to be done to

avoid such tragedies in the future. Easy fixes - changes to emergency action plans, minor security upgrades - will be made; expensive and hard ones will not.

The Foreign Service is short on people, and those people are rushed into the field short on training. We build concrete fortresses when we have to, but we don't invest in the mobile communications and security technology that would protect diplomats when they leave the embassy, as they must. What kinds of technology, systems, training and deployment do we need to get results through diplomacy in the 21st century? These are the difficult questions that will remain unanswered, while diplomats disappear from public view once again. Until the next time someone dies - then we see the same sorry response all over again.

But we can give meaning to this tragedy. What if President Obama and Mitt Romney exercised true leadership by explaining to Americans, including the families and friends of those who died in Benghazi, what diplomacy is all about? Why using words and deeds for peace is as important as using weapons. Why we value our diplomats and what we will do to make their jobs easier, if we cannot guarantee their absolute security.

It is a stretch, I know. Far easier to add some more concrete, declare our responsibilities to diplomats complete and move back to the fun stuff of making and debating policy, most of it domestic. The black wall will continue to accumulate names, diplomats will continue to represent our country on the cheap and nothing much will change. Like that scenario? If not, start demanding leadership. That is what Chris Stevens and his team were providing. Let's think about them and reciprocate.

Prudence Bushnell is a former United States ambassador to Kenya and Guatemala

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 6:53 PM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Holder

Ok. Thx.

Also, are you in DC?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:52 PM
To: H
Subject: Holder

He can speak at 7pm. He said that it does not have to be secure. Ops will connect to your residence.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:41 PM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re: PDB

Thank you.

We are offering 7pm to Holder and waiting to hear if he would like to speak secure.

We likely won't hear from the King for several hours but will keep you posted as soon as we do.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:38 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Yes. I'll give memo to Service downstairs.

What about Holder? And the King?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:36 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Yes, just confirmed that Dan will come at 9am tomorrow.

Ops can pick up the pouch in about 30 minutes. Does that work for you? Secret Service can grab it from the bench if you'd like.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:30 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Is Dan coming at 9?

Also, I signed the action memo. Will it be picked up?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 01:29 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Have not heard from Dan yet.

We are planning for a drop tomorrow at 9am, but we are not sure if he will have read and return. Will get back to you as soon as we know.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 01:10 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Did you hear back from Dan?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 11:10 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Checking now

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 11:06 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

If he can't come today, how about 9am tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:59 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Checking now. He left a pouch at your residence of the items you can keep.

You'll notice on the schedule in your pouch from the office, that the Somali president is listed at 2:45. We are hoping to move that to 3pm in case Dav goes long. Is that OK with you?

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:56 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Could Dan come back at 3?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:51 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

A pouch with all of your call sheets and the schedule is en route to you. Here it is below as well.

Also in the pouch are a few read items, and an action memo authorizing the War Powers resolution for Tunisia that the office would like you to approve today. Ops can send a courier over to pick up the action memo later today.

12:00 UK FM Hague
12:15 Egyptian FM Amr
12:30 Israeli PM Netanyahu
1:15 French FM Fabius
1:30 Saudi FM Saud al-Faisal
2:00 Somali Former Transitional President Sharif
2:15 Libyan PM-elect Abu-Shakour
2:30 Turkish FM Davutoglu
3:00 Somali President Mohamoud (T)

- Moroccan King is still pending.

- NEW CALL: King Juan Carlos of Spain called today and offered anytime today or tomorrow. His office relayed that it is a personal call inquiring after the status of the Embassies in the Middle East. We are working on a call sheet

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:43 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

I just woke up so I missed Dan. Could he come back after I finish my calls? But I don't have the call schedule yet so I don't know when that would be. Do you?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 09:35 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: PDB

He will be ready closer to 10am.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R

Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 09:17 AM

To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>

Cc: 'huma@clintonemail.com' <huma@clintonemail.com>

Subject: PDB

Dan will be at Whitehaven with the PDB at 9:30am this morning.

He has some sensitive items that he would like to personally show you when he arrives.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 7:02 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: Holder

No I'm sorry
I'm actually in Florida for the weekend.

----- Original Message -----

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Subject: Re: PDB

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Subject: Re: PDB

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Also in the pouch are a few read items, and an action memo authorizing the War Powers resolution for Tunisia that the office would like you to approve today. Ops can send a courier over to pick up the action memo later today.

12:00 UK FM Hague
12:15 Egyptian FM Amr
12:30 Israeli PM Netanyahu
1:15 French FM Fabius
1:30 Saudi FM Saud al-Faisal
2:00 Somali Former Transitional President Sharif
2:15 Libyan PM-elect Abu-Shakour
2:30 Turkish FM Davutoglu
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- Moroccan King is still pending.
- NEW CALL: King Juan Carlos of Spain called today and offered anytime today or tomorrow. His office relayed that it is a personal call inquiring after the status of the Embassies in the Middle East. We are working on a call sheet

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:43 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

I just woke up so I missed Dan. Could he come back after I finish my calls? But I don't have the call schedule yet so I don't know when that would be. Do you?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 09:35 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: PDB

He will be ready closer to 10am.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 09:17 AM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: 'huma@clintonemail.com' <huma@clintonemail.com>
Subject: PDB

Dan will be at Whitehaven with the PDB at 9:30am this morning.

He has some sensitive items that he would like to personally show you when he arrives.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 6:41 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Thank you.

We are offering 7pm to Holder and waiting to hear if he would like to speak secure.

We likely won't hear from the King for several hours but will keep you posted as soon as we do.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:38 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Yes. I'll give memo to Service downstairs.

What about Holder? And the King?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:36 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Yes, just confirmed that Dan will come at 9am tomorrow.

Ops can pick up the pouch in about 30 minutes. Does that work for you? Secret Service can grab it from the bench if you'd like.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 06:30 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Is Dan coming at 9?

Also, I signed the action memo. Will it be picked up?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 01:29 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Have not heard from Dan yet.

We are planning for a drop tomorrow at 9am, but we are not sure if he will have read and return. Will get back to you as soon as we know.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 01:10 PM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Did you hear back from Dan?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 11:10 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Checking now

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 11:06 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

If he can't come today, how about 9am tomorrow?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:59 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

Checking now. He left a pouch at your residence of the items you can keep.

You'll notice on the schedule in your pouch from the office, that the Somali president is listed at 2:45. We are hoping to move that to 3pm in case Dav goes long. Is that OK with you?

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:56 AM
To: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Re: PDB

Could Dan come back at 3?

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R [mailto:HanleyMR@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 10:51 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: PDB

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Cc: 'huma@clintonemail.com' <huma@clintonemail.com>
Subject: PDB

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RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2012 10:17 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Benghazi/protest statements
Attachments: Compiled protest and Benghazi statements.docx

Attached is full compilation. You never said spontaneous or characterized the motives. In fact you were careful in your first statement to say we were assessing motive and method. The way you treated the video in the Libya context was to say that some sought to *justify* the attack on that basis.

From: Valliani, Amira
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2012 10:08 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Benghazi/protest statements

Attached

Statement on the Attack in Benghazi
September 11, 2012

I condemn in the strongest terms the attack on our mission in Benghazi today. As we work to secure our personnel and facilities, we have confirmed that one of our State Department officers was killed. We are heartbroken by this terrible loss. Our thoughts and prayers are with his family and those who have suffered in this attack.

This evening, I called Libyan President Magariaf to coordinate additional support to protect Americans in Libya. President Magariaf expressed his condemnation and condolences and pledged his government's full cooperation.

Some have sought to justify this vicious behavior as a response to inflammatory material posted on the Internet. The United States deplores any intentional effort to denigrate the religious beliefs of others. Our commitment to religious tolerance goes back to the very beginning of our nation. But let me be clear: There is never any justification for violent acts of this kind.

In light of the events of today, the United States government is working with partner countries around the world to protect our personnel, our missions, and American citizens worldwide.

Statement on the Death of American Personnel in Benghazi, Libya
September 12, 2012

It is with profound sadness that I share the news of the death of four American personnel in Benghazi, Libya yesterday. Among them were United States Ambassador to Libya Chris Stevens and Foreign Service Information Management Officer, Sean Smith. We are still making next of kin notifications for the other two individuals. Our hearts go out to all their families and colleagues.

A 21 year veteran of the Foreign Service, Ambassador Stevens died last night from injuries he sustained in the attack on our office in Benghazi.

I had the privilege of swearing in Chris for his post in Libya only a few months ago. He spoke eloquently about his passion for service, for diplomacy and for the Libyan people. This assignment was only the latest in his more than two decades of dedication to advancing closer ties with the people of the Middle East and North Africa which began as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Morocco. As the conflict in Libya unfolded, Chris was one of the first Americans on the ground in Benghazi. He risked his own life to lend the Libyan people a helping hand to build the foundation for a new, free nation. He spent every day since helping to finish the work that he started. Chris was committed to advancing America's values and interests, even when that meant putting himself in danger.

Sean Smith was a husband and a father of two, who joined the Department ten years ago. Like

Chris, Sean was one of our best. Prior to arriving in Benghazi, he served in Baghdad, Pretoria, Montreal, and most recently The Hague.

All the Americans we lost in yesterday's attacks made the ultimate sacrifice. We condemn this vicious and violent attack that took their lives, which they had committed to helping the Libyan people reach for a better future.

America's diplomats and development experts stand on the front lines every day for our country. We are honored by the service of each and every one of them.

Remarks on the Deaths of American Personnel in Benghazi, Libya
September 12, 2012

Yesterday, our U.S. diplomatic post in Benghazi, Libya was attacked. Heavily armed militants assaulted the compound and set fire to our buildings. American and Libyan security personnel battled the attackers together. Four Americans were killed. They included Sean Smith, a Foreign Service information management officer, and our Ambassador to Libya Chris Stevens. We are still making next of kin notifications for the other two individuals.

This is an attack that should shock the conscience of people of all faiths around the world. We condemn in the strongest terms this senseless act of violence, and we send our prayers to the families, friends, and colleagues of those we've lost.

All over the world, every day, America's diplomats and development experts risk their lives in the service of our country and our values, because they believe that the United States must be a force for peace and progress in the world, that these aspirations are worth striving and sacrificing for. Alongside our men and women in uniform, they represent the best traditions of a bold and generous nation.

In the lobby of this building, the State Department, the names of those who have fallen in the line of duty are inscribed in marble. Our hearts break over each one. And now, because of this tragedy, we have new heroes to honor and more friends to mourn.

Chris Stevens fell in love with the Middle East as a young Peace Corps volunteer teaching English in Morocco. He joined the Foreign Service, learned languages, won friends for America in distant places, and made other people's hopes his own.

In the early days of the Libyan revolution, I asked Chris to be our envoy to the rebel opposition. He arrived on a cargo ship in the port of Benghazi and began building our relationships with Libya's revolutionaries. He risked his life to stop a tyrant, then gave his life trying to help build a better Libya. The world needs more Chris Stevenses. I spoke with his sister, Ann, this morning, and told her that he will be remembered as a hero by many nations.

Sean Smith was an Air Force veteran. He spent 10 years as an information management officer in the State Department, he was posted at The Hague, and was in Libya on a brief temporary assignment. He was a husband to his wife Heather, with whom I spoke this morning. He was a father to two young children, Samantha and Nathan. They will grow up being proud of the service their father gave to our country, service that took him from Pretoria to Baghdad, and finally to Benghazi.

The mission that drew Chris and Sean and their colleagues to Libya is both noble and necessary, and we and the people of Libya honor their memory by carrying it forward. This is not easy. Today, many Americans are asking – indeed, I asked myself – how could this happen? How could this happen in a country we helped liberate, in a city we helped save from destruction? This question reflects just how complicated and, at times, how confounding the world can be.

But we must be clear-eyed, even in our grief. This was an attack by a small and savage group – not the people or Government of Libya. Everywhere Chris and his team went in Libya, in a country scarred by war and tyranny, they were hailed as friends and partners. And when the attack came yesterday, Libyans stood and fought to defend our post. Some were wounded. Libyans carried Chris' body to the hospital, and they helped rescue and lead other Americans to safety. And last night, when I spoke with the President of Libya, he strongly condemned the violence and pledged every effort to protect our people and pursue those responsible.

The friendship between our countries, borne out of shared struggle, will not be another casualty of this attack. A free and stable Libya is still in America's interest and security, and we will not turn our back on that, nor will we rest until those responsible for these attacks are found and brought to justice. We are working closely with the Libyan authorities to move swiftly and surely. We are also working with partners around the world to safeguard other American embassies, consulates, and citizens.

There will be more time later to reflect, but today, we have work to do. There is no higher priority than protecting our men and women wherever they serve. We are working to determine the precise motivations and methods of those who carried out this assault. Some have sought to justify this vicious behavior, along with the protest that took place at our Embassy in Cairo yesterday, as a response to inflammatory material posted on the internet. America's commitment to religious tolerance goes back to the very beginning of our nation. But let me be clear – there is no justification for this, none. Violence like this is no way to honor religion or faith. And as long as there are those who would take innocent life in the name of God, the world will never know a true and lasting peace.

It is especially difficult that this happened on September 11th. It's an anniversary that means a great deal to all Americans. Every year on that day, we are reminded that our work is not yet finished, that the job of putting an end to violent extremism and building a safe and stable world continues. But September 11th means even more than that. It is a day on which we remember

thousands of American heroes, the bonds that connect all Americans, wherever we are on this Earth, and the values that see us through every storm. And now it is a day on which we will remember Sean, Chris, and their colleagues.

May God bless them, and may God bless the thousands of Americans working in every corner of the world who make this country the greatest force for peace, prosperity, and progress, and a force that has always stood for human dignity – the greatest force the world has ever known. And may God continue to bless the United States of America.

Thank you.

Statement on the Deaths of Tyrone S. Woods and Glen A. Doherty in Benghazi, Libya
September 13, 2012

The attack on our diplomatic post in Benghazi, Libya on Tuesday claimed the lives of four Americans. Yesterday, I spoke about two: Ambassador Chris Stevens and Information Management Officer Sean Smith. Today, we also recognize the two security personnel who died helping protect their colleagues. Tyrone S. Woods and Glen A. Doherty were both decorated military veterans who served our country with honor and distinction. Our thoughts, prayers, and deepest gratitude are with their families and friends. Our embassies could not carry on our critical work around the world without the service and sacrifice of brave people like Tyrone and Glen.

Tyrone's friends and colleagues called him "Rone," and they relied on his courage and skill, honed over two decades as a Navy SEAL. In uniform, he served multiple tours in Iraq and Afghanistan. Since 2010, he protected American diplomatic personnel in dangerous posts from Central America to the Middle East. He had the hands of a healer as well as the arm of a warrior, earning distinction as a registered nurse and certified paramedic. All our hearts go out to Tyrone's wife Dorothy and his three sons, Tyrone Jr., Hunter, and Kai, who was born just a few months ago.

We also grieve for Glen Doherty, called Bub, and his family: his father Bernard, his mother Barbara, his brother Gregory, and his sister Kathleen. Glen was also a former Navy SEAL and an experienced paramedic. And he put his life on the line many times, protecting Americans in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other hotspots. In the end, he died the way he lived – with selfless honor and unstinting valor.

We condemn the attack that took the lives of these heroes in the strongest terms, and we are taking additional steps to safeguard American embassies, consulates, and citizens around the world. This violence should shock the conscience of people of all faiths and traditions. We appreciate the statements of support that have poured in from across the region and beyond.

People of conscience and goodwill everywhere must stand together in these difficult days against violence, hate, and division.

I am enormously proud of the men and women who risk their lives every day in the service of our country and our values. They help make the United States the greatest force for peace, progress, and human dignity that the world has ever known. We honor the memory of our fallen colleagues by continuing their work and carrying on the best traditions of a bold and generous nation.

Remarks at the Opening Plenary of the U.S.-Morocco Strategic Dialogue
September 13, 2012

SECRETARY CLINTON: Good morning. Well, let me welcome our friends and colleagues from Morocco here to the Benjamin Franklin Room on the eighth floor of the State Department for this very important first session of the U.S.-Morocco Strategic Dialogue. Before I begin to address the significance of this Strategic Dialogue and the next step in our long relations with Morocco, I want to say a few words about the events unfolding in the world today.

We are closely watching what is happening in Yemen and elsewhere, and we certainly hope and expect that there will be steps taken to avoid violence and prevent the escalation of protests into violence.

I also want to take a moment to address the video circulating on the Internet that has led to these protests in a number of countries. Let me state very clearly – and I hope it is obvious – that the United States Government had absolutely nothing to do with this video. We absolutely reject its content and message. America's commitment to religious tolerance goes back to the very beginning of our nation. And as you know, we are home to people of all religions, many of whom came to this country seeking the right to exercise their own religion, including, of course, millions of Muslims. And we have the greatest respect for people of faith.

To us, to me personally, this video is disgusting and reprehensible. It appears to have a deeply cynical purpose: to denigrate a great religion and to provoke rage. But as I said yesterday, there is no justification, none at all, for responding to this video with violence. We condemn the violence that has resulted in the strongest terms, and we greatly appreciate that many Muslims in the United States and around the world have spoken out on this issue.

Violence, we believe, has no place in religion and is no way to honor religion. Islam, like other religions, respects the fundamental dignity of human beings, and it is a violation of that fundamental dignity to wage attacks on innocents. As long as there are those who are willing to shed blood and take innocent life in the name of religion, the name of God, the world will never know a true and lasting peace. It is especially wrong for violence to be directed against diplomatic missions. These are places whose very purpose is peaceful: to promote better understanding across countries and cultures. All governments have a responsibility to protect

those spaces and people, because to attack an embassy is to attack the idea that we can work together to build understanding and a better future.

Now, I know it is hard for some people to understand why the United States cannot or does not just prevent these kinds of reprehensible videos from ever seeing the light of day. Now, I would note that in today's world with today's technologies, that is impossible. But even if it were possible, our country does have a long tradition of free expression which is enshrined in our Constitution and our law, and we do not stop individual citizens from expressing their views no matter how distasteful they may be.

There are, of course, different views around the world about the outer limits of free speech and free expression, but there should be no debate about the simple proposition that violence in response to speech is not acceptable. We all – whether we are leaders in government, leaders in civil society or religious leaders – must draw the line at violence. And any responsible leader should be standing up now and drawing that line.

I wanted to begin with this statement, because, as our Moroccan friends and all of you know, this has been a difficult week at the State Department. I very much appreciate, Minister, the condolences your government expressed to our Embassy in Rabat. And even though that tragedy happened far away in Benghazi, we found a reminder of the deep bonds that connect Morocco to the United States. It was in the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco that one of the Americans we lost this week, Ambassador Chris Stevens, fell in love with the region when he served as a Peace Corps volunteer there. That experience set him on a decades-long career of service. So in the memory of fallen friends and colleagues, let us remind ourselves of the many ways in which not just our governments but the people of our two nations have worked together to build a better future.

In many ways, the United States looks to Morocco to be a leader and a model. His Majesty King Mohammed deserves great credit for the work you've undertaken. In fact, after my visit to Rabat earlier this year, I told my team: "We need to start a Strategic Dialogue with Morocco." No country has been a friend of the United States longer than Morocco. You were the first nation to recognize us back in 1777. But we're not satisfied with simply having a friendship that is longstanding. We want one that is dynamic, growing, looking toward the future. So let me highlight a few of the areas we should focus on today.

On political reform, we have all seen remarkable changes taking place across North Africa and the Middle East. I commend Morocco and your government for your efforts to stay ahead of these changes by holding free and fair elections, empowering the elected parliament, taking other steps to ensure that the government reflects the will of the people. Today, our political working group will discuss how the United States can continue to support your efforts to translate commitments into actions. Because as we all know, democracy, real reform, require that people themselves feel the changes in their everyday lives: the courts reformed, the government more

open and transparent, universal human rights of all Moroccans – men and women alike – respected.

I'm especially pleased by Morocco's commitments to take on the deeply troubling problem of child marriage. We know that child brides are less likely to get an education, more likely to face life-threatening problems, particularly around child birth and delivery, which not only shortchanges them but can even rob them and their communities of their lives and talents. So we want to encourage the government and civil society to continue their important work together on this issue.

With regard to the Western Sahara, the United States continues to support efforts to find a peaceful, sustainable, mutually agreed-upon solution. U.S. policy toward the Western Sahara has remained consistent for many years. We have made clear that Morocco's autonomy plan is serious, realistic, and credible, and that it represents a potential approach that could satisfy the aspirations of the people in the Western Sahara to run their own affairs in peace and dignity. We continue to support the negotiations carried out by the United Nations and hope parties can work toward resolution.

With respect to the economy, our second working group will focus on what more can be done to deliver tangible economic benefits. Morocco's economy is relatively healthy, but you face the same problem that is now endemic across the world – unemployment is still too high, especially among young people.

That's why the United States is providing \$1.5 million to support an effort to attract foreign investors, foster local economic development, and combat corruption across the region. And I'm pleased to announce that later this year we will hold a Morocco business development conference here in Washington to connect businesses from both countries.

Today, we should discuss ways to build on all of these efforts by increasing bilateral trade, a particular goal of mine since so much trade from Morocco goes to Europe. I'd like to increase the amount of trade coming to the United States, and also to improve economic integration across North Africa, which could greatly benefit Morocco because of Morocco's stability and Morocco's very strong economic foundation. The greater integration there is, the greater the benefits for Moroccans.

Third, the attack in Benghazi this week reminds us that security remains a vital issue. Through our work together on the Global Counterterrorism Task Force, the United States and Morocco already share crucial information and best practices, and I thank Morocco for hosting a Global Counterterrorism Task Force workshop on threats in the South Atlantic next month.

We are also collaborating through USAID, the Peace Corps, and other agencies to help provide Moroccan youth with alternatives to criminal and extremist organizations. And so we are partnering to help strengthen Morocco's criminal justice system and law enforcement.

There will be a lot to discuss in the meeting today. And let me add, the United States greatly appreciates the constructive role Morocco is playing on the UN Security Council, especially your support for the effort to end the violence and bloodshed in Syria and help to usher in a new democratic future for that country. I commend Morocco for offering to host the next ministerial meeting of the Friends of the Syrian People, and we look forward to continuing to work closely together as close partners even after your term on the Security Council has ended.

Finally, our education and cultural ties are reason for much celebration. This year marks the 30th anniversary of our official program to facilitate academic exchanges and other bonds between us. There are more than 5,000 Moroccan alumni of these programs. Two are with us today – Dr. Benjelloun and Dr. Ouauicha – and we thank them. But among all our work on this front, from preserving Morocco's historic sites to empowering youth, there's one area I particularly hope we can focus on today and receive your advice and counsel – namely, interfaith dialogue.

In these tense and turbulent times, it's more important than ever for people of different faiths to exchange ideas, to build understanding, to promote religious tolerance. It's one of the great challenges of the 21st century, and it's one that we must address together.

So we have a lot of work to do, Minister, but our friendship runs long and deep, and as the treaty our nations signed in 1786 says, and I quote, "Trusting in God, it will remain permanent." I'm confident that we will continue to solve problems and produce results that make our nations stronger, more peaceful, more secure, more prosperous, and also contribute to doing the same for the world.

So again, let me welcome you, Minister. It's been a great pleasure for me to get to know you, to work with you, to be your colleague bilaterally, regionally, and globally, and also welcome your distinguished delegation.

Thank you. (Applause.)

Remarks at Reception Marking Eid ul-Fitr September 13, 2012

SECRETARY CLINTON: Good evening, and although I am many weeks overdue in saying it: Eid Mubarak. No matter how belated we are honoring Eid and the end of Ramadan, this is a cherished tradition here at the State Department. And I would like to thank all of you for being here, including the many members of the Diplomatic Corps.

Tonight, our gathering is more somber than any of us would like. This comes during sad and difficult days for the State Department family. We lost four Americans. They were good and brave men. They were committed to the cause of building a brighter future for the people of Libya. And we condemn the violence in the strongest terms, the violence against our posts in Benghazi, in Egypt, and now in Yemen.

The Libyan ambassador is with us tonight, and I want to take a moment to thank him for the support that his government and the Libyan people have shown to the United States in this tragedy, particularly the outpouring of feelings of grief and loss because of the killing of our ambassador.

Ambassador Aujali, would you mind saying a few words?

AMBASSADOR AUJALI: [redacted]

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you very much, Ambassador. I know that that was a very personal loss for you, as it was for me. I'm the one who sent Chris to Benghazi during the revolution to show support and be able to advise our government about what we could do to bring freedom and democracy and opportunity to the people of Libya.

Religious freedom and religious tolerance are essential to the stability of any nation, any people. Hatred and violence in the name of religion only poison the well. All people of faith and good will know that the actions of a small and savage group in Benghazi do not honor religion or God in any way. Nor do they speak for the more than one billion Muslims around the world, many of whom have shown an outpouring of support during this time.

Unfortunately, however, over the last 24 hours, we have also seen violence spread elsewhere. Some seek to justify this behavior as a response to inflammatory, despicable material posted on the internet. As I said earlier today, the United States rejects both the content and the message of that video. The United States deplores any intentional effort to denigrate the religious beliefs of others. At our meeting earlier today, my colleague, the foreign minister of Morocco, said that all prophets should be respected because they are all symbols of our humanity, for all humanity.

But both of us were crystal clear in this paramount message: There is never any justification for violent acts of this kind. And we look to leaders around the world to stand up and speak out against violence, and to take steps to protect diplomatic missions from attack.

Think about it. When Christians are subject to insults to their faith, and that certainly happens, we expect them not to resort to violence. When Hindus or Buddhists are subjected to insults to their faiths, and that also certainly happens, we expect them not to resort to violence. The same goes for all faiths, including Islam.

When all of us who are people of faith – and I am one – feel the pain of insults, of misunderstanding, of denigration to what we cherish, we must expect ourselves and others not to resort to violence. That is a universal standard and expectation, and it is everyone's obligation to meet that, so that we make no differences, we expect no less of ourselves than we expect of others. You cannot respond to offensive speech with violence without begetting more violence.

And I so strongly believe that the great religions of the world are stronger than any insults. They have withstood offense for centuries. Refraining from violence, then, is not a sign of weakness in one's faith; it is absolutely the opposite, a sign that one's faith is unshakable.

So tonight, we must come together and recommit ourselves to working toward a future marked by understanding and acceptance rather than distrust, hatred, and fear. We can pledge that whenever one person speaks out in ignorance and bigotry, ten voices will answer. They will answer resoundingly against the offense and the insult, answering ignorance with enlightenment, answering hatred with understanding, answering darkness with light; that if one person commits a violent act in the name of religion, millions will stand up and condemn it out of strength.

In times like these, it can be easy to despair that some differences are irreconcilable, some mountains too steep to climb; we will therefore never reach the level of understanding and peacefulness that we seek, and which I believe the great religions of the world call us to pursue. But that's not what I believe, and I don't think it's what you believe either here tonight. Part of what makes our country so special is we keep trying. We keep working. We keep investing in our future. We keep supporting the next generation, believing that young people can keep us moving forward in a positive direction.

So tonight I think it's important that we talk not just about that better tomorrow that we all seek, but also about some of the things – the real, practical, tangible things – that young people are doing to help shape that better future.

Two years ago in this room, at our Eid reception, we launched a program called Generation Change to lead a grassroots agenda of positive engagement with Muslim communities. And I asked the young Muslim leaders in the audience that night to be our unofficial ambassadors, to help build personal connections, seek out partners in other countries. And I can report to you tonight they did not disappoint. In a few minutes, you're going to meet some of these young leaders, each with a powerful story to tell.

The Generation Change network that started in this room now circles the globe. We are building an international alliance of young people who want to drive change in their own communities. They act as mentors, spark respectful debates, simply offer words of encouragement when needed. But most importantly, they inspire others to keep expanding the circle of mutual understanding and respect, one person at a time.

Even as we work to spread tolerance more broadly, we also are working to deepen our appreciation for the experiences of others. Our 2012 Hours Against Hate initiative encourages young people to put themselves in another person's shoes through service projects. So far, young people from all over the world have pledged thousands of volunteer hours to help people from a different background, to see them as a fellow human being, not a stereotype, not a caricature, but another real live person – people who don't look like you, live like you, pray like you, but with whom we will share this planet. And therefore, we have work to do.

People of faith and conscience are called to be the leaders of tolerance. In my tradition, like all traditions, we are expected to love one another. And together, we have to translate that into better understanding and cooperation. I'm particularly pleased that the young people you will hear from tonight are really setting an example, not only for young people elsewhere in the world but, frankly, for us who are older as well.

Let me now call to the stage someone who has been a tremendous assistance to me in these efforts. Farah Pandith is the Department's first Special Representative to Muslim Communities. And from the beginning, she has made reaching out to young people and civil society her top priority. Farah will introduce you to three young leaders who I am very proud of.

Remarks at the Transfer of Remains Ceremony to Honor Those Lost in Attacks in Benghazi, Libya
September 14, 2012

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you very much, Chaplain. Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Secretary Panetta, Ambassador Rice, Secretary Powell and Mrs. Powell, family members of the four patriots and heroes we bring home, members of the State Department family, ladies and gentlemen, today we bring home four Americans who gave their lives for our country and our values. To the families of our fallen colleagues, I offer our most heartfelt condolences and deepest gratitude.

Sean Smith joined the State Department after six years in the Air Force. He was respected as an expert on technology by colleagues in Pretoria, Baghdad, Montreal, and The Hague. He enrolled in correspondence courses at Penn State and had high hopes for the future. Sean leaves behind a loving wife Heather, two young children, Samantha and Nathan, and scores of grieving family, friends, and colleagues. And that's just in this world. Because online in the virtual worlds that Sean helped create, he is also being mourned by countless competitors, collaborators, and gamers who shared his passion.

Tyrone Woods, known to most as Rone, spent two decades as a Navy SEAL, serving multiple tours in Iraq and Afghanistan. Since 2010, he protected American diplomatic personnel in dangerous posts from Central America to the Middle East. He had the hands of a healer as well as the arms of a warrior, earning distinction as a registered nurse and certified paramedic. Our hearts go out to Tyrone's wife Dorothy, and his three sons Tyrone, Jr., Hunter, and Kai, born just a few months ago, along with his grieving family, friends, and colleagues.

Glen Doherty, who went by Bub, was also a former SEAL and an experienced paramedic. He too died as he lived, serving his country and protecting his colleagues. Glen deployed to some of the most dangerous places on Earth, including Iraq and Afghanistan, always putting his life on the line to safeguard other Americans. Our thoughts and prayers are with Glen's father Bernard, his mother Barbara, his brother Gregory, his sister Kathleen, and their grieving families, friends, and colleagues.

I was honored to know Ambassador Chris Stevens. I want to thank his parents and siblings, who are here today, for sharing Chris with us and with our country. What a wonderful gift you gave us. Over his distinguished career in the Foreign Service, Chris won friends for the United States in far-flung places. He made those people's hopes his own. During the revolution in Libya, he risked his life to help protect the Libyan people from a tyrant, and he gave his life helping them build a better country.

People loved to work with Chris. And as he rose through the ranks, they loved to work for Chris. He was known not only for his courage but for his smile – goofy but contagious – for his sense of fun and that California cool.

In the days since the attack, so many Libyans – including the Ambassador from Libya to the United States, who is with us today – have expressed their sorrow and solidarity. One young woman, her head covered and her eyes haunted with sadness, held up a handwritten sign that said “Thugs and killers don't represent Benghazi nor Islam.” The President of the Palestinian Authority, who worked closely with Chris when he served in Jerusalem, sent me a letter remembering his energy and integrity, and deploring – and I quote – “an act of ugly terror.” Many others from across the Middle East and North Africa have offered similar sentiments.

This has been a difficult week for the State Department and for our country. We've seen the heavy assault on our post in Benghazi that took the lives of those brave men. We've seen rage and violence directed at American embassies over an awful internet video that we had nothing to do with. It is hard for the American people to make sense of that because it is senseless, and it is totally unacceptable.

The people of Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Tunisia did not trade the tyranny of a dictator for the tyranny of a mob. Reasonable people and responsible leaders in these countries need to do everything they can to restore security and hold accountable those behind these violent acts. And we will, under the President's leadership, keep taking steps to protect our personnel around the world.

There will be more difficult days ahead, but it is important that we don't lose sight of the fundamental fact that America must keep leading the world. We owe it to those four men to continue the long, hard work of diplomacy. I am enormously proud of the men and women of the State Department. I'm proud of all those across our government, civilian and military alike, who

represent America abroad. They help make the United States the greatest force for peace, progress, and human dignity the world has ever known. If the last few days teach us anything, let it be this: That this work and the men and women who risk their lives to do it are at the heart of what makes America great and good.

So we will wipe away our tears, stiffen our spines, and face the future undaunted. And we will do it together, protecting and helping one another, just like Sean, Tyrone, Glen, and Chris always did. May God bless them and grant their families peace and solace, and may God continue to bless the United States of America.

And now, let me have the great honor of introducing someone who came to the State Department earlier this week to grieve with us. He well understands and values the work that these men were doing for our country. The President of the United States.

Remarks With Mexican Secretary of Foreign Relations Patricia Espinosa After Their Meeting
September 18, 2012

SECRETARY CLINTON: Good afternoon, everyone. And it is such a pleasure for me to welcome my friend and colleague, Secretary Espinosa, along with a very distinguished delegation of officials from the Mexican Government for this continuation of consultation at the highest levels of each of our governments.

Before I turn to the matters discussed today, let me give a brief update on the ongoing U.S. response to the protests in the Middle East and elsewhere. I'm sure as you know already, we are taking aggressive steps to protect our staffs in embassies and consulates worldwide. That includes reviewing our security posture at every post and augmenting it where necessary. And we are working closely with the Libyan Government in our efforts to bring to justice those who murdered our four American colleagues in Benghazi.

The FBI is now in Tripoli to join the investigation with Libyan officials, and there is nothing more important to us than ensuring the safety of our American representatives worldwide. At the same time, as I have said to State Department employees, the incidents of the past week highlight how important our work is. The United States must and will remain strongly engaged in the world. Our men and women risk their lives in service to our country and our values, because they know that the United States must be a force for peace and progress. That is worth striving and sacrificing for, and nothing that happened last week changes this fundamental fact.

Now, turning to our friends and partners in Mexico, we are always pleased to have a chance to discuss matters of mutual interest and concern between us. Mexico is one of our closest friends as well as partner on dozens of critical issues. So we talk about every kind of issue you can imagine, from education and healthcare to poverty alleviation to the environment. But today, we focused on a top priority for us both – security.

We just co-chaired the fourth meeting of the U.S.-Mexico Merida High-Level Consultative Group. This is the last one we will hold during the Calderon Administration. And I want to offer my personal appreciation to President Calderon and to Foreign Secretary Espinosa for their leadership and commitment to this partnership and to all on both sides of the border in our governments who have been deeply engaged and committed to it. The Merida Initiative represents an unprecedented level of security cooperation between Mexico and the United States.

As our countries continue to deal with the serious challenge of transnational criminal organizations, including drug traffickers, illegal arms traffickers, money launderers, and violent gangs that threaten people on both sides of the border, we well know there is no quick and easy way to stop these criminals and bring them to justice. But nevertheless, during the past now nearly four years, our countries have collaborated to an extraordinary and unprecedented degree. We have brought together policy makers and experts from across our governments and societies who have worked hand in hand to keep our people safe. And I think the habits of cooperation we have built are among our most important achievements, and we will rely on them for a long time to come.

Today, our delegations reviewed the gains we've made on key priorities, including improving law enforcement coordination, reducing the demand for drugs, modernizing our border infrastructure, strengthening the rule of law, and building more resilient and empowered communities. We also discussed the lessons we've learned and the work that lies ahead in these and other areas, which our joint statement will reflect. I want to underscore how important our security relationship with Mexico is to the United States.

The Government of Mexico and the Mexican people have faced the threat posed by these criminals with courage and resolve, and we remain committed to doing everything we can to support Mexico as it continues to work to bring those criminals to justice. This is a transnational problem, and it calls for a transnational solution, and the United States believes this is a matter of shared responsibility. That was the first message I brought as Secretary of State when I came to Mexico, and it continues to be the hallmark of our efforts together. Making sure our people are safe and our neighbors are safe is of the utmost importance to us.

Now, our two countries share many other priorities, and one of them, empowering women and girls, was also addressed today. We took the opportunity, the Foreign Secretary and I, to sign a Memorandum of Understanding between our countries to work together to advance gender equality, empower girls and women, promote their human rights, and enhance their security.

So again, Secretary Espinosa, let me thank you for years of work and effort, for our productive conversations in many places around the world and again today, and for being such a valuable colleague and partner. The United States deeply, deeply values our relationship with Mexico and the ties of family and friendship that connect so many millions of our people.

And we look forward to the future. We believe strongly that presidential administrations may change, elections will come and go, but we have established a firm foundation for cooperation that has already benefited both our countries and which will continue to benefit both of our countries for many years ahead. So thank you very much.

MS. NULAND: We'll take (inaudible), Margaret Brennan, CBS News.

QUESTION: Madam Secretary, thanks for your time. Are you any closer to finding who killed Ambassador Chris Stevens? Libya's President says this attack was planned for months. Are you confident he's wrong and that security measures were appropriate? And will you leave justice to the Libyans?

SECRETARY CLINTON: As I said at the outset, we are taking aggressive steps to protect our people and our consulates and embassies around the world. We are reviewing our security posture at every post and working with host governments to be sure they know what our security needs are wherever necessary. We are also working closely with the Libyan Government to bring the perpetrators to justice so that we can be assured that we have found who murdered our four colleagues and under what circumstances. As I said, the FBI has joined the investigation inside Libya, and we will not rest until the people who orchestrated this attack are found and punished.

It is also important to look at this strategically and understand what is going on across the region. In a number of places where protests have turned violent, we are seeing the hand of extremists who are trying to exploit people's inflamed passions for their own agendas. But overwhelmingly, we have found that the people of Egypt, of Libya, of Yemen and Tunisia are not prepared to trade the tyranny of a dictator for the tyranny of a mob. They want to turn their attention to the future to provide better opportunities for themselves and their children, and they want a strong partnership with the United States and the American people based on mutual interests and mutual respect.

This is part of a larger debate that is going on inside these societies. In Libya, for example, in their first free elections, moderates were successful at the polls. But look, there are extremists in all of these societies and on the outside who are working to take advantage of broad outrage in order to incite violence and specifically incite violence against Americans and American facilities.

And as I have said to many of the leaders I have spoken to over the past week, these extremist efforts are a threat to the people of the societies and the governments of those societies as well as to the region and the United States. And I think it's important at this moment for leaders to put themselves on the right side of this debate – to speak out clearly and unequivocally against violence, whoever incites it or conducts it.

And in a struggle like this, there can be no doubt where the United States must stand. We support those who are fighting for the same values and rights that we believe in – in democracy, in

freedom, in universal rights for men and women, for justice and accountability. And I want to underscore that the United States will continue to work with partners and allies in the region and around the world to help bring security to these nations so that the promise of the revolutions that they experienced can be realized.

And finally, on your specific point about Benghazi, we obviously never talk publicly about security at any of our missions for obvious reasons. But that said, let me assure you that our security in Benghazi included a unit of host government security forces, as well as a local guard force of the kind that we rely on in many places around the world. In addition to the security outside the compound, we relied on a wall and a robust security presence inside the compound. And with all of our missions overseas, in advance of September 11th, as is done every year, we did an evaluation on threat streams. And the Office of the Director of National Intelligence has said we had no actionable intelligence that an attack on our post in Benghazi was planned or imminent.

But let me state the obvious again. Our diplomats engage in dangerous work, and it's the nature of diplomacy in fragile societies and conflict zones to be aware of the necessity for security but to also continue the important diplomatic work that has to go on. There is risk inherent in what we do and what these brave men and women representing the United States are up against every single day, and we do our very best to limit that risk by ensuring that our security protocols reflect the environments in which diplomats work and the threats that they are presented with.

Thank you.

**Remarks With Indonesian Foreign Minister Raden Mohammad Marty Muliana
Natalegawa After Their Meeting
September 20, 2012**

SECRETARY CLINTON: Good afternoon, everyone. And it's such a pleasure, as always, to welcome the Indonesian Foreign Minister, and I believe the largest delegation that has ever come from Indonesia, for the purpose of our third meeting of the U.S.-Indonesia Joint Commission.

This commission is the result of a vision by our two presidents for a comprehensive partnership, and the agreement to that effect was signed in 2010. Thanks to this partnership, the United States and Indonesia are working more closely than ever on a range of issues from global security to clean energy and climate to regional trade and commerce.

And today, Marty and I had the chance to take stock of where our teams have come in the time of the last year, because we had our meeting in Bali a year ago. And I must say, I was very impressed. We covered a great deal today.

But before I start, I'd like to say a few words about the protests in several countries around the world. We have condemned in the strongest possible terms the violence that has erupted from these protests. And as I have said, the video that sparked these protests is disgusting and reprehensible, and the United States Government, of course, had absolutely nothing to do with it.

But there is no justification for violence, and I want to thank the Foreign Minister and his government for speaking out against violence. We have to look to reasonable people and responsible leaders everywhere to stand up to extremists who would seek to take advantage of this moment to commit violent acts against embassies and their fellow countrymen.

Today's meetings have highlighted the strong foundation that we have built together. And one of our most important concerns is promoting peace and stability in the Asia Pacific. Today, I'm announcing that the Obama Administration has informed Congress of the potential sale of eight AH-64D Apache Longbow helicopters to the Indonesian Government. This agreement will strengthen our comprehensive partnership and help enhance security across the region.

On growth and prosperity, we are increasing our trade relationship that topped \$26 billion last year. Investments in transportation, energy, and infrastructure are creating jobs and supporting economic growth in both countries. For example, the deal between Lion Air and Boeing alone represents \$21 billion in trade over the next decade. Indonesia's Government has announced half a trillion dollars in infrastructure improvements, and we recently signed a memorandum of understanding to make it easier for American companies to bid on these projects.

And yesterday, we signed an agreement for implementing our Millennium Challenge Corporation Compact with Indonesia. Over the next five years, the United States will invest \$600 million in clean energy development, child health and nutrition programs, and efforts to help make Indonesia's Government more transparent and open.

The United States is also looking forward to Indonesia hosting APEC in 2013, and we are confident that Indonesia will come to this role with a commitment to promote greater economic integration across the Asia Pacific.

Both the Foreign Minister and I believe that strong education is essential to compete in a modern global economy. That's why the United States has expanded the Fulbright Program and supported partnerships between dozens of American and Indonesian universities. Academic exchanges between our countries are up and applications from Indonesian students to visit the United States have increased by one third. USAID has recently expanded its basic education program to provide \$83 million for teacher training and literacy programs for young children. And we're providing \$20 in scholarship funding for Indonesian graduate students.

I also thanked the Minister for Indonesia's leadership in ASEAN. The Foreign Minister's personal leadership has helped lay the groundwork for diplomacy between ASEAN and China as it relates to the South China Sea. And we continue to support ASEAN's six-point principles, which we believe will help reduce tensions and pave the way for a comprehensive code of conduct for addressing disputes without threats, coercion, or use of force.

Finally, Indonesia and the United States have stood together on a range of global challenges, from democratic reform in Burma to combating climate change, to working to end the violence in Syria. We are also coordinating efforts to further develop south-south and triangular cooperation, such as enhancing disaster preparedness in Burma and convening a conference on women's empowerment.

We believe that as the second and third-largest democracies in the world, the United States and Indonesia have a special responsibility to promote democracy and human rights. And for the last four years, Indonesia has hosted the Bali Democracy Forum to promote peaceful, democratic transitions through example and open dialogue. Last year, more than 80 countries attended. And once again, the United States will be sending a high-level delegation.

So, Minister, thank you for everything. Thank you for the great partnership we've had between us and between our countries.

MS. NULAND: We'll take two questions today, we'll start with Ros Jordan of Al Jazeera English.

QUESTION: Thank you, Madam Secretary, Mr. Foreign Minister. Madam Secretary, my question is about the ongoing investigation into last week's attack at the consulate in Benghazi. You are meeting this afternoon with members of Congress to discuss the progress and the concerns that they understandably have. First, there is the federal mandate to establish an accountability review board. Have you done so? Who would you like to see chair it? Are there certain questions that you desperately want to have answered in order to safeguard the safety of Foreign Service Officers around the world?

And related to this, given the political instability and the successes of the past year and a half, are you satisfied that in light of those political changes, enough was done to protect those working in the Middle East and North Africa? And then finally – and this is perhaps going into the area of rumor and speculation – but there is at least one report suggesting that Ambassador Stevens felt that he was on a, quote, “al-Qaida hit list.” Is this a scurrilous rumor? Is this gallows humor when one is working in a period of difficulty and great challenge, or is there something more to what he allegedly – and I stress that word – said?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, first, let me say I'm looking forward to the opportunity to go up to the Congress today. I will be briefing in two separate sessions, the House and the Senate, in a classified setting, along with my interagency colleagues, as we continue to work together, and with governments around the world, to ensure that our people and our facilities are safe. I will be joined today by the Director of National Intelligence, General Clapper, by the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Ash Carter, by the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Sandy Winnefeld, along with experts from the FBI, the State Department, and elsewhere in the government.

Now, I anticipate that this briefing will cover our security posture before and during the events, and the steps we have taken since to do everything we can with host governments to protect our people and our embassies and consulates. The Director of National Intelligence will speak to the intelligence issues surrounding these events in Libya. Deputy Secretary Carter will brief on the superb support we have had from the U.S. military in the wake of these events, and we are at the very early stages of an FBI investigation. The team from the FBI reached Libya earlier this week. And I will advise Congress also that I am launching an accountability review board that will be chaired by Ambassador Thomas Pickering.

I will also talk about the importance of the broader relationships with these countries in light of the events of the past days. There are obviously very real challenges in these new democracies, these fragile societies, but as I said last week, the vast majority of the people in these countries did not throw off the tyranny of a dictator to trade it for the tyranny of a mob. And we are concerned first and foremost with our own people and facilities, but we are concerned about the internal security in these countries because ultimately, that puts at risk the men, women, and children of these societies on a daily ongoing basis if actions are not taken to try to restore security and civil order.

And let me just conclude by saying that there can be no doubt where the United States stands. We continue to support those who are fighting for universal values – values that we see at work in Indonesia – the third largest democracy in the world. We believe that these values of universal rights, of justice and accountability, of democracy, are there for every person regardless of where that person might live. So I will look forward to having a chance to talk with members of Congress.

As to your final question, I have absolutely no information or reason to believe that there's any basis for that.

QUESTION: Thank you.

MS. NULAND: Last question. Victoria Sidjabat from *Tempo Magazine*, please.

QUESTION: Yes. Madam, thank you. My question is: Starting today, U.S. Embassy and Consulate are closed in Indonesia as the Muslim movie become wild fireball, which could be

designed as a weapon to attack U.S. by raising sentiment anti-U.S. from the countries which has Muslim majority population like Indonesia.

Madam Clinton, how do you see this threat as on the long run? If it's continuing happen, it's – obviously could give impact to the implementation of (inaudible) program in Indonesia. What is the reason U.S. Government closed the Embassy and Consulate in Indonesia? What is your expectation from Indonesia Government, for my Minister Marty Natalegawa? How Indonesia Government respond to the closing of this Embassy and Consulate, it's starting today? Is U.S. – Indonesia Government has capability to protect U.S. Embassy and Consulate. So the (inaudible) program implemented – could be implemented successfully in Indonesia. Thank you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, let me begin by saying how grateful we are for the excellent cooperation we have received from the Government of Indonesia, and in particular, from the law enforcement and security institutions in Indonesia. We are very grateful for not only the cooperation and protection that has been provided to our facilities, but also to the strong statements condemning violence from the President, the Foreign Minister, and others.

In consultation with the Government of Indonesia, we have temporarily, for tomorrow, closed our facilities. We want to be sure that law enforcement in Indonesia has the ability to do what it needs to do to make sure that there is no disruption of civil order and security. So we are cooperating completely, and we're very grateful for the strong leadership provided by Indonesia.

FOREIGN MINISTER NATALEGAWA: Hello, (inaudible), if I may just also respond. Precisely as the Secretary had said, the decision by the United States Government to close temporarily its embassies and consulates tomorrow in Indonesia is a decision that's been made based on communication and conversation between the authorities in Indonesia and the United States as well. So in other words, it is an informed decision, a decision that is not intended to show any unfriendly intent on the part of anyone, but it is what it is, and it's quite some – it's the kind of step that governments actually carry out when situations requires it, even in our case. Some of our embassies abroad, when the situation requires us to have a temporary closing of the embassy, we do that as well. So it is something that is quite regular and something that is actually coordinated as well.

But if I may just broaden the subject matter, I think as our President had said in the past, Indonesian Government – the Indonesian people, even, obviously cannot and would not condone the – any acts of violence against diplomatic premises, against diplomatic personnel, because that is, truly – would be a challenge to the efficient and a proper conduct of relations among states. So that's our point of departure.

At the same time, of course, beyond the immediate issue of protection of the embassies, we have still ahead of us the challenge of how to prevent the kind of situations where we are now at in

terms of the kind of incendiary and the kind of statements or, in this instance, films that cause -- that is now we have all deplored and condemned for these kind of activities not to be repeated. So we have a lot of homework to work towards in the future as well.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you all very much.

FOREIGN MINISTER NATALEGAWA: Thank you.

**Remarks With Pakistani Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar Before Their Meeting
September 21, 2012**

Good afternoon, and let me begin by welcoming Foreign Minister Khar on her first visit to Washington as foreign minister. We've had the opportunity to meet in Islamabad and other settings, but I am very pleased that we would have this chance to exchange views on our bilateral relationship as well as regional and global issues.

I want to begin by addressing the events of the day and the past week. Today, we've once again seen protests in several cities in Pakistan. Unfortunately, some of those protests have turned violent and, sadly, resulted in loss of life. I want to thank the Government of Pakistan for their efforts to protect our Embassy in Islamabad and consulates in Lahore, Peshawar, and Karachi.

And I want to be clear, as I have said on numerous occasions, the violence we have seen cannot be tolerated. There is no justification for violence. Of course, there is provocation, and we have certainly made clear that we do not in any way support provocation. We found the video that's at the core of this series of events offensive, disgusting, reprehensible.

But that does not provide justification for violence, and therefore it is important for responsible leaders, indeed responsible people everywhere, to stand up and speak out against violence and particularly against those who would exploit this difficult moment to advance their own extremist ideologies.

Yesterday afternoon when I briefed the Congress, I made it clear that keeping our people everywhere in the world safe is our top priority. What happened in Benghazi was a terrorist attack, and we will not rest until we have tracked down and brought to justice the terrorists who murdered four Americans. And we are taking aggressive measures at all of our posts to protect our staffs and their families along with locally employed people who provide so many important contributions to the work of our missions.

The Foreign Minister and I will have a chance to cover a full range of subjects today, and it is no secret that the past year and a half has been challenging for Pakistan and the United States. And we still have work to do to get our bilateral relationship to the point where we would like it to be, but we both recognize that we can achieve more when we work together on a focused agenda. So

today is the latest in a series of high-level meetings. Ambassador Marc Grossman has just returned from consultations in Islamabad. I look forward to seeing President Zardari next week at the UN General Assembly. At each meeting, we are working to identify the strategic goals we share – and there are many – and the concrete actions we can each take to accomplish them.

Our number one shared priority remains pursuing our joint counterterrorism objectives to ensure the security of American and Pakistani citizens alike. We face a common threat from a common enemy, and we must confront terrorism and extremism together. Earlier this month, I designated the Haqqani Network as a Foreign Terrorist Organization so we could make full use of every available legal authority to end their deadly attacks. Pakistan's parliament has called for expelling foreign fighters so that Pakistan's territory can be fully under control of the Pakistani Government and cannot be used to launch attacks against other nations.

And the follow-through on this is challenging but necessary, and we look forward to working with Pakistan as they continue to address these problems. We have both pledged to support a secure, stable, and prosperous Afghanistan, which is vital for the security of the region. And I want to thank Foreign Minister Khar for Pakistan's reopening of the NATO supply lines to allow the movement of goods to Afghanistan.

We will discuss the successful first meeting of the Safe Passage Working Group in Islamabad which brought together Afghan, Pakistani, and U.S. representatives to advance the peace process in Afghanistan. The Pakistani Government's public call for insurgents to come forward and talk with the Afghan Government was particularly important. We are ready to work together to build on these steps, and we will continue our discussions through bilateral consultations and the U.S.-Afghanistan-Pakistan Core Group.

Now, of course, our relationship goes far beyond our shared security concerns, and today we will discuss the many other ways in which we work together, particularly to create economic opportunity for Pakistanis. Foreign Minister Khar and I agree that we need to shift our economic relationship from aid to trade and investment. We are working to help Pakistan attract more private sector investment. We hope to finalize a bilateral investment treaty soon. And we've created a Pakistan private investment initiative to help more of Pakistan's small and medium sized companies get access to capital.

Over the past few years, we have seen Pakistan's civilian government begin to put down stronger roots. And if elections proceed as planned next year, it will mark the first time in Pakistan's history that a civilian-led government has served its full term. The United States supports Pakistan's economic development, and we have said many times that we want to see democracy succeed in Pakistan.

We also support Pakistan's sovereignty, but we are clear that all sovereign nations carry certain obligations to protect the human rights of their citizens, to control their territory, to prevent threats to their neighbors and the international community.

So we know that there is still much to be done, but I can assure the people of Pakistan that the United States remains committed to this important relationship and we are confident we can continue to move forward together one step at a time to reach our shared strategic objectives.

Thank you very much.

Remarks With Tunisian Foreign Minister Rafik Abdessalem Before Their Meeting
September 21, 2012

SECRETARY CLINTON: Good morning. I am pleased to welcome the Foreign Minister from Tunisia. I'm looking forward to our meeting. We obviously have a great deal to discuss, and I want to thank the Foreign Minister and the Government of Tunisia for their efforts over the last week to help secure our Embassy and the American Cooperative School of Tunis following the violent assaults of last Friday.

We are monitoring events closely today. There is no higher priority for President Obama and myself than the safety of our people. We've taken a number of steps around the world to augment security and to protect our personnel at diplomatic posts. And we are working closely with host governments in this effort.

As I have said before and as is embodied in the Vienna Convention and other international agreements, all governments have the duty, the solemn duty, to defend diplomatic missions. They must be safe and protected places so that governments can exchange views and work on many important issues, and leaders across the world must stand up and be counted in rejecting violence and holding violent actors accountable.

We are working closely with the Government of Tunisia. They have assisted us in enhancing the security of our facilities. We've also discussed with them the imperative of bringing to justice those responsible for these violent attacks. And we have offered and will continue to look for ways that we can assist the new Government of Tunisia in ensuring the rule of law throughout their country, first and foremost for the people of Tunisia themselves. We look forward to continuing to build our new partnership with the Tunisian Government and people. Our relationship is built around the shared principles of all democracies – a commitment to nonviolence, to tolerance, and inclusivity for all people, and to upholding the rule of law.

The Tunisian people have bravely put themselves on the road to democracy. They were the first of the Arab revolutions and they have made important progress in a very short period of time. They have worked too hard and sacrificed too much over too many years to see their progress hijacked or derailed by extremists with their own agenda. And those extremists, not only in

Tunisia but in too many places around the world, look for opportunities to exploit this current situation or other situations, and all people and leaders must stand against them.

So as the Tunisian Government takes steps to strengthen security and protect the Tunisian people and economy from extremism and violent agendas, the United States stands ready to help. We also are working closely with Tunisia on the broader shared threat of terrorism, including from groups like al-Qaida and its affiliates.

So Minister, please know the United States remains committed to supporting Tunisia as you deal with this current situation, as you continue your democratic transition, and we want to be with you as you confront challenges and help seize opportunities together for the betterment of the future of Tunisia.

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From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, September 25, 2012 11:30 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Our Exchange

From: Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Tuesday, September 25, 2012 11:21 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma
Subject: Fw: Our Exchange

From: Michael Hastings (mailto: [redacted])
Sent: Tuesday, September 25, 2012 09:17 PM
To: Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Re: Our Exchange

B6

Hi Philippe:

Thanks very much for the note. I appreciate it.

I have deep sympathy for what your team and the families of the victims are going through. In Baghdad years ago, someone I cared for very deeply lost her life with three others in the service of promoting our values overseas. This experience probably added to the intensity behind my questions and responses as well.

In the interest of diplomacy and extending an olive branch: we should get a drink sometime, off the record.

Best,
Michael

On Tue, Sep 25, 2012 at 8:18 PM, Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov> wrote:
Hi Michael

As you can imagine this has been an intense time for everyone at the State Department, including me.

While I stand by the fundamental principles at issue here, that does not justify my unprofessional response to your emails. I particularly do not want my words to be a distraction from this tragedy.

I apologize, both for my language and for my tone.

Philippe

--
Michael Hastings
BuzzFeed
Rolling Stone



B6

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Burns Strider [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2012 12:41 PM
To: H
Subject: CNN Belief Blog. Prothero

B6

<http://religion.blogs.cnn.com/2012/09/13/my-take-a-deadly-link-between-islamic-and-anti-islamic-extremists/>

***Editor's Note:** Stephen Prothero, a Boston University religion scholar and author of "The American Bible: How Our Words Unite, Divide, and Define a Nation," is a regular CNN Belief Blog contributor.*

By **Stephen Prothero**, Special to CNN

What should we make of the **attacks on the U.S. consulates in Egypt, Libya and Yemen**, and the deaths of four Americans, including U.S. ambassador to Libya **Chris Stevens**?

It depends on who you mean by "we."

From the perspective of those who stormed the embassies, taking down the American flag in Egypt and replacing it with a black flag reading, "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his messenger," theirs was an act of justice on behalf of the One True Faith.

The Americans had it coming, according to this view, because Americans are on the wrong side in the clash of civilizations between the Judeo-Christian West and the Muslim world. And the creation of an anti-Islamic video (ironically entitled "Innocence of Muslims") by a producer thought to be an American provided the catalyst (or excuse) for the protests.

Why Muslims are sensitive about portraying the Prophet Mohammed

Most Americans operate by a different "we." From our perspective, the assault was an unjust and cowardly attack on (among other things) the rule of law, the institution of diplomacy and the right of free speech.

Libyan Deputy Prime Minister Mustafa Abushagur gave voice to this perspective when he said on Twitter, "I condemn these barbaric attacks in the strongest possible terms. This is an attack on America, Libya and free people everywhere."

"Some have sought to justify this vicious behavior as a response to inflammatory material posted on the Internet," Secretary of State Hillary Clinton added. "The United States deplores any intentional effort to denigrate the religious beliefs of others. Our commitment to religious tolerance goes back to the very beginning of our nation."

In a **commencement speech** at Kenyon College in 2005, later published as "*This Is Water*," novelist David Foster Wallace urged student to scrutinize the "natural, basic self-centeredness" that puts "me" at the center of the world.

This unconscious "default setting" fosters the sort of "blind certainty" that manifests as arrogant atheism and fundamentalism alike, Wallace said. And the point of education is to shake us out of that "default setting" — to begin to see things from the perspectives of others.

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Wallace focused in his speech on the individual “I.” But his critique can be applied as well to another “default setting” (this one more cultural than natural): our tendency to understand the world from the perspective of “we.”

According to those who stormed the embassies, “Innocence of Muslims” was not made by an individual (whoever the shadowy “Sam Bacile” may — or may not — be). It was made by an *American*.

Moreover, according to this groupthink, Americans as a group are responsible for the sins of individual Americans, so it makes perfect sense to strike out at embassy personnel who issued a statement before the protests turned deadly, condemning “the continuing efforts by misguided individuals to hurt the religious feelings of Muslims, as we condemn efforts to offend believers of all religions.”

CNN’s Belief Blog: The faith angles behind the biggest stories

Meanwhile, the shadowy figures who produced and distributed “Innocence of Muslims” are imprisoned in some groupthink of their own, which gathers all the world’s Muslims under the category of an evil Islamic empire. Their film doesn’t just depict Mohammed as a con man, philanderer, and pedophile. It portrays his followers as dupes.

Unfortunately, the events of recent days have done nothing to jar the alleged producer out of this default setting. When questioned about his film in the aftermath of the Libyan and Egyptian attacks, a man identifying himself as “Sam Bacile” reportedly told the Wall Street Journal that “Islam is a cancer.”

You don’t need a Kenyon college degree to see how this vicious cycle of provocation and violence is fueled, and you don’t need to be a moral relativist to see that it takes two sides to keep it running.

I am an American who is justly proud of the First Amendment and its protections of freedom of speech and religion. And I believe that killing your opponents in the name of God or nation is a far greater offense than offending them with an ignorant movie.

Nonetheless, the root problem on display here is in my view what Wallace denounced as “blind certainty.”

Our world is not divided first and foremost along religious or national lines, into Muslims and Christians and Hindus or Israelis and Americans and Egyptians.

Neither is it divided into secularists and people of faith — the New Atheists and partisans of old-time religion.

The real “red line” in the modern world divides the certain from the uncertain. And in the tragic events of recent days, those who produced and distributed this hateful movie stand on the same side of this line as the killers of innocents in Libya and Egypt.

Both groups are possessed by the unholy spirit of “blind certainty,” unacquainted with both the complexity and contradictions of life on Earth and the “cloud of unknowing” that hovers over every major religion.

The great religious thinkers in Judaism, Christianity and Islam always knew enough to know that they did not know everything.

They knew the difference between the eternal decrees of the God of Abraham and the all-too-flawed thoughts of ordinary people. They knew, in short, that they are not God, who alone is charged with creating and destroying the world and discriminating along the way between the real and the illusory.

The killers in Libya have forgotten that. So have the not-so-innocent producers and distributors of “Innocence of Islam.”

The opinions expressed in this commentary are solely those of Stephen Prothero.

CNN's Belief Blog: The faith angles behind the biggest stories

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RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, September 21, 2012 4:05 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Libyans march against Islamist militias in Benghazi

From: Toiv, Nora F
Sent: Friday, September 21, 2012 3:48 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Libyans march against Islamist militias in Benghazi

Libyans march against Islamist militias in Benghazi

By Peter Graff and Suleiman Al-Khalidi

BENGHAZI, Libya | Fri Sep 21, 2012 2:23pm EDT

(Reuters) - Thousands of Libyans marched in Benghazi on Friday in support of democracy and against the Islamist militias that Washington blames for an attack on the U.S. consulate last week that killed four Americans including the ambassador.

The "Rescue Benghazi day" demonstration called for the government to disband armed groups that have refused to give up their weapons since the NATO-backed revolution that toppled Muammar Gaddafi last year.

Marchers headed for a main square where a much smaller counter demonstration of hundreds of supporters of hardline Islamist group Ansar al-Sharia were waiting.

"It's obvious that this protest is against the militias. All of them should join the army or security forces as individuals, not as groups," medical student Ahmed Sanallah, 27, said. "Without that there will be no prosperity and no success for the new Libya."

The late afternoon demonstration had a cheerful atmosphere as families marched with small children on their shoulders.

Fighter jets and helicopters roared overhead in a show of official support for the demonstration, which has been enthusiastically promoted by the city's authorities.

"Those military battalions that want to impose their ideology on the people of Libya will be confronted," Saleh Gaouda, a member of new ruling national congress, said.

"This city wants to go back to stability and participate in building the state."

In a sign of the cheerful atmosphere, one car had a giant cardboard model of Benghazi's landmark lighthouse strapped to the roof. As the sun set and the crowd began to disperse, someone shot fireworks into the air.

"DEFEND BENGHAZI"

Although the main demands of the marchers did not mention the attack on the U.S. consulate, it seems to have provided a strong impetus for the authorities to rally support behind the country's weak government.

U.S. ambassador Christopher Stevens was well liked in Libya, and many people who were angered by an anti-Islamic film made in the United States consider the attack on the embassy to have been excessive. Some placards in English, intended for international news cameras, read: "We demand justice for Stevens" and "Libya lost a friend".

"I am out today to defend Benghazi. Killing the ambassador is a completely separate thing," 26-year-old Amjad Mohammed Hassan, a network engineer, said. "I don't give a damn about the killing of the ambassador because the Americans offended the Prophet. I am just here for Benghazi."

Benghazi, 1,000 km (600 miles) from Tripoli across largely empty desert, is controlled by various armed groups, including some comprised of Islamists who openly proclaim their hostility to democratic government and the West.

Some of these have been identified by local people as being among those who were at the consulate protest last week. U.S. officials have described the violence as a "terrorist attack".

One group linked to the attack is Ansar al-Sharia, which has denied involvement in the violence.

Abu Al-Qaa, a demonstrator at the Ansar al-Sharia counter demonstration, said Stevens "was preparing for the entry of American troops into Libya".

"The will of the Prophet was to expel infidels from Muslim lands so that Muslims prevail. Terrorizing your enemy is one of Islam's tenets."

He said he had fought against American troops in Iraq where he was arrested and sent back to Gaddafi's Libya and jailed for three years.

One banner at that demonstration read: "Day to rescue Benghazi or day to rescue America?"

In southern Libya, at least six people were killed and 12 injured in clashes between security forces and a local group, a security official and a resident said on Friday.

Security forces were sent to the town of Brak, 700 km (400 miles) south of Tripoli, on Wednesday to stop a group broadcasting songs about Gaddafi on the radio, the official said. The security forces, made up of former rebel fighters, came under attack upon arrival.

(Additional reporting by Omar Al-Mosmary and Ali Shuaib; Editing by Giles Elgood)

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 10:34 PM
To: Sherman, Wendy R; H; Mills, Cheryl D; Nuland, Victoria J; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Re: The Youth of Libya

Amazing.

From: Sherman, Wendy R
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 09:57 PM
To: 'Hdr22@clintonemail.com' <Hdr22@clintonemail.com>; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Nuland, Victoria J; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Fw: The Youth of Libya

Hope. See picture below Kamala sent.

From: Lakhdhir, Kamala S
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 09:47 PM
To: Sherman, Wendy R
Cc: Escrogima, Ana A; Grantham, Chris W
Subject: The Youth of Libya



Libya Alhurra TV via Facebook

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Sunday, September 23, 2012 10:36 PM
To: 'hanleymr@state.gov'
Subject: Fw:

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 07:36 PM
To: H
Subject: FW:

-----Original Message-----

From: Brett McGurk [mailto:]
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2012 5:50 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re:

B6

Cheryl, I can't imagine what this week has been like for you but wanted to write after attending the Andrews ceremony today. I was with some NEA hands who knew Chris well and they all noted the Secretary's visit to their offices earlier in the week and how pitch-perfect this has been handled. The remarks today were beautiful and moving. I did not have a personal connection to the four lost this week but the President and Secretary seemed to be speaking as well to those I did know and still mourn. So I wanted to write to say thank you. This is among the most challenging and uncertain periods in our history -- and our nation is more fortunate than it knows to have such a steady team at the helm.
Brett

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From:
Sent: Saturday, September 15, 2012 2:20 PM
To: H
Subject: Condolences

B6

Hillary,

I just want to offer my personal condolences over the loss of four fine foreign service officers. The Ambassador was a perfect role model of the kind of person we need representing us around the world, and the others had so much to give -- and already had given so much.

I know it has been a hard week for you, and I wanted simply to express my sympathy and tell you I was thinking of you.

Bob Gates

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tuesday, August 28, 2012 10:33 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Intel, Libyan President. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo Libya President 082712.docx

If true, this is encouraging. Should consider passing to Israelis.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:
Sent: Monday, August 27, 2012 06:35 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Intel, Libyan President. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

August 27, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: New President of Libya

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. (Source Comment: As the new interim President of Libya Mohammed Yussef el Magariaf is determined to establish a democratic state based on Islamic principles. In the opinion of an extremely sensitive source, Magariaf sees this moment as the climax his entire life's work. Having first served deposed dictator Muammar al Qaddafi as a policy advisor and diplomat, in 1979 Magariaf became disenchanted with what he saw as the cult of personality that Qaddafi was building for himself while turning against the basic beliefs of the Islamist movement. Magariaf was member of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in his student days and remains a devout Islamist intellectual, albeit one who believes that Islam can coexist and even work with the non-Muslim world, particularly the United States and Western Europe. This source also believes that Magariaf is convinced that Libya, with its great natural wealth, can become a leading player in North Africa, as well as the rest of the Islamic world. Magariaf is particularly well disposed toward the governments of the United States and France, based on past experiences with each during his struggle with Qaddafi. This source also believes that he remains hostile to the government of Omar al Bashir in Sudan. In 1989 Bashir overthrew Magariaf's ally, then Sudanese Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi and expelled Magariaf and his followers from Khartoum.)

2. According to the same sensitive source, Magariaf will also seek a discreet relationship with Israel. Political realities in Libya at present will dictate that this relationship be handled in a low key manner, but the new President of Libya shares many common friends and associates with the leaders of Israel and intends to take advantage of this situation to improve the lot of the Libyan people. Magariaf may, at times, be forced to make statements critical of Israel for his own political purposes, but believes he and his associates have the experience and sophistication to manage this issue. At the same time Magariaf intends to pursue aggressively the regional political initiatives begun by National Transitional Council (NTC) President Mustafa Abdel Jalil. Magariaf will pursue the economic and security cooperation set out in the Cairo Declaration of July 29, 2012 establishing a regional bond between the new revolutionary governments of Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. This same individual notes that Magariaf is aware of the fact that Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi sees Libya as a key factor in Egypt's economic development; and the Libyan leader believes he can manipulate this situation to the advantage of the Libyan people.

3. A separate sensitive source stated on condition of strict secrecy that Magariaf intends to work with his security advisors to develop a plan for disarming the Islamist militias who fought against Qaddafi, without arousing their suspicion. He believes that the most important step in this matter will be providing the medical and economic services demanded by these militias in return for disarming. Magariaf also believes that he can manage the political ambitions of Islamist leaders like General Abdelhakim Belhaj, while preventing the growth of radical groups who might see Libya as a base of operations and support. Magariaf and his supporters believe that his Islamist/anti-Qaddafi credentials will allow him to manage these challenges, and if he can do so he will be able to win the presidency outright in the first full scale national presidential election in the spring of 2013.

4. This source adds that, while avoiding direct involvement in the Syrian crisis, the Magariaf government will support Turkey, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the rest of the nations calling for the end of the regime of Basher al Assad. Magariaf harbors a particular sense of hostility toward Assad, who was a longtime ally of Qaddafi, supporting him with equipment, intelligence, and advisors throughout the revolution of 2011. Magariaf realizes that this stance will also bring him into conflict with Syria's ally Iran, but does not believe Iran has a role to play in Libya, or the rest of North Africa.

5. According to an extremely sensitive source, in 1979 Magariaf, having become increasingly disenchanted with Qaddafi, fled Libya for Khartoum in Sudan, where in 1981, with the help of the government of Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi, Chadian leader Hissene Habre, Iraqi President Sadaam Hussein, and several Western states, he established The National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL), dedicated to overthrowing Qaddafi and establishing an Islamic democracy in Libya. Under the auspices of the NFSL, Magariaf also organized the Libyan National Army (LNA), based in Ndjamen, Chad. The LNA was commanded by the Colonel Khalifa Belqasim Haftar, who is now one of the commanding generals of the new Libyan Army. Under Magariaf's authority the Haftar force, which numbered between 2,500 and 3,000 troops, fought several battles with Qaddafi's troops, with mixed results. These attacks included a raid on Qaddafi's compound at Bab al-Aziza in 1986. The LNA also maintained a 50,000 watt radio station in Ndjamen, broadcasting anti-Qaddafi material into Libya. This radio station was supported by Western governments and Iraqi Military Intelligence.

6. The LNA's greatest success came in support of the Chadian Army under General Idriss Deby, in their overwhelming victory over Libyan troops at the battle Ouadi Doum in 1987. This victory forced the Libyan Army and Air Force out of Chad, and was supported by the French Air Force and other Western personnel. Following the battle Deby became a national hero in Chad. In 1990, with the support of Libyan intelligence officers, Deby, who had undergone military training in Libya and France, rebelled against and overthrew the Habre Government. At that time Deby, under Qaddafi's influence, forced the LNA to abandon Chad for Zaire, and eventually the United States. Magariaf and Haftar both settled in the United States, and while the LNA no longer existed as an

effective force, Magariaf continued to maintain the NFSL as a political organization. In 2004 Magariaf and the NFSL joined the National Conference for the Libyan Opposition (NCLO), eventually returning to support the 2011 revolution.

7. (Source Comment: In the opinion of an extremely sensitive source speaking on condition of strict secrecy, Magariaf views himself as an Islamist politician who can work with both Islamic and non-Islamic states, including Israel, if the relationships are properly managed. The Libyan President also sees the current situation as vindication for all of the problematic experiences he encountered in his long struggle against the Qaddafi regime. This individual believes that Magariaf intends to use his reputation for integrity, commitment to Islam, and his ability to work with divergent groups to establish himself as an effective interim President, and eventually the first elected Libyan Head of State in mid-2013. Magariaf plans to draw on all political, religious, and ethnic groups to form his cabinet, using his stature to form a representative government under the General National Council.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tuesday, August 28, 2012 10:33 AM
To: Oscar Flores
Subject: Fw: H: Intel, Libyan President. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo Libya President 082712.docx

Pls print.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Monday, August 27, 2012 06:35 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Intel, Libyan President. Sid

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RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, July 7, 2012 10:04 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: Fyi

Will pass to Chris and Beth. To state the obvious, the ballot burning and helicopter shootdown are concerning.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, July 07, 2012 08:20 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fyi

Another report---

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. As of the morning of July 6, an individual with access to the information stated in confidence that Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC) President Mustafa Abdel Jalil remains committed to a transfer of power to a popularly elected government; however, he is prepared to extend the life of the NTC as a guarantor of stability for the Libyan people following the July 7, 2012 election for seats in a 200-member General National Congress (GNC). Jalil realizes that 2.7 million Libyans have registered to vote and are generally anxious to replace the increasingly unpopular NTC. That said, Jalil expects the voting to lead to a period of confusion and he will not abandon his authority until the results are fixed.

2. Jalil is also frustrated by the fact that during its eight-month tenure of the administration of Prime Minister Abdel Rahman el-Keib - who was appointed by the NTC - was unable to provide solutions for Libya's long list of needs: a functioning justice system, a reconciliation process for officials who served the old administration, the disarming of militia, building functional national security forces, rebuilding destroyed areas, and delivering basic services such as healthcare.

3. At the same time, outside of the oil sector, much of Libya's economy is stagnant, and in the opinion of Western security officials, lacks the government's go-ahead to restart public sector infrastructure contracts. In addition, international advisers and foreign investors are reluctant to return to an environment where the government will not sign long term agreements and cannot guarantee security.

4. (Source Comment: According to an extremely sensitive source, Jalil continues to believe that this chaotic situation should not be surprising. He regularly points out that eight months is not a sufficient amount of time to build functioning institutions from the remnants of the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi. The old regime featured a dysfunctional bureaucracy, idiosyncratic rule, and anti-institutionalism. Additionally, Jalil now realizes that due to pronounced incompetence and a lack of will to take unpopular decisions the el-Keib government also failed to make progress in the few areas where it could have achieved meaningful change. The towns of Sirte and Tawargha are representative of the situation in the countryside where people lost their homes in the conflict and have been living in temporary camps with limited ability to register and vote in their home district. Jalil has been urged by contacts in the French and Italian Governments to guarantee the rights of people across the country. In particular, he has serious concerns as to whether or not supporters of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi in his hometown of Sirte will be included in the future political processes of the new Libya; if they are not allowed to vote by local militiamen. At the same time, the fighting between Libyan Arabs and Tebu tribesmen in the Kufra area threatens to prevent any voting

there. Jalil has been warned that the NTC regulations now state that members of the National Army are not allowed to vote or run for office, which is a disincentive for armed militia brigade members to become legitimate soldiers.)

5. This well informed individual believes that despite these flaws, the new government created by the July 7 election will eventually have the mandate to take the difficult decisions that can create a reconciliation process. Jalil will work to maintain order in this transition period, and finally reach his goal of creating a situation where the government can rebuild homes and restore sufficient law and order; allowing those in Sirte, Tawargha, Kufra, and throughout the rest of the country to live in their hometowns, establishing a situation where a true civil society can develop.

6. Jalil, in conversations with the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), and separately with liberal leader Ali Tarhouni, has acknowledged that the central government's top priority must be security and that the NTC has been unable to provide it. That said, Jalil and Minister of Defense Ousama al-Juwali have pledged to provide 30,000 to 40,000 security personnel for election day to prevent similar incidents to the July 1 attack on Benghazi's election headquarters. In that case eastern federalists entered the building, where ballot papers were burned and ballot boxes destroyed. Similarly, these federalist forces are suspected of the attack on July 5 that burned down Ajdabiya's main storage centre for election materials.

7. In the opinion of this individual, although those responsible for the Benghazi attack were pro-federalist, it has not been proven that they were members of the self-appointed Cyrenaican National Council (CNC), whose military arm set up a roadblock in Wadi al-Ahmar on Libya's major east-west highway to demand that Cyrenaica get as many seats in the GNC as Tripolitania. Thus far, neither the CNC nor any other group has publicly stated that they intend to use violence to disrupt the elections. (Note: Under the current system Tripolitania will have 120 seats in the GNC, Cyrenaica (Barqa) 62, and Fezzan in the South 18.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, April 3, 2012 7:17 PM
To: H
Subject: RE: Latest from HRC's contact

Can I call you in 30? Several items.

-----Original Message-----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2012 7:11 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Latest from HRC's contact

Anything to report? I can call now if you're free.

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2012 06:48 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Latest from HRC's contact

FYI

-----Original Message-----

From: Stevens, John C
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2012 6:33 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Cretz, Gene A
Subject: RE: Latest from HRC's contact

Very interesting report. By chance, I met with our insightful [REDACTED] in Benghazi yesterday and we discussed the LMB's electoral prospects. He didn't think they would have a large following b/c they don't have a strong organization and because most Libyans view the LMB as a branch of the Egyptian MB, and Libyans don't want to be ruled by Egypt. He did not mention the interesting point below about the LMB as a counterbalance to the eastern-based Federalists. He did emphasize, though, that the Federalist movement has widespread support in the east and will continue to up the ante with Tripoli, including possibly making a move on the oil production in that part of the country (AGOCO, a large state-owned oil company, is based in Benghazi). -- Chris

B6

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

-----Original Message-----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2012 12:44 PM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Cretz, Gene A; Stevens, John C
Subject: Latest from HRC's contact

Below is the latest report from HRC's contact; would be interested in your reactions.

SOURCE:

Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1.

During the last week of March 2012, the leaders of the National Transitional Council (NTC) regime in Libya discussed the rising popularity and independence of the Libyan Muslim Brotherhood (LMB) in preparation for the national parliamentary elections scheduled for July 2012.

According to a source with direct access to these discussions, President Mustafa Abdel Jalil stated in very direct terms that he sees the emergence of the LMB as a major factor in the upcoming elections, which are already complicated by the Federalist movement for the semi-autonomous status of the historic Eastern Libyan region of Cyrenaica (Barqa in Arabic).

Minister of Defense Ousama al Juwali and Prime Minister Abdurrahim el Keib both believe that the rise of the LMB, which was a relatively minor member of the NTC until November 2011, is, in fact, related to the Federalist movement in Eastern Libya.

According to al Juwali, a native of the Western Libyan region of Zintan, the LMB is drawing strength from people who fear that the Federalist movement in Barqa will result in that region dominating the country, gaining control of an inordinate share of the country's oil and mineral reserves.

For his part, Jalil stated that he agrees with Oil Minister Abdulrahman Ben Yezza that if matters are not resolved by the July elections, the unsettled nature of the political process in Libya will damage the country's image as a business partner and confuse foreign banks and oil firms attempting to open new contacts with the new Libyan Government, or reactivate existing agreements.

2.

According to a sensitive source, while discussing this matter with Dr Abd al-Nasser Shamata, the head of the Crisis Management Unit in the NTC, Prime Minister el Keib stated that the most problematic aspect of the rise of the LMB is the leadership role taken by Islamist militia leader General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj.

In the opinion of this source, the NTC leadership sees Belhaj as one of the greatest threats to the long term success of their regime.

Al Juwali also notes that Belhaj is the head of the founding committee for the LMB's Justice and Construction Party (JCP). As the Federalist movement took hold in early March 2012, al Juwali, under instruction from el Keib and Jalil, met with Belhaj and other Western militia leaders to arrange for their support in the event military force is needed to hold the country together.

Belhaj represented the most effective of the Western militias.

3.

According to the Minister of Defense, this situation with the Federalist movement enhanced Belhaj's prestige at the time he was working to secure a leadership role in the LMB and the JCP.

El Keib and Jalil are concerned that, despite the fact that the LMB has a limited base after years of suppression by the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi, they will appeal to those Libyans who believe that the NTC regime is under the influence of the United States and Western Europe.

The activities of Belhaj in both the LMB and the JCP reinforce this view.

Jalil finds this situation frustrating, particularly in the light of his regular assurances that Libya would operate under Islamic law, and while maintaining appropriate ties to the West, will remain hostile to Israel.

4. (Source Comment:

In a private conversation, Jalil stated that he is working to balance the internal political realities of Libya against the concerns of the international business community.

The President is concerned that the appointment of Ben Yezza as Oil Minister in October 2011 provided the JCP with a tangible concern to use against NTC candidates during the July elections.

After his long experience as a senior official of the Multinational Italian Oil Firm ENI, Ben Yezza is viewed by Belhaj and many members of the LMB as a symbol of the issue they will pursue in the national election, the idea that NTC, like the Qaddafi, regime is corrupt and involved in allowing foreign interests to control the nation's mineral wealth.

That said, Jalil continues to agree with el Keib that Ben Yezza is an excellent administrator, and in the long run will play an important role in effectively managing the nation's mineral wealth.)

5.

According to an extremely sensitive source, Jalil and his advisors have been in contact with Supreme Guide Mohamed Badie, the leader of the much larger and more powerful Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (EMB).

This contact is largely based on the President's need to address reports he has received that the LMB is reaching out to Badie and his advisors for support.

This effort is particularly important given the belief among NTC leaders that the EMB and its Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) will control the Government of Egypt as that country moves to civilian rule later in 2012. In the opinion of this source, Badie is sympathetic to Jalil's position, especially since the Libyan President and el Keib were members of the EMB during their student days in Egypt.

The Supreme Guide will, according to Jalil, work to influence the LMB to establish a cooperative effort with the NTC.

Badie will point out the fact that his ability to cooperate with both the Supreme Council for the Armed Force (SCAF), as well as the Salafist al Nour party, helped establish the EMB as the dominant political force in Egypt, while avoiding high levels of violence.

6.

(Source Comment: An extremely sensitive source within the EMB agreed that Badie and Jalil have spoken in an effort to develop a plan to deal with the LMB.

According to this source, Jalil told Badie that the LMB and the JCP are far more intolerant of foreign business and banking interests than the NTC, and a strong showing in the July elections will strengthen Belhaj and other conservative Islamists, adversely affecting the Libyan economy, which in turn will cause problems for Egypt as it recovers from its own revolution in 2011.

Jalil emphasized that at this point the NTC has managed to avoid violent outbursts between competing groups, even in the face of the Federalist movement in the East, in a region that borders Egypt.

He warned that an LMB/JCP victory might change this and lead to increased violence between rival militias that could wash over into Egypt.)

7.

According to a sensitive source, the LMB has a complex history and Jalil and el Keib believe this past may hold some points which can be used against the Brotherhood and the JCP in the July elections.

The TNTC leaders know that after Qaddafi came to power in 1969, the LMB was repressed and many of its leaders were executed publicly. Eventually the Brotherhood, having reestablished itself in the United States and Europe, entered into a dialogue with the Qaddafi regime 1999, and in 2005 began a series of negotiations with Saif al-Islam Qaddafi, whose goal was to co-opt and neutralize opposition groups, particularly Islamist ones.

8.

According to this individual, Belhaj and the other Islamist leaders mistrusted the LMB during the first months of the 2011 revolution.

However, Belhaj eventually established a working relationship with Fawzi Abu Kitef, the head of the Revolutionary Brigades Coalition in Eastern Libya and the former deputy defense minister in the NTC. Abu Kitef was a leading figure in the LMB who spent more than 18 years in prison, including the notorious facility at Abu Selim. Under Abu Kitef and leaders like Dr. Abdullah Shamia, who was in charge of the economic committee of the NTC, the Brotherhood established itself as a unique group within the Jalil/el Keib regime; serving there until they began to plan for independent political activity in late 2011 and early 2012.

9.

In early 2012, as the relationship between the NTC and Belhaj and the other Islamists deteriorated in the face of regional and ethnic power struggles, the LMB leadership, in coordination with Belhaj began to look at an independent political effort in the parliamentary elections. During its first public conference in Benghazi during November 2011, the LMB elected a new leader, increased its consultative council membership from 11 to 30 leaders, and decided to form a political party; the JCP.

Mohammed Swan, the former head of the Libyan LMB's Consultative Council, won a tight victory over longtime LMB leader Soliman Abd al-Qadr, to become the first leader of the JCP. Bashir al-Kubty was elected General Observer of the LMB.

10. (Source comment: According to an individual with excellent access, the LMB leaders are sensitive to charges that the JCP is a party with a narrow religious agenda, and they encouraged Walid al-Sakran, non-member of the LMB, to compete as a candidate for JCP leadership.

That said Belhaj and other Islamist leaders believe that the LMB is set to follow the electoral path of Islamist success seen in Egypt, Tunisia, and other Arab countries.

Belhaj now believes that the country will move forward under sharia law, administered by the Islamist bloc, including the LMB/JCP

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, March 9, 2012 7:40 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: France & UK behind Libya breakup. Sid
Attachments: hrc libya breakup.france&uk behind split 030812.docx

This one strains credulity. What do you think?

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, March 08, 2012 06:50 PM
To: H
Subject: H: France & UK behind Libya breakup. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

March 8, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: France & UK behind Libya breakup

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During the period between mid-January 2012 to March 2012 officers of the a French General Directorate for External Security (Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure -- DGSE), and the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS--MI-6) activated long standing contacts with tribal and civic leaders in Eastern Libya, in an effort to encourage them to establish a semi-autonomous zone in the historic province of Cyrenaica (Barqa in Arabic). According to extremely knowledgeable sources, this effort was initiated by advisors to French President Nicholas Sarkozy after complaints from concerned French business leaders that the new Libyan Government was not rewarding appropriately French firms for the leading role France played in supporting the 2011 revolution against former Dictator Muammar al Qaddafi. SIS joined in this effort at the instruction of the office of Prime Minister David Cameron. This highly confidential effort comes in response to the inability of the National Transitional Council (NTC) government in Tripoli to organize the country effectively and deal with Western business interests in an effective and efficient manner.

2. The French and British business and intelligence officials believe that a semi-autonomous regime in the Eastern city of Benghazi will be able to organize business opportunities in that region. This in turn will allow these Western firms to initiate new business projects. These same officials believe that there is also reduced threat from Islamist militias in the East. According to a knowledgeable source, French officials believe that this situation is the natural result of el-Keib's failure to organize the country and disarm the ethnic and regional militias who did the majority of the fighting against Qaddafi's forces during the revolution.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, the French Government and business leaders actually expected to receive thirty five (35) per cent of new economic development in Libya after the fall of Qaddafi. Like many Western businessmen, these French officials made informal agreements with former Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril and his advisors, only to see these agreements ignored or delayed when Abdurrahim el-Keib became head of government in October 2011. In their opinion, once el-Keib moved the government from the Eastern city of Benghazi to the national capital at Tripoli, the government became inefficient and inaccessible. These individuals also believe that the

appointment of Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza, who was a long time official of the Italian Oil Company (ENI), was a factor. According to these sources, the bulk of ENI's oil fields are in the Western part of Libya, and Ben Yezza focused his attentions on that region, while failing to effectively organize new business East of Benghazi. These same officials state that the influences of the Western militias, particularly those from the Zintan region, have weakened the influence of the Eastern Elders.)

4. An extremely sensitive source stated that the DGSE and SIS intend to control the move toward a semi-autonomous state under a federal system. However, they have been surprised by el-Keib's intention, expressed both in public and in secret meetings with Minister of Defense Ousama al Juwali, a native of Zintan, to use force to hold the country together. El-Keib is also committed to Ben Yezza, although he is frustrated by the chaotic situation in Tripoli. This atmosphere affects new business for the most part and has been extremely irritating for businessmen from France and other Western countries.

5. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a well placed source with access to the former royal family (al Senussi), while these Western officials are focused on working around the chaotic business situation, they are risking a civil war, failing to recognized the longstanding and complicated relationship between the Eastern and Western parts of the country. Qaddafi, as an absolute dictator, suppressed these differences, which have reemerged with his defeat and death. In addition, el-Keib is talking to old acquaintances in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, in an effort to apply their influence to the Eastern tribal Elders, and help hold the country together.)

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RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, April 8, 2011 5:35 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: UK game playing; new rebel strategists; Egypt moves in. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo UK games; new rebel strategists; Egypt moves 040811.docx

Fyi. [REDACTED]

B5

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, April 08, 2011 05:27 PM
To: H
Subject: H: UK game playing; new rebel strategists; Egypt moves in. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: UK game playing; new rebel strategists; Egypt moves in

Latest report:

LIBYA/GREAT BRITAIN/France

On the morning of April 8, an individual with direct access to the leadership of the Libyan National Council (LNC) stated in strictest confidence that members of the Military Committee of the LNC are concerned that, despite the involvement of NATO against the forces of Muammar Qaddafi, the government of Great Britain is using its intelligence services in an effort to dictate the actions of both the LNC and the Qaddafi regime. These individuals add that they have been informed by contacts in France and Italy that, while they have been engaged in discussions with the LNC regarding possible assistance, British diplomats and intelligence officers have maintained contact with members of the Qaddafi government, in an effort to protect the British position in the event the rebellion settles into a stalemate. These LNC officials believe that the defection of Libyan Minister of Foreign Affairs Mousa Kousa to the United Kingdom was part of this effort. By the same token they believe that British intelligence officers are in discussion with associates of Saif al-Islam Qaddafi, regarding future relations between the two countries if he takes over power from his father and implements reforms.

According to these individuals, senior LNC military personnel suspect that despite early indications that they would provide clandestine military support to the rebels; neither the French nor the British government will provide the rebels with enough equipment and training to defeat Qaddafi's forces. They also believe that the French, British, and other European countries will be satisfied with a stalemate that leaves Libya divided into two rival entities.

(Source Comment: In the opinion of these individuals the LNC military leaders are considering the possibility of hiring private security firms to help train and organize their forces. One of these individuals added that a number of the LNC members believe that this solution may be best for the rebels; noting that if they accept clandestine aid from France and/or Great Britain those two countries will be in a position to control the development of post-Qaddafi Libya.)

LIBYA - INSURGENT ACTIVITY

(This information is based on sensitive reporting from individuals with direct access to the leadership of the LNC.)

1. With little hope of achieving a quick military victory, the LNC is deploying a three part strategy; leveraging tribal relationships, oil production and diplomatic pressure to get the better of Qaddafi. A former spokesman for the Libyan Human Rights League (LHRL) in Europe, Ali Zidane, is in talks with representatives of tribes in Sebha and Sirte in an effort to persuade them to rally to the revolution and the LNC before fighting actually reaches their regions. Zidane is a candidate to be the Minister of the Interior in the "new Libya." Among his close associates is Mohamed Allagui, president of the LHRL, who is interested in the justice portfolio in the future, transition government.

2. At the same time, Ali Tarmouni, the LNC's financial expert and possibly Finance Minister in post-Qaddafi Libya, is struggling to get oil exports back on track in eastern Libya, with backing from the United States and Qatar. The LNC believes that the U.S. will focus on restarting operations at the oil terminal in Tobruk, and an American envoy is expected in Benghazi in the near future to facilitate this process. For its part, Qatar is advancing cash to the LNC to stimulate the shipment of oil from eastern Libya. Some commodity traders stepped in recently (under contract from Qatar) to deliver refined oil products to the insurgents. VITOL and the Swiss firm GLENCORE are operating in the rebel zone, but denied any involvement in this shipment.

Elsewhere, these sources add that Mahmud Shammam is overseeing the information and communications campaign for the rebels against Qaddafi. Considered one of the LNC most important leaders, Shammam brings to the insurgency the expertise he acquired while working for *Voice of America*, *Foreign Policy*, *Newsweek* and *Al Jazeera*. Shammam lived in the U.S. for more than twenty years, and he is believed to have excellent connections in the U.S. Government.

3. **Islamist activity:** Libya's Islamist activists have maintained a low profile since the start of the insurgency in late February; fearing that their activities would give credence to Qaddafi's claims that the rebels are terrorists. As the LNC is taking shape, they are now working to make their voice heard, and influence events within the LNC. Ali Sallabi, Salem Al Shiki and Mohamed Al Guirtili, leading Islamic figures who had taken refuge in London (and are close to the Moslem Brotherhood), drafted a "national pact" which looks like a road map for organizing the role of the Islamist movement in the transition to a post - Qaddafi Libya.

Sallabi and his two associates draw their inspiration from the "February 17 Movement" which helped spark the uprising by commemorating the massacre of Islamist prisoners at the Abu Salim prison in 1996. Prior to the current rebellion, Mustapha Abdel Jalil, the President of the LNC and former Minister of Justice called for the release of reformed Islamists. At present, the Islamists are handicapped by the fact they supported Saif's reform projects before the recent crisis. Saif played a crucial part in getting the Islamists to sever ties between the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group's and al Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).

EGYPT AND LIBYA:

A source with excellent access to the highest levels of the SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE ARMED FORCES (SCAF) states that the Egyptian Military has turned its full attention to the crisis in Libya. Traditionally, Egypt is a strong influence in the eastern Libyan region of Cyrenaica and is now taking advantage of the current crisis to regain that position. Regardless of whether Muammar Qaddafi remains in power or not, the political division of Libya will give Egypt the opportunity to fill the void in the east. A senior diplomatic source reported that since the early days of the Libyan crisis, the Egyptian government has been quietly supporting Libyan opposition forces through training, weaponry, food, and medical supplies, while attempting to organize a political structure in the east. In addition, Egyptian Special Operations troops are serving with rebel forces in the eastern part of Libya. Senior Egyptian military officers stated privately that these troops are responsible for many of the rebel's combat successes.

The following factors are the focus of Egypt's plans for a post-Qaddafi regime:

-Avoiding a refugee crisis. In the event Qaddafi's forces invade the east, Egypt is the most logical destination for refugees from Libyan. Egypt has an interest in controlling any turmoil in Libya that could harm efforts to restart its struggling economy.

-Labor market. Libya is an important market for unemployed Egyptian laborers. According to the Egyptian Labor Ministry, around 1.5 million Egyptians reside and work in Libya, sending home an estimated \$254 million in remittances. In the past few years, Qaddafi has placed heavy restrictions on foreign workers, and Egypt hopes that a new regime will be more flexible, and open to receiving Egyptian workers.

-Radical Islamists. Traditionally, the eastern part of Libya has been a stronghold for radical Islamist groups, including the al Qaida-linked Libyan Islamic Fighting Group. While Qaddafi's regime has been successful in suppressing the jihadist threat in Libya, the current situation opens the door for jihadist resurgence. Egypt has a growing interest in keeping a close eye on jihadist movements in eastern Libya. This is especially true as the Egyptian Military is already

concerned about Islamist militancy overflow from Gaza, after their forces were pulled back to Cairo during the uprising against Mubarak.

-Oil and energy resources. Egypt has strong economic interests in the oil rich eastern part of Libya. Any opportunity to gain direct or indirect access to these energy resources will increase Egypt's wealth.

-Regional power. The Egypt's military-led government is looking to reestablish their country's role in the Arab world. So far, Egypt has fostered discussions in the Palestinian territories between Fatah and Hamas, while reaching out to Syria and Saudi Arabia on the issue of Iran.

(Source Comment: According to a sensitive diplomatic source, the current Egyptian diplomatic strategy is to enhance its stature by defending the Libyan people against Qaddafi's regime, while at the same time, distancing itself from any military intervention led by the region's former colonial powers in Europe.)

It should be noted that, in the opinion of knowledgeable sources, Egypt cannot count on the support of every Arab power in the region. Egypt led the call for imposing the no-fly zone in Libya, while Algeria, while Yemen, and Syria voted against it. These countries (especially Yemen) fear the precedence that would be created for their own governments in the event Qaddafi is ousted.

(Source Comment: A source with access to the leadership of NATO state in confidence that their information indicates that Syria and Algeria are concerned with Egypt's revival in the region. This source stated that a de facto split between eastern and western Libya would give Egypt the opportunity to reassume an influential position in Cyrenaica.)

CONFIDENTIAL

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: UK game playing; new rebel strategists; Egypt moves in

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1. With little hope of achieving a quick military victory, the LNC is deploying a three part strategy; leveraging tribal relationships, oil production and diplomatic pressure to get the better of Qaddafi. A former spokesman for the Libyan Human Rights League (LHRL) in Europe, Ali Zidane, is in talks with representatives of tribes in Sebha and Sirte in an effort to persuade them to rally to the revolution and the LNC before fighting actually reaches their regions. Zidane is a candidate to be the Minister of the Interior in the "new Libya." Among his close associates is Mohamed Allagui, president of the LHRL, who is interested in the justice portfolio in the future, transition government.

2. At the same time, Ali Tarhouni, the LNC's financial expert and possibly Finance Minister in post-Qaddafi Libya, is struggling to get oil exports back on track in eastern Libya, with backing from the United States and Qatar. The LNC believes that the U.S. will focus on restarting operations at the oil terminal in Tobruk, and an American envoy is expected in Benghazi in the near future to facilitate this process. For its part, Qatar is advancing cash to the LNC to stimulate the shipment of oil from eastern Libya. Some commodity traders stepped in recently (under contract from Qatar) to deliver refined oil products to the insurgents. VITOL and the Swiss firm GLENCORE are operating in the rebel zone, but denied any involvement in this shipment.

Elsewhere, these sources add that Mahmud Shammam is overseeing the information and communications campaign for the rebels against Qaddafi. Considered one of the LNC most important leaders, Shammam brings to the insurgency the expertise he acquired while working for *Voice of America*, *Foreign Policy*, *Newsweek* and *Al Jazeera*. Shammam lived in the U.S. for more than twenty years, and he is believed to have excellent connections in the U.S. Government.

3. **Islamist activity:** Libya's Islamist activists have maintained a low profile since the start of the insurgency in late February; fearing that their activities would give credence to Qaddafi's claims that the rebels are terrorists. As the LNC is taking shape, they are now working to make their voice heard, and influence events within the LNC. Ali Sallabi, Salem Al Shiki and Mohamed Al Guirtili, leading Islamic figures who had taken refuge in London (and are close to the Moslem Brotherhood), drafted a "national pact" which looks like a road map for organizing the role of the Islamist movement in the transition to a post - Qaddafi Libya.

Sallabi and his two associates draw their inspiration from the "February 17 Movement" which helped spark the uprising by commemorating the massacre of Islamist prisoners at the Abu Salim prison in 1996. Prior to the current rebellion, Mustapha Abdel Jalil, the President of the LNC and former Minister of Justice called for the release of reformed Islamists. At present, the Islamists are handicapped by the fact they supported Saif's reform projects before the recent crisis. Saif played a crucial part in getting the Islamists to sever ties between the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group's and al Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).

EGYPT AND LIBYA:

A source with excellent access to the highest levels of the SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE ARMED FORCES (SCAF) states that the Egyptian Military has turned its full attention to the crisis in Libya. Traditionally, Egypt is a strong influence in the eastern Libyan region of

Cyrenaica and is now taking advantage of the current crisis to regain that position. Regardless of whether Muammar Qaddafi remains in power or not, the political division of Libya will give Egypt the opportunity to fill the void in the east. A senior diplomatic source reported that since the early days of the Libyan crisis, the Egyptian government has been quietly supporting Libyan opposition forces through training, weaponry, food, and medical supplies, while attempting to organize a political structure in the east. In addition, Egyptian Special Operations troops are serving with rebel forces in the eastern part of Libya. Senior Egyptian military officers stated privately that these troops are responsible for many of the rebel's combat successes.

The following factors are the focus of Egypt's plans for a post-Qaddafi regime:

-Avoiding a refugee crisis. In the event Qaddafi's forces invade the east, Egypt is the most logical destination for refugees from Libya. Egypt has an interest in controlling any turmoil in Libya that could harm efforts to restart its struggling economy.

-Labor market. Libya is an important market for unemployed Egyptian laborers. According to the Egyptian Labor Ministry, around 1.5 million Egyptians reside and work in Libya, sending home an estimated \$254 million in remittances. In the past few years, Qaddafi has placed heavy restrictions on foreign workers, and Egypt hopes that a new regime will be more flexible, and open to receiving Egyptian workers.

-Radical Islamists. Traditionally, the eastern part of Libya has been a stronghold for radical Islamist groups, including the al Qaida-linked Libyan Islamic Fighting Group. While Qaddafi's regime has been successful in suppressing the jihadist threat in Libya, the current situation opens the door for jihadist resurgence. Egypt has a growing interest in keeping a close eye on jihadist movements in eastern Libya. This is especially true as the Egyptian Military is already concerned about Islamist militancy overflow from Gaza, after their forces were pulled back to Cairo during the uprising against Mubarak.

-Oil and energy resources. Egypt has strong economic interests in the oil rich eastern part of Libya. Any opportunity to gain direct or indirect access to these energy resources will increase Egypt's wealth.

-Regional power. The Egypt's military-led government is looking to reestablish their country's role in the Arab world. So far, Egypt has fostered discussions in the Palestinian territories between Fatah and Hamas, while reaching out to Syria and Saudi Arabia on the issue of Iran.

(Source Comment: According to a sensitive diplomatic source, the current Egyptian diplomatic strategy is to enhance its stature by defending the Libyan people against Qaddafi's regime, while at the same time, distancing itself from any military intervention led by the region's former colonial powers in Europe.)

It should be noted that, in the opinion of knowledgeable sources, Egypt cannot count on the support of every Arab power in the region. Egypt led the call for imposing the no-fly zone in Libya, while Algeria, while Yemen, and Syria voted against it. These countries (especially

Yemen) fear the precedence that would be created for their own governments in the event Qaddafi is ousted.

(Source Comment: A source with access to the leadership of NATO state in confidence that their information indicates that Syria and Algeria are concerned with Egypt's revival in the region. This source stated that a de facto split between eastern and western Libya would give Egypt the opportunity to reassume an influential position in Cyrenaica.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, July 4, 2012 7:54 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Libyan elections intel. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo libyan elections intel 070312.docx

More info.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, July 03, 2012 07:08 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Libyan elections intel. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

July 3, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Libyan election

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC) President Mustafa Abdel Jalil expected the final days leading to the July 7, 2012 national elections to be complicated and sometimes violent; however, according to a knowledgeable individual, he is particularly concerned by the level of control exerted by regional militia's and political groups on the electoral process. In the opinion of this individual, Jalil and his advisors believe that, given the level of suspicion and frustration felt in the various parts of the country, it will be difficult for the new 200 seat General National Congress (GNC) to establish its authority, draft a new constitution, and establish new national government. With this in mind, Jalil stated in extreme confidence that the NTC may have to remain in power until the situation becomes stable and a new government is firmly in place. That said he still plans to have interim Prime Minister Abdel Rahman el-Keib step down after the election results have been certified. The NTC will then work with the GNC as it takes shape to choose a new Prime Minister and Cabinet. Jalil would like to keep several ministers from the el-Keib government in the new regime, particularly Minister of Defense Ousama al-Juwali.

2. According to this individual, Jalil wants to maintain a degree of security and stability in an effort to reassure foreign businesses and banks that Libya will not descend into civil war and chaos. At the same time, the NTC must deal with the regional issues that divide the country's three electoral regions: Tripolitania in the West, Cyrenaica (Barqa) in the East, and Fezzan in the South. In the weeks leading up to the election the failure of the NTC to resolve these differences has strengthened the federalist movement in Barqa while antagonizing the tribal leaders in the South. Both groups are calling on their followers to boycott the election while the Southerners are calling for the National Army to withdraw its forces from the area around the town of Kufra, where they are deployed to stop fighting between tribal militias. At the same time, on July 1 federalist supporters attacked electoral offices in Benghazi, protesting the influence of Tripoli and the Western region on the upcoming elections.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a knowledgeable individual, the division of the 200 seats in the GNC lies at the heart of this matter, with 120 seats allotted for the Tripolitania, 60 for Barqa, and 18 for the Fezzan area. At present, the Libyan Muslim Brotherhood (LMB) and its political arm, the Justice and Construction Party (JCP), are attempting to mount a national campaign, receiving discreet advice and technical support from the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (EMB). With this assistance, Jalil is convinced that the JCP is the party that operates most effectively throughout the country. Jalil has established ties to the EMB, from whom he has learned that JCP leader Mohamad Sowan and his associates are working with the leadership of the EMB.)

4. According to his sources, Jalil believes that he can work with Sowan and the LMB/JCP; however, he is concerned that Mohammed Morsi, the newly elected EMB President of Egypt, and EMB Supreme Guide Mohammed Badie are focused on developing Egyptian influence in Libya. Jalil has been informed privately that these EMB leaders want to establish a strong position in Libya, particularly in the oil services sector as part of their effort to improve Egypt's economic situation. Libyan officials in Cairo and Jalil's own associates are warning him that the Egyptians may see the NTC as a potential barrier to their effort and are advising Sowan to press for an early withdrawal of Jalil and the NTC from Libyan politics. For his part, Jalil has attempted to avoid direct conflict with the LMB/JCP, focusing his attention, and that of the el-Keib interim government on trying to deal with the unrest in the period leading up to the national elections.

5. According to a particularly sensitive source, Jalil believes that Sowan will need the assistance of the **Libyan National Party (LNP)**, the Islamist group led by religious scholar Ali al-Salabi and former Islamist militant General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj to gain enough seats to control the GNC. While there are significant personal conflicts between Sowan and Belhaj, Jalil believes that the two groups could work together to gain control of the government. In this case, Jalil believes the new regime would move quickly to oust the NTC, and establish a more conservative Islamist regime. At the same time, since the LNP is a Tripoli based movement, Jalil fears that the tribal federalists in Barqa might react violently to them gaining an important role in the new government. Since the Barqa leaders are urging their followers to boycott the election, a strong role for the LNP in coalition with the LMB/JCB could lead to calls for Barqa to secede from the Libya. (Source Comment: The LNP is dominated by the former leaders of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (Al-Jama'a al-Islamiyyah -LIFG), who, according to sensitive sources, maintained ties to al Qa'ida during their struggle with the forces of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi.)

6. Former interim Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril is leading the **National Forces Alliance (NFA)**, an umbrella coalition of liberal parties that received Western support for efforts to overthrow the regime of Muammar al Qaddafi. While Jibril is not on the list of candidates, his presence in the NFA leadership is seen by Belhaj and other Islamists as an effort by the United States and Western Europe to manipulate the election. Jalil does not believe that the NFA can gain control of enough seats in parliament to play a significant role in the new government. According to this source, Jalil believes that former Oil and Finance Minister Ali Tarhouni also plays an important role in the NFA.

7. At the same time, Jalil is watching the progress of a second moderate party, the National Front (NF), which is based on the work of a 1980s-era anti-Qaddafi exile organization. The party is led by Mohammed al-Magariaf, an exiled intellectual dissident leader from a prominent Eastern Libyan family. Jalil's sources advise that the NF is also backed by the al-Sennusi tribe, the former Libyan royal family, who may be looking to play a role in a semi-autonomous or independent Barqa. One particularly sensitive source noted that many of the NF leaders have ties to the United States, Italy and the United Kingdom, and at one point Jalil believed that the NF might be able to work with the NFA; however, personal differences between the leaders of the two parties made effective cooperation difficult.

8. (Source Comment: In the end, a particularly sensitive source stated in confidence that Jalil believes the LMB/JCB will have a significant role in the new government, possibly supported by the LNP. However; he points out that since accurate polling is nonexistent it is impossible to predict a victor with any accuracy. Jalil also noted that it is quite possible that no group will win a clear victory, which, when added to the boycotts and pre-election violence may require the NTC maintain control of the country for some time to come. Accordingly, he has instructed al-Juwali to prepare to use the National Army to maintain order. For his part Al-Juwali has warned that this will be a difficult task since the best units of the Army, including many of its armored forces are deployed in the Kufra region of the Southeast, in an effort to control tribal conflicts, stem the flow of weapons into the country from South Sudan, and resist Qaddafi loyalists amongst the nomadic tribes of the region.)

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tuesday, February 21, 2012 11:14 PM
To: Jacob J Sullivan
Subject: Fwd: H: Libya, intel, internal conflict over militias. Sid
Attachments: hrc libya militias 022112.docx; ATT00001.htm

Pls review and forward as appropriate.

Sent from my iPad

Begin forwarded message:

From: [REDACTED]
Date: February 21, 2012 10:04:57 PM EST
To: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: H: Libya, intel, internal conflict over militias. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

February 21, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Libya politics to control militias

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. On February 19, 2012, Libyan President Mustafa Abdul Jalil and Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib instructed Minister of the Interior Minister Fawzi Abd Ali and Minister of Defense Osama al Juwali to move as forcefully as possible to deal with armed conflict between the various militias which carried the bulk of fighting during the 2011 revolution against former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi. According to an extremely sensitive source speaking in secret, el-Keib, acting in his role as the head of government, told the two ministers that, if they could not stop the fighting and disarm the militias he would be forced to find ministers who can carry out his orders. Ali and Juwali each stated privately that, while they would follow orders, they have little hope of succeeding in this matter until el-Keib and Jalil gain credibility as the rulers of the country. Ali added that, in his opinion, this situation will persist until a new government is chosen during the national elections planned for later in 2012.

2. In the opinion of this individual, the Prime Minister is particularly concerned by the situation in the Southern portion of the country, where the area defined by the towns of Ghat, Sabha, and al Kufra, where fighting between rival tribal and regional militias has been exacerbated by the activities of Qaddafi loyalists, and their allies, Taureg tribal fighters. This individual added that el-Keib and Jalil agree that the uncertain security situation in this area represents a threat to Libya's future stability. They agreed that, at present, if faced with a concerted effort by either disaffected militiamen or pro-Qaddafi forces government security forces and the new national army would be unable to protect either Libyan citizens or Western businessmen and oil industry workers in the region.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, el-Keib believes that any attack against oil field workers will frighten large Western firms and seriously damage Libya's efforts to recover from the revolution. This individual added that al Juwali is particularly upset with his deputy Minister and Chief of Staff of the Army, General Yousef Mangoush, who he believes has been unable to work with national army ground force commander General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar. A very sensitive source added that the Benghazi based units of the army, under Haftar's direct command, are currently deploying to the area southeast of al-Kufra, along the Sudanese border.)

4. In the opinion of a sensitive source, Haftar and al Juwali believe that the Sudanese military is providing arms and supplies to the pro-Qaddafi forces, under direct orders from Sudanese President Omar al Bashir. El-Keib complained to al-Juwali that Haftar's forces passed through al-Kufra region during early and mid-February on their way to the Sudanese border, however; they did nothing to disarm the local revolutionary militias, or stop the fighting between competing tribal groups. In the opinion of this individual, Haftar felt that the threat from the pro-Qaddafi forces was greater than that posed by the regional and tribal fighting.

5. At the same time, a source with excellent access to the leadership of the National Transitional Council (NTC) stated in secret that fighting continues between regional, tribal, and religious rivals throughout the Northern/Mediterranean portions of the country. This same source added that the ongoing struggle between the Misrata and Zintan militias for control of the area west of Tripoli is particularly violent and disruptive for the rest of the country. In the capital itself, fighting continues between regional groups, the national army, Islamist militias, and criminal street gangs, all of whom are very well armed. This individual reports that during mid-February 2012 el-Keib and Jalil agreed to address the problem of disaffected former militiamen and their families by providing payments of 2,000 Dinars (approximately \$1,500) per month to the families of fighters who were wounded or killed in the revolution.

6. In addition the President and Prime Minister instructed Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam to develop an efficient system to provide assistance funds to unemployed former fighters. For his part, Ziglam privately expressed concern that previous efforts in this regard have met with a high level of fraud. According to the government's best estimates, the revolutionary army included approximately 25,000 combat troops, but it is difficult to identify those with legitimate claims, as no accurate service records were maintained. That said, he stated in private that the government must be seen to take some form of direct action, even if money is paid to fraudulent claimants. The fact is, according to Ziglam, the NTC is losing control of the country and must give something to the veterans of the revolution to slow this process.

7. (Source Comment: Speaking in strictest confidence, a knowledgeable individual stated that al-Juwali is concerned by the possibility that the country may deteriorate into a multi-sided civil war involving the regional militias, Islamist forces and the national army. At the same time, he acknowledges that the new army has lost control of large portions of the southern part of the country, with tribal fighting spilling

over into Mali and Chad. According to this source, al-Juwali is also frustrated by the slow pace of military and police training promised to the various Libyan national security forces by the governments of France and Turkey. He added that, while Turkey has received some of the most seriously wound troops for treatment, the lack of adequate medical care for veterans inside of Libya remains a major source of conflict between the former rebel troops and the NTC government.)

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, August 8, 2011 7:04 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Who killed Younis and why. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo who killed younis 080811.docx; hrc memo who killed younis 080811.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

August 8, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Who killed Younis

SOURCE: Sources with access to the Libyan Transitional National Council as well as Western Intelligence and security services.

During the morning of August 5, 2011 sources with direct access to senior levels of the Libyan Transitional Council (TNC) stated in strictest confidence that the rebel military commander, General Abdel Fatah Younis was executed by security forces on orders from TNC Chairman Mustapha Jalil. According to these sources, in late July 2011 TNC security officers received what they believed to be reliable information that Younis was involved in a secret dialogue with Saif al-Islam Qaddafi, the son of Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi. These discussions involved planning for Younis and Saif al-Islam to establish a government of reconciliation, with Muammar Qaddafi living in internal exile, and the TNC being disbanded in favor of officials, and military officers loyal to Saif and Younis. Jalil ordered Younis' arrest, and once he was in TNC custody instructed security officers to shoot the army commander.

According to these knowledgeable individuals, Jalil and his supporters began disseminating the story that Younis was killed by either pro-Qaddafi forces, or Islamic radicals within the TNC military. There is no indication that rebel Prime Minister Mahmoud Jabril, his senior aid Abdul Hafiz Ghoza, overall military commander General Abdelessalem Jalloud, or Younis replacement as field commander General Khalifa Haftar were involved in the decision to execute Younis.

Younis, was a former senior military officer and Minister of Interior in the Qaddafi regime, who joined the rebels in February 2011, after serving his friend Muammar Qaddafi for over 40 years. When Younis first joined the rebel forces TNC security officers placed him under surveillance, believing that he might have been sent by Qaddafi to infiltrate their ranks. After a variety of loyalty tests he was welcomed into the rebel leadership, however, it now appears that the security officers maintained their coverage of Younis and at some point in early July established his contact with Saif al-Islam Qaddafi.

(Source Comment: Knowledgeable sources state that Jalil and his security forces felt that Younis' actions posed an immediate threat to the TNC and the ongoing revolution. Jalil made the decision to order Younis' arrest and execution rather than submit the matter for debate in the 31 member TNC. To date these sources add that there is no indication that none of the TNC members have challenged Jalil's decision.)

Jalil remains committed to defeating the Qaddafi regime and is unwilling to negotiate with Saif al-Islam, or another representative of Muammar Qaddafi. According to these sources, Jalil believes reports that the Saif – Younis negotiations had at least the tacit support of the governments of the United States, Germany, France, and Russia.

(Source comment: A separate sensitive source noted that Jalil remains highly suspicious of the activities of the four governments, and has privately expressed hostility toward their representatives in TNC capital of Benghazi. That said he is well aware of the fact that he will need the support of the major powers, particularly the United States, to guarantee the future of the TNC government.)

CONFIDENTIAL

August 8, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Who killed Younis

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RELEASE
IN FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tuesday, February 28, 2012 8:29 AM
To: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: From HRC friend

Pls print.

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Friday, February 24, 2012 05:24 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: From HRC friend

Latest from Gene.

----- Original Message -----

From: Cretz, Gene A
Sent: Friday, February 24, 2012 01:13 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Feltman, Jeffrey D
Subject: RE: From HRC friend

I am skeptical that Jalil and al-keeb are capable either by power or by character to deal with the shortcomings of their MinDef and MinInt in this way. The latter 2 are both very powerful by virtue of their Zintan and Misrata roots respectively, and any effort to remove them would have serious blowback. MinInt Fawzi who I saw the other day is clearly way ahead of his colleague in getting the thuwar into the process of registration, the first step hopefully toward DDR. I think everybody here is aware now how difficult the disarming of these militias, which have become de facto real institutions in and of themselves. It is naive to think they can be dissolved by executive fiat. Some positive movement--Jordanians preparing to accept first tranche of 1500 for police training.

There is concern here that continuing rivalries among the militias remains dangerous from the perspective of the havoc they can wreak with their firepower and their continued control of select turf. At the end of the day, I think everybody is coming to the conclusion that the elections will take place in the context of militia control. We hope that a program can be devised to keep them acting responsibly toward the outcome of the election, especially viz the obligations they may well be asked to undertake to keep elections free, and fair and devoid of violence. Always danger of continuing skirmishes but Armageddon predictions a bit overstated.

We are all worried about the situation in Kufra and the clashes between the Arab alZwai tribe and the African tribals the Tebu. This is again a legacy of the Qadhafi era who played on these divisions to keep himself in control. The government believes that the Tebu are being aided from al-Qadhafi elements and perhaps government supporters in Sudan to undermine the TNC. There are some disturbing signs that in fact the TNC may be supporting the dispatch of select militias to deploy down there maybe rpt maybe to "resolve" this ethnic problem as the situation in Tewarga was resolved--i.e., "ethnic cleansing" --We are only at the very beginning stages of seeing whether there is credible evidence on this score--so please rpt please don't raise any flags about it. It would be explosive. I will keep you informed about any info we develop.

No surprise about Heftar--he is extremely angry he lost out on the COS spot so his efforts to undermine the new COS Manqoosh would be fully in line with his character to be big cheese.

The war wounded is a national tragedy. The former group allowed everybody to go abroad and they did to the tune of 800 million dollars. 50,000 Libyans abroad now-15 percent receiving medical treatment. Who do you think the others are? Relatives, frauds, and those who snuck out to get botox and tummy tucks. Senator McCain will rail about our refusal to take thousands of them to the States but the process has been so bungled I think we did as much as we could considering.

-----Original Message-----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wednesday, February 22, 2012 9:11 AM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Cretz, Gene A
Subject: From HRC friend

Here is the latest on Libya. As always, let me know your thoughts.

SOURCE:

Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1.

On February 19, 2012, Libyan President Mustafa Abdul Jalil and Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib instructed Minister of the Interior Minister Fawzi Abd Ali and Minister of Defense Osama al Juwali to move as forcefully as possible to deal with armed conflict between the various militias which carried the bulk of fighting during the 2011 revolution against former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi.

According to an extremely sensitive source speaking in secret, el-Keib, acting in his role as the head of government, told the two ministers that, if they could not stop the fighting and disarm the militias he would be forced to find ministers who can carry out his orders.

Ali and Juwali each stated privately that, while they would follow orders, they have little hope of succeeding in this matter until el-Keib and Jalil gain credibility as the rulers of the country.

Ali added that, in his opinion, this situation will persist until a new government is chosen during the national elections planned for later in 2012.

2.

In the opinion of this individual, the Prime Minister is particularly concerned by the situation in the Southern portion of the country, where the area defined by the towns of Ghat, Sabha, and al Kufra, where fighting between rival tribal and regional militias has been exacerbated by the activities of

Qaddafi loyalists, and their allies, Taureg tribal fighters.

This individual added that el-Keib and Jalil agree that the uncertain security situation in this area represents a threat to Libya's future stability.

They agreed that, at present, if faced with a concerted effort by either disaffected militiamen or pro-Qaddafi forces government security forces and the new national army would be unable to protect either Libyan citizens or Western businessmen and oil industry workers in the region.

3. (Source Comment:

In the opinion of this individual, el-Keib believes that any attack against oil field workers will frighten large Western firms and seriously damage Libya's efforts to recover from the revolution.

This individual added that al Juwali is particularly upset with his deputy Minister and Chief of Staff of the Army, General Yousef Mangoush, who he believes has been unable to work with national army ground force commander General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar.

A very sensitive source added that the Benghazi based units of the army, under Haftar's direct command, are currently deploying to the area southeast of al-Kufra, along the Sudanese border.)

4.

In the opinion of a sensitive source, Haftar and al Juwali believe that the Sudanese military is providing arms and supplies to the pro-Qaddafi forces, under direct orders from Sudanese President Omar al Bashir.

El-Keib complained to al-Juwali that Haftar's forces passed through al-Kufra region during early and mid-February on their way to the Sudanese border, however; they did nothing to disarm the local revolutionary militias, or stop the fighting between competing tribal groups.

In the opinion of this individual, Haftar felt that the threat from the pro-Qaddafi forces was greater than that posed by the regional and tribal fighting.

5.

At the same time, a source with excellent access to the leadership of the National Transitional Council (NTC) stated in secret that fighting continues between regional, tribal, and religious rivals throughout the Northern/Mediterranean portions of the country.

This same source added that the ongoing struggle between the Misrata and Zintan militias for control of the area west of Tripoli is particularly violent and disruptive for the rest of the country.

In the capital itself, fighting continues between regional groups, the national army, Islamist militias, and criminal street gangs, all of whom are very well armed.

This individual reports that during mid-February 2012 el-Keib and Jalil agreed to address the problem of disaffected former militiamen and their families by providing payments of 2,000 Dinars (approximately \$1,500) per month to the families of fighters who were wounded or killed in the revolution.

6.

In addition the President and Prime Minister instructed Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam to develop an efficient system to provide assistance funds to unemployed former fighters.

For his part, Ziglam privately expressed concern that previous efforts in this regard have met with a high level of fraud.

According to the government's best estimates, the revolutionary army included approximately 25,000 combat troops, but it is difficult to identify those with legitimate claims, as no accurate service records were maintained.

That said, he stated in private that the government must be seen to take some form of direct action, even if money is paid to fraudulent claimants.

The fact is, according to Ziglam, the NTC is losing control of the country and must give something to the veterans of the revolution to slow this process.

7. (Source Comment: Speaking in strictest confidence, a knowledgeable individual stated that al-Juwali is concerned by the possibility that the country may deteriorate into a multi-sided civil war involving the regional militias, Islamist forces and the national army.

At the same time, he acknowledges that the new army has lost control of large portions of the southern part of the country, with tribal fighting spilling over into Mali and Chad.

According to this source, al-Juwali is also frustrated by the slow pace of military and police training promised to the various Libyan national security forces by the governments of France and Turkey.

He added that, while Turkey has received some of the most seriously wound troops for treatment, the lack of adequate medical care for veterans inside of Libya remains a major source of conflict between the former rebel troops and the NTC government.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2012 5:29 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: H: latest intel libyan conflicts, leaders & militias. Sid

B6

Happy new year! Talk when you get a chance...

-----Original Message-----

From: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
To: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thu, Jan 5, 2012 5:22 pm
Subject: Re: H: latest intel libyan conflicts, leaders & militias. Sid

B6

Thanks, as always, and Happy New Year!

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2012 12:26 PM
To: H
Subject: H: latest intel libyan conflicts, leaders & militias. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

January 5, 2012

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: Libyan leadership and militias

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During the last week of December 2011, and the first week of 2012, Libya's Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib and President Mustafa Abdul Jalil engaged in a series of emergency planning meetings attempting to deal with specific issues threatening the stability of the new National Transitional Council (NTC) Government. According to extremely sensitive sources speaking in strict confidence, paramount among these issues are the questions of disarming and rewarding the regional militias who bore the majority of the fighting against the regime of Muammar al Qaddafi, as well as the related issue of finding ministers and senior administrators for the new government who are acceptable to these revolutionary forces. These individuals noted that on four occasions, beginning on December 23, 2011, groups of angry militiamen came to el-Keib's office and demanded better

treatment, a clear message of support for the role of Islamic law, and the removal of former Qaddafi advisors from the new government.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib is genuinely concerned that this situation could spiral out of control and threatens the regime. He also suspects that much of the unrest is being stirred by General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his conservative Islamist supporters. By staying out of the new government, Belhaj has established a position from which he can criticize their actions and appointments without concern or control. That said, el - Keib has been told by his contacts in the Moslem Brotherhood (MB) that even Belhaj has been surprised that the unrest in the militias has begun to manifest itself in fighting between groups that previously shared the same goals and operated under Belhaj's loose command. This is particularly true in the case of the increasingly violent conflicts between the Misrata and Zintan regional militias.)

3. In an effort to address these problems el-Keib is making changes in his new administration, removing Minister of Economics Taher Sherkaz, who, as a former economic advisor to Qaddafi, was a particular target of the militiamen. In the opinion of well informed individuals, el-Keib's closest and most influential advisors are experts with economic backgrounds and experience dealing with Western firms and governments. The most influential of this group are Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza, Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, National Oil Company chief Nuri Berrusien, and Ngeb Obeda from the Libyan Stock Exchange.

4. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib and Jalil are also very concerned over growing criticism that these technocrats are puppets of various Western governments and firms. Belhaj and the militiamen appear intent on limiting the influence of these Western entities, using them as a weapon to weaken the el-Keib regime. This trend is also affecting national security, where, despite el-Keib's efforts to maintain a balance between the Islamists, regional commanders, and the national army, a potentially dangerous conflict has arisen over the position of Chief of Staff of the National Army. El-Kieb, according to this individual, believes that he must settle this matter in short order to avoid provoking security concerns among foreign allies and businesses contacts.)

5. According to a knowledgeable individual, in late December 2011 el-Kieb resisted efforts by General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar to establish himself as the Chief of Staff of the National Army. Haftar, who lived in the United States for many years and is believed by Belhaj and others to have a relationship with the U.S. Government, is using his popularity among the officer corps of the regular NTC army to support his claim to be Chief of Staff. This produced heated protests from militia leaders and in late December 2011 el-Keib named deputy Minister of Defense Colonel Yussef al-Mangoush, to be Chief of Staff. In the opinion of one source, this is a problematic choice, since el-Keib is replacing the supposedly pro-American Haftar with al-Mangoush who commanded one of Qaddafi's elite Special Forces units, even after the revolution began. This individual believes that el-Keib's decision was driven by personal animosity toward Haftar, and the influence of Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali. The situation is far from resolved, as Haftar and his supporters, particularly in the Benghazi garrison, continue to claim that the General is the true Chief of Staff. El-Keib and al-Juwali are working to reconcile all of the elements in this conflict as quickly as possible, before the supporters of the two claimants begin fighting. In the meantime, el-Keib has stated in private that he fully expects Belhaj to attack al-Mangoush, but the Prime Minister believes that the Colonel is the only officer strong enough to disarm the militias and avoid a civil war.

6. At the same time, a very sensitive source added that el-Keib and Jalil are attempting to reconcile the fighting between Misrata and Zintan forces in Tripoli by naming Misrata leader Fawzi Abd Ali as Minister of the Interior and al-Juwali, who was commander of the Zintan militia, as Minister of Defense. To date, according to this individual, this effort has met with limited success, as the fighting has continued and the militias are refusing to disarm until their demands regarding living standards are met.

7. (Source Comment: One very sensitive source noted, that el-Keib is aware of the fact that he is running out of time to stabilize the situation in Libya. He believes that if he does not disarm the militias and meet their demands in the next six months there is a good chance of increased fighting

among rival groups that could lead to civil war. In any event, he realizes that the ongoing instability will cause Western governments, firms, and banks, to hesitate before committing themselves to long term relationships with Libya. El-Keib believes that Belhaj and his advisors have made the same judgment, and are waiting to fill any vacuum created by this violence, by establishing a conservative Islamic Republic.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2012 5:16 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: latest intel libyan conflicts, leaders & militias. Sid
Attachments: hrc_memo_libyan_leaders_&_militias_010512.docx

Worrying. Pls distribute and request feedback from Jeff, Cretz, et al.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2012 12:26 PM
To: H
Subject: H: latest intel libyan conflicts, leaders & militias. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

January 5, 2012

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: Libyan leadership and militias

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

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2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib is genuinely concerned that this situation could spiral out of control and threatens the regime. He also suspects that much of the unrest is being stirred by General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his conservative Islamist supporters. By staying out of the new government, Belhaj has established a position from which he can criticize their actions and appointments without concern or control. That said, el -- Keib has been

told by his contacts in the Moslem Brotherhood (MB) that even Belhaj has been surprised that the unrest in the militias has begun to manifest itself in fighting between groups that previously shared the same goals and operated under Belhaj's loose command. This is particularly true in the case of the increasingly violent conflicts between the Misrata and Zintan regional militias.)

3. In an effort to address these problems el-Keib is making changes in his new administration, removing Minister of Economics Taher Sherkaz, who, as a former economic advisor to Qaddafi, was a particular target of the militiamen. In the opinion of well informed individuals, el-Keib's closest and most influential advisors are experts with economic backgrounds and experience dealing with Western firms and governments. The most influential of this group are Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza, Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, National Oil Company chief Nuri Berrusien, and Ngeb Obeda from the Libyan Stock Exchange.

4. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib and Jalil are also very concerned over growing criticism that these technocrats are puppets of various Western governments and firms. Belhaj and the militiamen appear intent on limiting the influence of these Western entities, using them as a weapon to weaken the el-Keib regime. This trend is also affecting national security, where, despite el-Keib's efforts to maintain a balance between the Islamists, regional commanders, and the national army, a potentially dangerous conflict has arisen over the position of Chief of Staff of the National Army. El-Kieb, according to this individual, believes that he must settle this matter in short order to avoid provoking security concerns among foreign allies and businesses contacts.)

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7. (Source Comment: One very sensitive source noted, that el-Keib is aware of the fact that he is running out of time to stabilize the situation in Libya. He believes that if he does not disarm the militias and meet their demands in the next six months there is a good chance of increased fighting among rival groups that could lead to civil war. In any event, he realizes that the ongoing instability will cause Western governments, firms, and banks, to hesitate before committing themselves to long term relationships with Libya. El-Keib believes that Belhaj and his advisors have made the same judgment, and are waiting to fill any vacuum created by this violence, by establishing a conservative Islamic Republic.)

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7. (Source Comment: One very sensitive source noted, that el-Keib is aware of the fact that he is running out of time to stabilize the situation in Libya. He believes that if he does not disarm the militias and meet their demands in the next six months there is a good chance of increased fighting among rival groups that could lead to civil war. In any event, he realizes that the ongoing instability will cause Western governments, firms, and banks, to hesitate before committing themselves to long term relationships with Libya. El-Keib believes that Belhaj and his advisors have made the same judgment, and are waiting to fill any vacuum created by this violence, by establishing a conservative Islamic Republic.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Monday, May 2, 2011 11:08 AM
To: 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: UBL, AQ & Libya. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo bin laden, aq & libya.docx

Pls print.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, May 02, 2011 09:12 AM
To: H
Subject: H: UBL, AQ & Libya. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

May 2, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Bin Laden, AQ & Libya

Latest report:

During the early morning of May 2, 2011 sources with access to the leadership of the Libyan rebellion's ruling Transitional National Council (TNC) stated in confidence that they are concerned that the death of al Qa'ida leader Osama Bin Laden will inspire al Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) to use weapons they have obtained, which were originally intended for the rebels in Libya, to retaliate against the United States and its allies for this attack in Pakistan. These individuals fear that the use of the weapons in this manner will complicate the TNC's relationship with NATO and the United States, whose support is vital to them in their struggle with the forces of Muammar al Qaddafi. In this regard they are concerned that U.S. officials will believe reports, often created by the Tripoli Government, regarding the degree of influence exercised by AQIM on the TNC.

These individuals note that the TNC officials are reacting to reports received during the week of April 25 from their own sources of information, the French General Directorate for External Security (DGSE), and British external intelligence service (MI-6), stating that AQIM has acquired about 10 SAM 7- Grail/Streela man-portable air-defense systems (MANPADS or MPADS) from illegal weapons markets in Western Niger and Northern Mali. These weapons were originally intended for sale to the rebel forces in Libya, but AQIM operatives were able to meet secretly with these arms dealers and purchase the equipment. The acquisition of these sophisticated weapons creates a serious threat to air traffic in Southern Morocco, Algeria, Northern Mali, Western Niger, and Eastern Mauritania.

(Source Comment: According to very sensitive sources, the Libyan rebels are concerned that AQIM may also obtain SPIGOTT wire-guided anti-tank missiles and an unspecified number of Russian anti-tank mines made of plastic and undetectable by anti-mine equipment. This equipment again was coming through Niger and Mali, and was intended for the rebels in Libya. They note that AQIM is very strong in this region of Northwest Africa.)

In the opinion of these knowledgeable individuals, Libyan rebel commanders are also concerned that the death of Bin Laden comes at a time when sensitive information indicates that the leaders of AQIM are planning to launch attacks across North Africa and Europe in an effort to reassert their relevance during the ongoing upheavals in Libya, as well as the rest of North Africa and the Middle East. They believe the first step in this campaign was the April 30 bombing of a café in Marrakesh, Morocco that is frequented by Western tourists. These individuals point out that AQIM also maintains a wide reach in Europe.

The TNC leaders are also concerned that, with the death of Saif al-Arab Qaddafi, the youngest son of Muammar Qaddafi, the Tripoli Government may pursue retaliation against the United States and its Western allies through surrogate terrorist groups, particularly Hezbollah. While the deaths of Bin Laden and Saif al-Arab are completely unrelated, two separate and very dangerous groups will now be looking for revenge against the U.S. and its allies.

(Source Comment: These knowledgeable sources believe that the leaders of the TNC are also worried about the reaction to the death of Bin Laden among rebel fighters and their supporters in Libya and Egypt, where the al Qa'ida leader was very popular. These TNC officials do not want the death of Bin Laden to affect their relations with the West or their support from NATO, the U.S., France, or Great Britain.)

CONFIDENTIAL

May 2, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Bin Laden, AQ & Libya

Latest report:

During the early morning of May 2, 2011 sources with access to the leadership of the Libyan rebellion's ruling Transitional National Council (TNC) stated in confidence that they are concerned that the death of al Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden will inspire al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) to use weapons they have obtained, which were originally intended for the rebels in Libya, to retaliate against the United States and its allies for this attack in Pakistan. These individuals fear that the use of the weapons in this manner will complicate the TNC's relationship with NATO and the United States, whose support is vital to them in their struggle with the forces of Muammar al Qaddafi. In this regard they are concerned that U.S. officials will believe reports, often created by the Tripoli Government, regarding the degree of influence exercised by AQIM on the TNC.

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(Source Comment: These knowledgeable sources believe that the leaders of the TNC are also worried about the reaction to the death of Bin Laden among rebel fighters and their supporters in Libya and Egypt, where the al Qaeda leader was very popular. These TNC officials do not want the death of Bin Laden to affect their relations with the West or their support from NATO, the U.S., France, or Great Britain.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, June 3, 2011 1:54 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Cc: 'JilotyLC@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: New memo: Q's secret bid to UK. Sid

Jake--fyi

Lauren--pls print.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, June 03, 2011 12:37 PM
To: H
Subject: H: New memo: Q's secret bid to UK. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

June 3, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Q's secret bid to UK

On the morning of June 2, 2011 sensitive sources with access to the advisors to Muammar Qaddafi's son, Saif al-Islam, stated in strict confidence that the Libyan government has opened extremely complicated negotiations with the government of the United Kingdom (UK) in an effort to obtain their support in reaching a ceasefire agreement with the rebels of the Libyan Transitional National Council (TNC), allowing the Qaddafi's to maintain some level of control in the country.

This initiative is directed by Saif al-Islam and, according to these sensitive sources, the Libyans have asked the UK officials to broker a deal with the TNC that will allow some form of power sharing, with the possibility of Saif al-Islam acting as head of state and the TNC members making up a substantial portion of the cabinet in a new government. Under the plan Muammar Qaddafi would be allowed to leave the country and go into exile with no danger of indictment on charges of human rights abuses and corruption by Libyan or international courts.

(Source Comment: In the opinion of these sensitive sources, this initiative reflects the concern of the Qaddafi government that as a result of continuing NATO air raids against their forces, they can no longer defeat the

rebel army. They add that there has been no firm response from the UK government, and the initial discussions have been conducted by officers of the British Special Intelligence Service (SIS / MI-6). In the opinion of these same sources the initial idea of these talks may have been raised by former Libyan Foreign Minister Mousa Kousa, after his arrival in London in late March 2011.)

According to these sensitive sources, Saif al-Islam and his advisors realize that there is little chance the TNC will agree to such an offer, and that SIS may be using this contact as a means of collecting intelligence while protecting British interests in Libya. Notwithstanding this concern, in the opinion of these individuals, Saif al-Islam believes that introducing the possibility of a ceasefire and the subsequent negotiations may create divisions within NATO and weaken their military operations against Qaddafi's forces.

(Source Comment: These sources add that many of Saif al-Islam's advisors do not know if, or to what extent, the UK Government has shared knowledge of this initiative with the governments of the United States and the other NATO allies.)

At the same time, sources with access to the operations of the TNC military committee state privately that on June 1, 2011 Libyan intelligence officers detonated a car bomb outside the Tibesti Hotel in the TNC capital of Benghazi. One person was injured in the blast and a number of nearby vehicles were damaged. TNC security officers occupied the hotel and the surrounding area immediately after the attack, but were not able to identify any of the attackers. The Tibesti Hotel is an important landmark in the heart of Benghazi and is used by the TNC government, as well by foreign journalists and diplomats. Hotel security has been heightened in the hours following the attack and all foreign residents are under surveillance by TNC security officers, looking for suspicious activities and contacts.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, January 9, 2012 12:37 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: HRC friend

FYI latest.

From: Cretz, Gene A
Sent: Monday, January 09, 2012 10:10 AM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: RE: HRC friend

jeff thanks for reminding me. The Al-Keab government is clearly facing many crises, the major one being the inability so far to implement what appeared to be fairly detailed plans by Minister of Interior Fauzi and Minister of Defense Juwaili to incorporate 25k thuwar each (total 75k) into the security forces, armed forces and into the private sector (jobs, training, education). the main obstacles appear to be inability to implement plans by any of the GOL ministers so far and lack of funds although we hope there will be a solution to that soon. Also, none of the militias appears willing to budge without seeing some proof that others are also willing to do so.

I am not sure about HRC contact ascribing these problems mainly to Bel-Haj, whose star we believed had fallen over the past several weeks. The Islamists are demanding their share of the political pie like everyone else-no more and no less. I met with a Libyan contact yesterday who had just met with an Islamist-led militiaman from Zintan. The leader of this group demanded that women's role be inscribed in the constitution as per Sharia'-if that did not happen this guy threatened to take up arms again. Sarkis-the new but now deposed Economy Minister is an example of the power of the street and different voices clamoring for different things. He was a technocrat whom we dealt with in the past but because of the perception that he was "part of the old regime" he had to go even though al-Keab regretted the decision since Sarkis was an able technocrat. So, the bottom line is that the disarming and reintegration of the militias is not going as well as we would have liked though the Minister of Interior told me on the margins of the PM discussion with DDCI Morrell today that things on that score were going "well." One positive ray of light is that Tripoli Local Council reps told us today that they had begun registering thuwar to determine which of the three possible categories they could stream into. Another disturbing trend which may be happening is the emergence of organized crime perhaps fueled by old regime elements including Snussi and al-Baghdadi. According to [REDACTED] MOI sources have expressed real concern about an unholy alliance of former Qadhafi loyalists, criminals who escaped from prison, and odd assortments of different thuwar. They are apparently getting money, terrorizing the cities by night and engaging in human trafficking, drugs, gunrunning and alcohol backed by old regime money. The motivation would be economic and political (creating chaos and undermining stability). Our Legatt reps will meet with the e the Brits tomorrow to see if we can respond to MOI request for help in training a team to deal with this possible new and troubling phenomenon. Not sure whether this crime phenomenon is connected to the murder of my good friend Hugo deSamie, a french businessman who had been involved in deals with the old regime and was back trying his hand with the new group.

B6

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It is not clear whether he will survive given the intense pressure the PM is coming under from the eastern Obeidi tribes-they want one of theirs in the position as compensation for the murder of Yusuf Obeidi.

B5

So bottom line, there is ferment and things are not progressing as fast and as far as we would like. But let's not panic yet-the PM is well-intentioned and the ministers are able people if they can get the means to implement their plans. I told the PM today that we could help in various areas and that we could be as discrete as need be in light of his formidable political vulnerabilities. By the way, he may be planning to visit Washington and NY end of January-early February period.

From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Mon 1/9/2012 2:35 PM

To: Cretz, Gene A
Subject: FW: HRC friend

Gene, if you responded to Jake, could you forward me your response? I'd be interested.

Jeffrey Feltman
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Department of State
202-647-7209

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Friday, January 06, 2012 3:25 AM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Cretz, Gene A
Cc: Burns, William J
Subject: HRC friend

Another friend of HRC's offers the following assessment/report from a source. HRC interested in your views.

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During the last week of December 2011, and the first week of 2012, Libya's Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib and President Mustafa Abdul Jalil engaged in a series of emergency planning meetings attempting to deal with specific issues threatening the stability of the new National Transitional Council (NTC) Government. According to extremely sensitive sources speaking in strict confidence, paramount among these issues are the questions of disarming and rewarding the regional militias who bore the majority of the fighting against the regime of Muammar al Qaddafi, as well as the related issue of finding ministers and senior administrators for the new government who are acceptable to these revolutionary forces. These individuals noted that on four occasions, beginning on December 23, 2011, groups of angry militiamen came to el-Keib's office and demanded better treatment, a clear message of support for the role of Islamic law, and the removal of former Qaddafi advisors from the new government.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib is genuinely concerned that this situation could spiral out of control and threatens the regime. He also suspects that much of the unrest is being stirred by General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his conservative Islamist supporters. By staying out of the new government, Belhaj has established a position from which he can criticize their actions and appointments without concern or control. That said, el - Keib has been told by his contacts in the Moslem Brotherhood (MB) that even Belhaj has been surprised that the unrest in the militias has begun to manifest itself in fighting between groups that previously shared the same goals and operated under Belhaj's loose command. This is particularly true in the case of the increasingly violent conflicts between the Misrata and Zintan regional militias.)

3. In an effort to address these problems el-Keib is making changes in his new administration, removing Minister of Economics Taher Sherkaz, who, as a former economic advisor to Qaddafi, was a particular target of the militiamen. In the opinion of well informed individuals, el-Keib's closest and most influential advisors are experts with economic backgrounds and experience dealing with Western firms and governments. The most influential of this group are Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza, Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, National Oil Company chief Nuri Berrusien, and Ngeb Obeda from the Libyan Stock Exchange.

4. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib and Jalil are also very concerned over growing criticism that these technocrats are puppets of various Western governments and firms. Belhaj and the militiamen appear intent on limiting the influence of these Western entities, using them as a weapon to weaken the el-Keib regime. This trend is also affecting national security, where, despite el-Keib's efforts to maintain a balance between the Islamists, regional commanders, and the national army, a potentially dangerous conflict has arisen over the position of Chief of Staff of the National Army. El-Kieb, according to this individual, believes that he must settle this matter in short order to avoid provoking security concerns among foreign allies and businesses contacts.)

5. According to a knowledgeable individual, in late December 2011 el-Kieb resisted efforts by General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar to establish himself as the Chief of Staff of the National Army. Haftar, who lived in the

United States for many years and is believed by Belhaj and others to have a relationship with the U.S. Government, is using his popularity among the officer corps of the regular NTC army to support his claim to be Chief of Staff. This produced heated protests from militia leaders and in late December 2011 el-Keib named deputy Minister of Defense Colonel Yussef al-Mangoush, to be Chief of Staff. In the opinion of one source, this is a problematic choice, since el-Keib is replacing the supposedly pro-American Haftar with al-Mangoush who commanded one of Qaddafi's elite Special Forces units, even after the revolution began. This individual believes that el-Keib's decision was driven by personal animosity toward Haftar, and the influence of Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali. The situation is far from resolved, as Haftar and his supporters, particularly in the Benghazi garrison, continue to claim that the General is the true Chief of Staff. El-Keib and al-Juwali are working to reconcile all of the elements in this conflict as quickly as possible, before the supporters of the two claimants begin fighting. In the meantime, el-Keib has stated in private that he fully expects Belhaj to attack al-Mangoush, but the Prime Minister believes that the Colonel is the only officer strong enough to disarm the militias and avoid a civil war.

6. At the same time, a very sensitive source added that el-Keib and Jalil are attempting to reconcile the fighting between Misrata and Zintan forces in Tripoli by naming Misrata leader Fawzi Abd Ali as Minister of the Interior and al-Juwali, who was commander of the Zintan militia, as Minister of Defense. To date, according to this individual, this effort has met with limited success, as the fighting has continued and the militias are refusing to disarm until their demands regarding living standards are met.

7. (Source Comment: One very sensitive source noted, that el-Keib is aware of the fact that he is running out of time to stabilize the situation in Libya. He believes that if he does not disarm the militias and meet their demands in the next six months there is a good chance of increased fighting among rival groups that could lead to civil war. In any event, he realizes that the ongoing instability will cause Western governments, firms, and banks, to hesitate before committing themselves to long term relationships with Libya. El-Keib believes that Belhaj and his advisors have made the same judgment, and are waiting to fill any vacuum created by this violence, by establishing a conservative Islamic Republic.)

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, April 23, 2012 8:40 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Latest from HRC friend

FYI

From: Stevens, John C
Sent: Monday, April 23, 2012 7:00 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Cretz, Gene A; Feltman, Jeffrey D
Subject: RE: Latest from HRC friend

Jake- Interesting report. Gene is closer to the action and I defer to him on the latest Jalil-ian thinking and machinations vis-à-vis the cabinet and TNC. I hadn't heard about ENI-related corruption but I wouldn't be surprised.

On the federalism issue, Jalil is right to be concerned about eastern agitation for autonomy. A cabinet change won't solve that problem, though. Nor will recruiting Belhaj and Islamist fighters to take on the Barqans. To the contrary, it would only lead to unwanted bloodshed -- the large Obeidi tribe still nurses a serious grudge against Belhaj and his ilk for the Islamists' presumed role in killing their beloved Gen. Yunis last July and would probably put up a fierce fight.

The cabinet and TNC need to have a serious discussion with the Barqans -- if they aren't already doing so -- about how power and resources are to be distributed in the new Libya. The Libyans held similarly heated debates on this very topic in the early 1950s as they held their first parliamentary elections and drafted their constitution (there were actually violent skirmishes in connection with those elections, and Washington delayed the arrival of the first US ambassador until after things had calmed down). Hopefully the current leadership can negotiate these issues peaceably in the coming months. Of course, we and the UN and our other partners should encourage them to do so.

- Chris

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Monday, April 23, 2012 5:31 PM
To: Stevens, John C; Cretz, Gene A; Feltman, Jeffrey D
Subject: Latest from HRC friend

Let me know your thoughts:

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. On April 17, 2012 Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC) President Mustafa Abdel Jalil stated to a close advisor that he is considering when, or even if, to hold a vote of no confidence in the NTC regarding support for the government of Prime Minister Abdel Rahman al-Keib. According to a source with access to the NTC leadership, Jalil realizes that a majority of the Council members no longer support el-Keib and his cabinet of Western educated technical experts. Jalil continues to believe that, for the moment, the most important issue facing the NTC is the federalist movement toward a semi-autonomous state in the Eastern region of Cyrenaica (Barqa in Arabic). This situation continues to complicate the NTC efforts to stabilize the country. With this in mind, Jalil expressed concern that a dramatic vote of no confidence for el-Keib will weaken the entire NTC by association. Instead, according to this source, Jalil is considering delaying a decision, possibly putting it off until an elected legislature is in place in the late summer or early fall of 2012.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, the NTC has been able to reach a temporary understanding with the eastern federalists, allowing the separatists to administer their local regions, while deferring to the NTC for national and international issues. The complicating factor at this point lies in reaching a determination regarding who has authority over new contracts with oil companies and other international firms. As of the week of April 16, 2012, no decision has been reached on this point. The bulk of the NTC leadership is drawn from Barqa, and Jalil now believes they can control the situation if they can establish an organized central government. In particular, Jalil, according to a sensitive source, is increasingly confident that the eastern roots of the NTC will allow him to balance the federalist movement against the need for a sense of national unity. In the opinion of this source, el-Keib's future depends on Jalil's opinion of his capacity to deal with this complex situation.)

3. Minister of Defense Ousama al Juwali is viewed by Jalil as the most important western Libyan in el-Keib's cabinet, and the President and the leaders of the NTC had hoped that he would be able to deal with the confused security situation in Tripoli. However, while he did receive assurances from General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj regarding possible assistance from his Islamist troops if fighting broke out between the National Army and the militia's loyal to the eastern federalists. Unfortunately, from Jalil's point of view, this effort seems to have emboldened Belhaj and heightened tension between the eastern and western portions of the country. According to this source, after reviewing the federalist problem, Dr Abd al-Nasser Shamata, the head of the Crisis Management for the NTC, believes that el-Keib, al Juwali, Oil Minister Abdulrahman Ben Yezza, and the bulk of the cabinet should be replaced by people drawn from within the NTC, individuals who are in touch with the concerns of the Libyan people of all tribes and political groups. In the opinion of this source Jalil is factoring this position into his decision on el-Keib.

4. Regarding the existing relationships with international oil firms, Shamata told Jalil that for the most part the existing fields are continuing to produce and the owners have worked out security arrangements with local political and tribal leaders. However, since el-Keib and Ben Yezza have been unable to bring order to the national administration, it is difficult for firms to initiate new projects, since it is not clear who has the authority or the desire to sign such agreements. Shamata stated forcefully that the Prime Minister, whoever he is, must establish an orderly administration before full advantage can be gained from the oil fields. In the meantime, Shamata warns that his office has found evidence of corruption between local officials and international firms. In this regard, he stated that local representatives of the Italian national oil firm (ENI) have made problematic arrangements with local officials in the western part of the country, where their oil fields are located. He added that most of these ENI employees are Libyans, but he believes ENI management in Italy is aware of this situation. Shamata pointed out, without additional comment, that Ben Yezza is a long time senior official of ENI.

5. In the opinion this source, Shamata and Jalil are not planning to publicize these charges regarding ENI, at least until they decide how best to move forward on el-Keib, whether to allow the Prime Minister more time to address his problems, proceed with the vote of no confidence or quietly ask him to step down on his own.

6. (Source Comment: According to this source, el-Keib is under fire primarily as a result of his failure to bring order to the National Army, disarm independent militias, and establish security throughout the country. The leading opposition to el-Keib is based in the Political Issues committee of the NTC, and as many as 42 of the 73 active NTC members will vote against el-Keib if Jalil brings this matter to a vote. The source warns that these numbers are provided by members of this Political committee, who may have their own agenda. A two thirds majority is required for the no confidence vote, however; several senior members of the NTC are reluctant to take such a step until a constituent assembly has been elected. They do not want this to look like the decision of a small group of people.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2012 12:26 PM
To: H
Subject: H: latest intel libyan conflicts, leaders & militias. Sid
Attachments: hrc_memo_libyan_leaders_&_militias_010512.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

January 5, 2012

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: Libyan leadership and militias

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During the last week of December 2011, and the first week of 2012, Libya's Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib and President Mustafa Abdul Jalil engaged in a series of emergency planning meetings attempting to deal with specific issues threatening the stability of the new National Transitional Council (NTC) Government. According to extremely sensitive sources speaking in strict confidence, paramount among these issues are the questions of disarming and rewarding the regional militias who bore the majority of the fighting against the regime of Muammar al Qaddafi, as well as the related issue of finding ministers and senior administrators for the new government who are acceptable to these revolutionary forces. These individuals noted that on four occasions, beginning on December 23, 2011, groups of angry militiamen came to el-Keib's office and demanded better treatment, a clear message of support for the role of Islamic law, and the removal of former Qaddafi advisors from the new government.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib is genuinely concerned that this situation could spiral out of control and threatens the regime. He also suspects that much of the unrest is being stirred by General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his conservative Islamist supporters. By staying out of the new government, Belhaj has established a position from which he can criticize their actions and appointments without concern or control. That said, el - Keib has been told by his contacts in the Moslem Brotherhood (MB) that even Belhaj has been surprised that the unrest in the militias has begun to manifest itself in fighting between groups that previously shared the same goals and operated under Belhaj's loose command. This is particularly true in the case of the increasingly violent conflicts between the Misrata and Zintan regional militias.)

3. In an effort to address these problems el-Keib is making changes in his new administration, removing Minister of Economics Taher Sherkaz, who, as a former economic advisor to Qaddafi, was a

told by his contacts in the Moslem Brotherhood (MB) that even Belhaj has been surprised that the unrest in the militias has begun to manifest itself in fighting between groups that previously shared the same goals and operated under Belhaj's loose command. This is particularly true in the case of the increasingly violent conflicts between the Misrata and Zintan regional militias.)

3. In an effort to address these problems el-Keib is making changes in his new administration, removing Minister of Economics Taher Sherkaz, who, as a former economic advisor to Qaddafi, was a particular target of the militiamen. In the opinion of well informed individuals, el-Keib's closest and most influential advisors are experts with economic backgrounds and experience dealing with Western firms and governments. The most influential of this group are Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza, Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, National Oil Company chief Nuri Berrusien, and Ngeb Obeda from the Libyan Stock Exchange.

4. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib and Jalil are also very concerned over growing criticism that these technocrats are puppets of various Western governments and firms. Belhaj and the militiamen appear intent on limiting the influence of these Western entities, using them as a weapon to weaken the el-Keib regime. This trend is also affecting national security, where, despite el-Keib's efforts to maintain a balance between the Islamists, regional commanders, and the national army, a potentially dangerous conflict has arisen over the position of Chief of Staff of the National Army. El-Kieb, according to this individual, believes that he must settle this matter in short order to avoid provoking security concerns among foreign allies and businesses contacts.)

5. According to a knowledgeable individual, in late December 2011 el-Kieb resisted efforts by General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar to establish himself as the Chief of Staff of the National Army. Haftar, who lived in the United States for many years and is believed by Belhaj and others to have a relationship with the U.S. Government, is using his popularity among the officer corps of the regular NTC army to support his claim to be Chief of Staff. This produced heated protests from militia leaders and in late December 2011 el-Keib named deputy Minister of Defense Colonel Yussef al-Mangoush, to be Chief of Staff. In the opinion of one source, this is a problematic choice, since el-Keib is replacing the supposedly pro-American Haftar with al-Mangoush who commanded one of Qaddafi's elite Special Forces units, even after the revolution began. This individual believes that el-Keib's decision was driven by personal animosity toward Haftar, and the influence of Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali. The situation is far from resolved, as Haftar and his supporters, particularly in the Benghazi garrison, continue to claim that the General is the true Chief of Staff. El-Keib and al-Juwali are working to reconcile all of the elements in this conflict as quickly as possible, before the supporters of the two claimants begin fighting. In the meantime, el-Keib has stated in private that he fully expects Belhaj to attack al-Mangoush, but the Prime Minister believes that the Colonel is the only officer strong enough to disarm the militias and avoid a civil war.

6. At the same time, a very sensitive source added that el-Keib and Jalil are attempting to reconcile the fighting between Misrata and Zintan forces in Tripoli by naming Misrata leader Fawzi Abd Ali as Minister of the Interior and al-Juwali, who was commander of the Zintan militia, as Minister of Defense. To date, according to this individual, this effort has met with limited success, as the fighting has continued and the militias are refusing to disarm until their demands regarding living standards are met.

7. (Source Comment: One very sensitive source noted, that el-Keib is aware of the fact that he is running out of time to stabilize the situation in Libya. He believes that if he does not disarm the militias and meet their demands in the next six months there is a good chance of increased fighting among rival groups that could lead to civil war. In any event, he realizes that the ongoing instability will cause Western governments, firms, and banks, to hesitate before committing themselves to long term relationships with Libya. El-Keib believes that Belhaj and his advisors have made the same judgment, and are waiting to fill any vacuum created by this violence, by establishing a conservative Islamic Republic.)

CONFIDENTIAL

January 5, 2012

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: Libyan leadership and militias

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During the last week of December 2011, and the first week of 2012, Libya's Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib and President Mustafa Abdul Jalil engaged in a series of emergency planning meetings attempting to deal with specific issues threatening the stability of the new National Transitional Council (NTC) Government. According to extremely sensitive sources speaking in strict confidence, paramount among these issues are the questions of disarming and rewarding the regional militias who bore the majority of the fighting against the regime of Muammar al Qaddafi, as well as the related issue of finding ministers and senior administrators for the new government who are acceptable to these revolutionary forces. These individuals noted that on four occasions, beginning on December 23, 2011, groups of angry militiamen came to el-Keib's office and demanded better treatment, a clear message of support for the role of Islamic law, and the removal of former Qaddafi advisors from the new government.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib is genuinely concerned that this situation could spiral out of control and threatens the regime. He also suspects that much of the unrest is being stirred by General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his conservative Islamist supporters. By staying out of the new government, Belhaj has established a position from which he can criticize their actions and appointments without concern or control. That said, el - Keib has been told by his contacts in the Moslem Brotherhood (MB) that even Belhaj has been surprised that the unrest in the militias has begun to manifest itself in fighting between groups that previously shared the same goals and operated under Belhaj's loose command. This is particularly true in the case of the increasingly violent conflicts between the Misrata and Zintan regional militias.)

3. In an effort to address these problems el-Keib is making changes in his new administration, removing Minister of Economics Taher Sherkaz, who, as a former economic advisor to Qaddafi, was a particular target of the militiamen. In the opinion of well informed individuals, el-Keib's closest and most influential advisors are experts with economic

backgrounds and experience dealing with Western firms and governments. The most influential of this group are Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza, Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, National Oil Company chief Nuri Berrusien, and Ngeb Obeda from the Libyan Stock Exchange.

4. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib and Jalil are also very concerned over growing criticism that these technocrats are puppets of various Western governments and firms. Belhaj and the militiamen appear intent on limiting the influence of these Western entities, using them as a weapon to weaken the el-Keib regime. This trend is also affecting national security, where, despite el-Keib's efforts to maintain a balance between the Islamists, regional commanders, and the national army, a potentially dangerous conflict has arisen over the position of Chief of Staff of the National Army. El-Kieb, according to this individual, believes that he must settle this matter in short order to avoid provoking security concerns among foreign allies and businesses contacts.)

5. According to a knowledgeable individual, in late December 2011 el-Kieb resisted efforts by General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar to establish himself as the Chief of Staff of the National Army. Haftar, who lived in the United States for many years and is believed by Belhaj and others to have a relationship with the U.S. Government, is using his popularity among the officer corps of the regular NTC army to support his claim to be Chief of Staff. This produced heated protests from militia leaders and in late December 2011 el-Keib named deputy Minister of Defense Colonel Yussef al-Mangoush, to be Chief of Staff. In the opinion of one source, this is a problematic choice, since el-Keib is replacing the supposedly pro-American Haftar with al-Mangoush who commanded one of Qaddafi's elite Special Forces units, even after the revolution began. This individual believes that el-Keib's decision was driven by personal animosity toward Haftar, and the influence of Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali. The situation is far from resolved, as Haftar and his supporters, particularly in the Benghazi garrison, continue to claim that the General is the true Chief of Staff. El-Keib and al-Juwali are working to reconcile all of the elements in this conflict as quickly as possible, before the supporters of the two claimants begin fighting. In the meantime, el-Keib has stated in private that he fully expects Belhaj to attack al-Mangoush, but the Prime Minister believes that the Colonel is the only officer strong enough to disarm the militias and avoid a civil war.

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7. (Source Comment: One very sensitive source noted, that el-Keib is aware of the fact that he is running out of time to stabilize the situation in Libya. He believes that if he does not disarm the militias and meet their demands in the next six months there is a good chance of increased fighting among rival groups that could lead to civil war. In any event, he realizes that the ongoing instability will cause Western governments, firms, and banks, to hesitate before committing themselves to long term relationships with Libya. El-Keib believes that Belhaj and his advisors have made the same judgment, and are waiting to fill any vacuum created by this violence, by establishing a conservative Islamic Republic.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tuesday, July 17, 2012 7:16 AM
To: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Libyan elections intel. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo libyan elections intel 070312.docx

Pls print.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, July 03, 2012 07:08 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Libyan elections intel. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

July 3, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Libyan election

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC) President Mustafa Abdel Jalil expected the final days leading to the July 7, 2012 national elections to be complicated and sometimes violent; however, according to a knowledgeable individual, he is particularly concerned by the level of control exerted by regional militia's and political groups on the electoral process. In the opinion of this individual, Jalil and his advisors believe that, given the level of suspicion and frustration felt in the various parts of the country, it will be difficult for the new 200 seat General National Congress (GNC) to establish its authority, draft a new constitution, and establish new national government. With this in mind, Jalil stated in extreme confidence that the NTC may have to remain in power until the situation becomes stable and a new government is firmly in place. That said he still plans to have interim Prime Minister Abdel Rahman el-Keib step down after the election results have been certified. The NTC will then work with the GNC as it takes shape to choose a new Prime Minister and Cabinet. Jalil would like to keep several ministers from the el-Keib government in the new regime, particularly Minister of Defense Ousama al-Juwali.

2. According to this individual, Jalil wants to maintain a degree of security and stability in an effort to reassure foreign businesses and banks that Libya will not descend into civil war and chaos. At the same time, the NTC must deal with the regional issues that divide the country's three electoral regions: Tripolitania in the West, Cyrenaica (Barqa) in the East, and Fezzan in the South. In the weeks leading up to the election the failure of the NTC to resolve these differences has strengthened the federalist movement in Barqa while antagonizing the tribal leaders in the South. Both groups are calling on their followers to boycott the election while the Southerners are calling for the National Army to withdraw its forces from the area around the town of Kufra, where they are deployed to stop fighting between tribal militias. At the same time, on July 1 federalist supporters attacked electoral offices in Benghazi, protesting the influence of Tripoli and the Western region on the upcoming elections.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a knowledgeable individual, the division of the 200 seats in the GNC lies at the heart of this matter, with 120 seats allotted for the Tripolitania, 60 for Barqa, and 18 for the Fezzan area. At present, the Libyan Muslim Brotherhood (LMB) and its political arm, the Justice and Construction Party (JCP), are attempting to mount a national campaign, receiving discreet advice and technical support from the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (EMB). With this assistance, Jalil is convinced that the JCP is the party that operates most effectively throughout the country. Jalil has established ties to the EMB, from whom he has learned that JCP leader Mohamad Sowan and his associates are working with the leadership of the EMB.)

4. According to his sources, Jalil believes that he can work with Sowan and the LMB/JCP; however, he is concerned that Mohammed Morsi, the newly elected EMB President of Egypt, and EMB Supreme Guide Mohammed Badie are focused on developing Egyptian influence in Libya. Jalil has been informed privately that these EMB leaders want to establish a strong position in Libya, particularly in the oil services sector as part of their effort to improve Egypt's economic situation. Libyan officials in Cairo and Jalil's own associates are warning him that the Egyptians may see the NTC as a potential barrier to their effort and are advising Sowan to press for an early withdrawal of Jalil and the NTC from Libyan politics. For his part, Jalil has attempted to avoid direct conflict with the LMB/JCP, focusing his attention, and that of the el-Keib interim government on trying to deal with the unrest in the period leading up to the national elections.

5. According to a particularly sensitive source, Jalil believes that Sowan will need the assistance of the **Libyan National Party (LNP)**, the Islamist group led by religious scholar Ali al-Salabi and former Islamist militant General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj to gain enough seats to control the GNC. While there are significant personal conflicts between Sowan and Belhaj, Jalil believes that the two groups could work together to gain control of the government. In this case, Jalil believes the new regime would move quickly to oust the NTC, and establish a more conservative Islamist regime. At the same time, since the LNP is a Tripoli based movement, Jalil fears that the tribal federalists in Barqa might react violently to them gaining an important role in the new government. Since the Barqa leaders are urging their followers to boycott the election, a strong role for the LNP in coalition with the LMB/JCB could lead to calls for Barqa to secede from the Libya. (Source Comment: The LNP is dominated by the former leaders of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (Al-Jama'a al-Islamiyyah -LIFG), who, according to sensitive sources, maintained ties to al Qa'ida during their struggle with the forces of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi.)

6. Former interim Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril is leading the **National Forces Alliance (NFA)**, an umbrella coalition of liberal parties that received Western support for efforts to overthrow the regime of Muammar al Qaddafi. While Jibril is not on the list of candidates, his presence in the NFA leadership is seen by Belhaj and other Islamists as an effort by the United States and Western Europe to manipulate the election. Jalil does not believe that the NFA can gain control of enough seats in parliament to play a significant role in the new government. According to this source, Jalil believes that former Oil and Finance Minister Ali Tarhouni also plays an important role in the NFA.

7. At the same time, Jalil is watching the progress of a second moderate party, the National Front (NF), which is based on the work of a 1980s-era anti-Qaddafi exile organization. The party is led by Mohammed al-Magariaf, an exiled intellectual dissident leader from a prominent Eastern Libyan family. Jalil's sources advise that the NF is also backed by the al-Sennusi tribe, the former Libyan royal family, who may be looking to play a role in a semi-autonomous or independent Barqa. One particularly sensitive source noted that many of the NF leaders have ties to the United States, Italy and the United Kingdom, and at one point Jalil believed that the NF might be able to work with the NFA; however, personal differences between the leaders of the two parties made effective cooperation difficult.

8. (Source Comment: In the end, a particularly sensitive source stated in confidence that Jalil believes the LMB/JCB will have a significant role in the new government, possibly supported by the LNP. However, he points out that since accurate polling is nonexistent it is impossible to predict a victor with any accuracy. Jalil also noted that it is quite possible that no group will win a clear victory, which, when added to the boycotts and pre-election violence may require the NTC maintain control of the country for some time to come. Accordingly, he has instructed al-Juwali to prepare to use the National Army to maintain order. For his part Al-Juwali has warned that this will be a difficult task since the best units of the Army, including many of its armored forces are deployed in the Kufra region of the Southeast, in an effort to control tribal conflicts, stem the flow of weapons into the country from South Sudan, and resist Qaddafi loyalists amongst the nomadic tribes of the region.)

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From: Sid
Re: Libyan election

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, May 2, 2011 9:12 AM
To: H
Subject: H: UBL, AQ & Libya. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo bin laden, aq & libya.docx; hrc memo bin laden, aq & libya.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

May 2, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Bin Laden, AQ & Libya

Latest report:

During the early morning of May 2, 2011 sources with access to the leadership of the Libyan rebellion's ruling Transitional National Council (TNC) stated in confidence that they are concerned that the death of al Qa'ida leader Osama Bin Laden will inspire al Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) to use weapons they have obtained, which were originally intended for the rebels in Libya, to retaliate against the United States and its allies for this attack in Pakistan. These individuals fear that the use of the weapons in this manner will complicate the TNC's relationship with NATO and the United States, whose support is vital to them in their struggle with the forces of Muammar al Qaddafi. In this regard they are concerned that U.S. officials will believe reports, often created by the Tripoli Government, regarding the degree of influence exercised by AQIM on the TNC.

These individuals note that the TNC officials are reacting to reports received during the week of April 25 from their own sources of information, the French General Directorate for External Security (DGSE), and British external intelligence service (MI-6), stating that AQIM has acquired about 10 SAM 7- Grail/Streela man-portable air-defense systems (MANPADS or MPADS) from illegal weapons markets in Western Niger and Northern Mali. These weapons were originally intended for sale to the rebel forces in Libya, but AQIM operatives were able to meet secretly with these arms dealers and purchase the equipment. The acquisition of these sophisticated weapons creates a serious threat to air traffic in Southern Morocco, Algeria, Northern Mali, Western Niger, and Eastern Mauritania.

(Source Comment: According to very sensitive sources, the Libyan rebels are concerned that AQIM may also obtain SPIGOTT wire-guided anti-tank missiles and an unspecified number of Russian anti-tank mines made of plastic and undetectable by anti-mine equipment. This equipment again was coming through Niger and Mali, and was intended for the rebels in Libya. They note that AQIM is very strong in this region of Northwest Africa.)

In the opinion of these knowledgeable individuals, Libyan rebel commanders are also concerned that the death of Bin Laden comes at a time when sensitive information indicates that the leaders of AQIM are planning to launch attacks across North Africa and Europe in an effort to reassert their relevance during the ongoing upheavals in Libya, as well as the rest of North Africa and the Middle East. They believe the first step in this campaign was the April 30 bombing of a café in Marrakesh, Morocco that is frequented by Western tourists. These individuals point out that AQIM also maintains a wide reach in Europe.

The TNC leaders are also concerned that, with the death of Saif al-Arab Qaddafi, the youngest son of Muammar Qaddafi, the Tripoli Government may pursue retaliation against the United States and its Western allies through surrogate terrorist groups, particularly Hezbollah. While the deaths of Bin Laden and Saif al-Arab are completely unrelated, two separate and very dangerous groups will now be looking for revenge against the U.S. and its allies.

(Source Comment: These knowledgeable sources believe that the leaders of the TNC are also worried about the reaction to the death of Bin Laden among rebel fighters and their supporters in Libya and Egypt, where the al Qa'ida leader was very popular. These TNC officials do not want the death of Bin Laden to affect their relations with the West or their support from NATO, the U.S., France, or Great Britain.)

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These individuals note that the TNC officials are reacting to reports received during the week of April 25 from their own sources of information, the French General Directorate for External Security (DGSE), and British external intelligence service (MI-6), stating that AQIM has acquired about 10 SAM 7- Grail/Streela man-portable air-defense systems (MANPADS or MPADS) from illegal weapons markets in Western Niger and Northern Mali. These weapons were originally intended for sale to the rebel forces in Libya, but AQIM operatives were able to meet secretly with these arms dealers and purchase the equipment. The acquisition of these sophisticated weapons creates a serious threat to air traffic in Southern Morocco, Algeria, Northern Mali, Western Niger, and Eastern Mauritania.

(Source Comment: According to very sensitive sources, the Libyan rebels are concerned that AQIM may also obtain SPIGOTT wire-guided anti-tank missiles and an unspecified number of Russian anti-tank mines made of plastic and undetectable by anti-mine equipment. This equipment again was coming through Niger and Mali, and was intended for the rebels in Libya. They note that AQIM is very strong in this region of Northwest Africa.)

In the opinion of these knowledgeable individuals, Libyan rebel commanders are also concerned that the death of Bin Laden comes at a time when sensitive information indicates that the leaders of AQIM are planning to launch attacks across North Africa and Europe in an effort to reassert their relevance during the ongoing upheavals in Libya, as well as the rest of North Africa and the Middle East. They believe the first step in this campaign was the April 30 bombing of a café in Marrakesh, Morocco that is frequented by Western tourists. These individuals point out that AQIM also maintains a wide reach in Europe.

The TNC leaders are also concerned that, with the death of Saif al-Arab Qaddafi, the youngest son of Muammar Qaddafi, the Tripoli Government may pursue retaliation against the United States and its Western allies through surrogate terrorist groups, particularly Hezbollah. While the deaths of Bin Laden and Saif al-Arab are completely unrelated, two separate and very dangerous groups will now be looking for revenge against the U.S. and its allies.

(Source Comment: These knowledgeable sources believe that the leaders of the TNC are also worried about the reaction to the death of Bin Laden among rebel fighters and their supporters in Libya and Egypt, where the al Qaeda leader was very popular. These TNC officials do not want the death of Bin Laden to affect their relations with the West or their support from NATO, the U.S., France, or Great Britain.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, April 5, 2012 9:08 AM
To: H
Subject: FW: Latest from HRC's contact

FYI

-----Original Message-----

From: Cretz, Gene A
Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2012 7:50 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Stevens, John C
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Subject: RE: Latest from HRC's contact

Jake: I have been reading this over and over and it just seemed a bit odd to me. I finally figured out that I think the source has somehow confused two Bel-Hajs: One is our boy who accused us and the Brits of rendition-Abdul Hakim Bel-Haj and a second one is Lamin Bel Haj, an Islamist leader who I believe had previously I believe somehow been involved in Sudan but was now back in his native Libya. The latter is the head of the JCP and MB. The former is of the former LIFG and now the Libyan Islamist Movement for Change and the premier Western Brigade commander whose group had control over Matega Airport for several months after October 23 and who tried to make himself the Supreme Military Council Commander of Tripoli before the TNC leadership stepped in several months ago. Let me try to untangle this and see if any of it jibes with the reality we are seeing.

-----Original Message-----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wednesday, April 04, 2012 12:49 AM
To: Stevens, John C
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Cretz, Gene A
Subject: RE: Latest from HRC's contact

Thanks -- I will share this with S.

-----Original Message-----

From: Stevens, John C
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2012 6:33 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Cretz, Gene A
Subject: RE: Latest from HRC's contact

Very interesting report. By chance, I met with our insightful [REDACTED] in Benghazi yesterday and we discussed the LMB's electoral prospects. He didn't think they would have a large following b/c they don't have a strong organization and because most Libyans view the LMB as a branch of the Egyptian MB, and Libyans don't want to be ruled by Egypt. He did not mention the interesting point below about the LMB as a counterbalance to the eastern-based Federalists. He did emphasize, though, that the Federalist movement has widespread support in the east and will continue to up the ante with Tripoli, including possibly making a move on the oil production in that part of the country (AGOCO, a large state-owned oil company, is based in Benghazi). -- Chris

B6

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

-----Original Message-----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2012 12:44 PM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Cretz, Gene A; Stevens, John C
Subject: Latest from HRC's contact

Below is the latest report from HRC's contact; would be interested in your reactions.

SOURCE:

Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1.

During the last week of March 2012, the leaders of the National Transitional Council (NTC) regime in Libya discussed the rising popularity and independence of the Libyan Muslim Brotherhood (LMB) in preparation for the national parliamentary elections scheduled for July 2012.

According to a source with direct access to these discussions, President Mustafa Abdel Jalil stated in very direct terms that he sees the emergence of the LMB as a major factor in the upcoming elections, which are already complicated by the Federalist movement for the semi-autonomous status of the historic Eastern Libyan region of Cyrenaica (Barqa in Arabic).

Minister of Defense Ousama al Juwail and Prime Minister Abdurrahim el Keib both believe that the rise of the LMB, which was a relatively minor member of the NTC until November 2011, is, in fact, related to the Federalist movement in Eastern Libya.

According to al Juwail, a native of the Western Libyan region of Zintan, the LMB is drawing strength from people who fear that the Federalist movement in Barqa will result in that region dominating the country, gaining control of an inordinate share of the country's oil and mineral reserves.

For his part, Jalil stated that he agrees with Oil Minister Abdulrahman Ben Yezza that if matters are not resolved by the July elections, the unsettled nature of the political process in Libya will damage the country's image as a business partner and confuse foreign banks and oil firms attempting to open new contacts with the new Libyan Government, or reactivate existing agreements.

2.

According to a sensitive source, while discussing this matter with Dr Abd al-Nasser Shamata, the head of the Crisis Management Unit in the NTC, Prime Minister el Keib stated that the most problematic aspect of the rise of the LMB is the leadership role taken by Islamist militia leader General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj.

In the opinion of this source, the NTC leadership sees Belhaj as one of the greatest threats to the long term success of their regime.

Al Juwail also notes that Belhaj is the head of the founding committee for the LMB's Justice and Construction Party (JCP). As the Federalist movement took hold in early March 2012, al Juwail, under instruction from el Keib and Jalil, met with Belhaj and other Western militia leaders to arrange for their support in the event military force is needed to hold the country together.

Belhaj represented the most effective of the Western militias.

3.

According to the Minister of Defense, this situation with the Federalist movement enhanced Belhaj's prestige at the time he was working to secure a leadership role in the LMB and the JCP.

El Keib and Jalil are concerned that, despite the fact that the LMB has a limited base after years of suppression by the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi, they will appeal to those Libyans who believe that the NTC regime is under the influence of the United States and Western Europe.

The activities of Belhaj in both the LMB and the JCP reinforce this view.

Jalil finds this situation frustrating, particularly in the light of his regular assurances that Libya would operate under Islamic law, and while maintaining appropriate ties to the West, will remain hostile to Israel.

4. (Source Comment:

In a private conversation, Jalil stated that he is working to balance the internal political realities of Libya against the concerns of the international business community.

The President is concerned that the appointment of BenYezza as Oil Minister in October 2011 provided the JCP with a tangible concern to use against NTC candidates during the July elections.

After his long experience as a senior official of the Multinational Italian Oil Firm ENI, Ben Yezza is viewed by Belhaj and many members of the LMB as a symbol of the issue they will pursue in the national election, the idea that NTC, like the Qaddafi, regime is corrupt and involved in allowing foreign interests to control the nation's mineral wealth.

That said, Jalil continues to agree with el Keib that Ben Yezza is an excellent administrator, and in the long run will play an important role in effectively managing the nation's mineral wealth.)

5.

According to an extremely sensitive source, Jalil and his advisors have been in contact with Supreme Guide Mohamed Badie, the leader of the much larger and more powerful Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (EMB).

This contact is largely based on the President's need to address reports he has received that the LMB is reaching out to Badie and his advisors for support.

This effort is particularly important given the belief among NTC leaders that the EMB and its Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) will control the Government of Egypt as that country moves to civilian rule later in 2012. In the opinion of this source, Badie is sympathetic to Jalil's position, especially since the Libyan President and el Keib were members of the EMB during their student days in Egypt.

The Supreme Guide will, according to Jalil, work to influence the LMB to establish a cooperative effort with the NTC.

Badie will point out the fact that his ability to cooperate with both the Supreme Council for the Armed Force (SCAF), as well as the Salafist al Nour party, helped establish the EMB as the dominant political force in Egypt, while avoiding high levels of violence.

6.

(Source Comment: An extremely sensitive source within the EMB agreed that Badie and Jalil have spoken in an effort to develop a plan to deal with the LMB.

According to this source, Jalil told Badie that the LMB and the JCP are far more intolerant of foreign business and banking interests than the NTC, and a strong showing in the July elections will strengthen Belhaj and other conservative Islamists, adversely affecting the Libyan economy, which in turn will cause problems for Egypt as it recovers from its own revolution in 2011.

Jalil emphasized that at this point the NTC has managed to avoid violent outbursts between competing groups, even in the face of the Federalist movement in the East, in a region that borders Egypt.

He warned that an LMB/JCP victory might change this and lead to increased violence between rival militias that could wash over into Egypt.)

7.

According to a sensitive source, the LMB has a complex history and Jalil and el Keib believe this past may hold some points which can be used against the Brotherhood and the JCP in the July elections.

The TNTC leaders know that after Qaddafi came to power in 1969, the LMB was repressed and many of its leaders were executed publicly. Eventually the Brotherhood, having reestablished itself in the United States and Europe, entered into a dialogue with the Qaddafi regime 1999, and in 2005 began a series of negotiations with Saif al-Islam Qaddafi, whose goal was to co-opt and neutralize opposition groups, particularly Islamist ones.

8.

According to this individual, Belhaj and the other Islamist leaders mistrusted the LMB during the first months of the 2011 revolution.

However, Belhaj eventually established a working relationship with Fawzi Abu Kitef, the head of the Revolutionary Brigades Coalition in Eastern Libya and the former deputy defense minister in the NTC. Abu Kitef was a leading figure in the LMB who spent more than 18 years in prison, including the notorious facility at Abu Selim. Under Abu Kitef and leaders like Dr. Abdullah Shamia, who was in charge of the economic committee of the NTC, the Brotherhood established itself as a unique group within the Jalil/el Keib regime; serving there until they began to plan for independent political activity in late 2011 and early 2012.

9.

In early 2012, as the relationship between the NTC and Belhaj and the other Islamists deteriorated in the face of regional and ethnic power struggles, the LMB leadership, in coordination with Belhaj began to look at an independent political effort in the parliamentary elections. During its first public conference in Benghazi during November 2011, the

LMB elected a new leader, increased its consultative council membership from 11 to 30 leaders, and decided to form a political party; the JCP.

Mohammed Swan, the former head of the Libyan LMB's Consultative Council, won a tight victory over longtime LMB leader Soliman Abd al-Qadr, to become the first leader of the JCP. Bashir al-Kubty was elected General Observer of the LMB.

10. (Source comment: According to an individual with excellent access, the LMB leaders are sensitive to charges that the JCP is a party with a narrow religious agenda, and they encouraged Walid al-Sakran, non-member of the LMB, to compete as a candidate for JCP leadership.

That said Belhaj and other Islamist leaders believe that the LMB is set to follow the electoral path of Islamist success seen in Egypt, Tunisia, and other Arab countries.

Belhaj now believes that the country will move forward under sharia law, administered by the Islamist bloc, including the LMB/JCP

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, March 9, 2012 9:21 AM
To: H
Subject: RE: H: France & UK behind Libya breakup. Sid

Definitely. I can share around if you like, but it seems like a thin conspiracy theory.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, March 09, 2012 7:40 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: H: France & UK behind Libya breakup. Sid

This one strains credulity. What do you think?

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, March 08, 2012 06:50 PM
To: H
Subject: H: France & UK behind Libya breakup. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

March 8, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: France & UK behind Libya breakup

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During the period between mid-January 2012 to March 2012 officers of the a French General Directorate for External Security (Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure -- DGSE), and the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS--MI-6) activated long standing contacts with tribal and civic leaders in Eastern Libya, in an effort to encourage them to establish a semi-autonomous zone in the historic province of Cyrenaica (Barqa in Arabic). According to extremely knowledgeable sources, this effort was initiated by advisors to French President Nicholas Sarkozy after complaints from concerned French business leaders that the new Libyan Government was not rewarding appropriately French firms for the leading role France played in supporting the 2011 revolution against former Dictator Muammar al Qaddafi. SIS joined in this effort at the instruction of the office of Prime Minister David Cameron. This highly confidential effort comes in response to the inability of the National Transitional Council (NTC) government in Tripoli to organize the country effectively and deal with Western business interests in an effective and efficient manner.

2. The French and British business and intelligence officials believe that a semi-autonomous regime in the Eastern city of Benghazi will be able to organize business opportunities in that region. This in turn will allow these Western firms to initiate new business projects. These same officials believe that there is also reduced threat from Islamist militias in the East. According to a knowledgeable source, French officials believe that this situation is the natural result of el-Keib's failure to organize the country and disarm the ethnic and regional militias who did the majority of the fighting against Qaddafi's forces during the revolution.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, the French Government and business leaders actually expected to receive thirty five (35) per cent of new economic development in Libya after the fall of Qaddafi. Like many Western businessmen, these French officials made informal agreements with former Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril and his advisors, only to see these agreements ignored or delayed when Abdurrahim el-Keib became head of government in October 2011. In their opinion, once el-Keib moved the government from the Eastern city of Benghazi to the national capital at Tripoli, the government became inefficient and inaccessible. These individuals also believe that the appointment of Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza, who was a long time official of the Italian Oil Company (ENI), was a factor. According to these sources, the bulk of ENI's oil fields are in the Western part of Libya, and Ben Yezza focused his attentions on that region, while failing to effectively organize new business East of Benghazi. These same officials state that the influences of the Western militias, particularly those from the Zintan region, have weakened the influence of the Eastern Elders.)

4. An extremely sensitive source stated that the DGSE and SIS intend to control the move toward a semi-autonomous state under a federal system. However, they have been surprised by el-Keib's intention, expressed both in public and in secret meetings with Minister of Defense Ousama al Juweli, a native of Zintan, to use force to hold the country together. El-Keib is also committed to Ben Yezza, although he is frustrated by the chaotic situation in Tripoli. This atmosphere affects new business for the most part and has been extremely irritating for businessmen from France and other Western countries.

5. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a well placed source with access to the former royal family (al Senussi), while these Western officials are focused on working around the chaotic business situation, they are risking a civil war, failing to recognize the longstanding and complicated relationship between the Eastern and Western parts of the country. Qaddafi, as an absolute dictator, suppressed these differences, which have reemerged with his defeat and death. In addition, el-Keib is talking to old acquaintances in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, in an effort to apply their influence to the Eastern tribal Elders, and help hold the country together.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From:
Sent: Thursday, March 3, 2011 9:45 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Latest: How Syria is aiding Qaddafi and more... Sid
Attachments: hrc memo syria aiding libya 030311.docx; hrc memo syria aiding libya 030311.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

March 3, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Syria aiding Qaddafi

This memo has two parts. Part one is the report that Syria is providing air support for Qaddafi. Part two is a note to Cody from Lord David Owen, former UK foreign secretary on his views of an increasingly complex crisis. It seems that the situation is developing into a protracted civil war with various nations backing opposing sides with unforeseen consequences. Under these circumstances the crucial challenge is to deprive Qaddafi of his strategic depth—his support both financial and military.

I. Report

During the afternoon of March 3, advisers to Muammar Qaddafi stated privately that the Libyan Leader has decided that civil war is inevitable, pitting troops and mercenary troops loyal to him against the rebel forces gathering around Benghazi. Qaddafi is convinced that these rebels are being supported by the United States, Western Europe and Israel. On March 2 Qaddafi told his son Saif al-Islam that he believes the intelligence services of the United States, Great Britain, Egypt, and France have deployed paramilitary officers to Benghazi to assist in organizing, training, and equipping opposition forces. Qaddafi is convinced that the National Libyan Council (NLC), and its leader, former Minister of Justice Mustafa Mohamed Abdel Galil have been chosen by the foreign powers to replace him. On March 1 advisors to Qaddafi stated that

Qaddafi's cousin, Col. Ali Qaddafiddam had failed in efforts to recruit fighters among the Egyptian population living immediately across the border with Libya.

These individuals added that during the week of February 21 the Libyan Leader spoke to Syrian President Bashir al-Assad on at least three occasions by secure telephone lines. During the conversations Qaddafi asked that Syrian officers and technicians currently training the Libyan Air Force be placed under command of the Libyan Army and allowed to fight against the rebel forces.

(Source Comment: Senior Libyan Army officers still loyal to Qaddafi added that On February 23, President Assad told General **Isam Hallaq**, the commander in chief of the Syrian Air Force, to instruct the pilots and technicians in Tripoli to help the Libyan regime, should full scale Civil War breaks out in the immediate future.)

On March 2, a military officer with ties to Qaddafi's son Khamis stated privately that the number of Libyan pilots defecting to the opposition has destroyed the morale and professional spirit of the Libyan Air Force at this critical moment, when Tripoli's air superiority is its principal weapon against insurgents. In the opinion of this individual Qaddafi and his senior military advisors are convinced that the **European Union** and the U.S will impose a no-fly zone over Libya in the immediate future. These advisors believe that the no fly zone will serve as air support for opposition forces. They are also prepared for the Western allies to bomb anti-aircraft facilities in and around Tripoli in preparation for the establishment of the no-fly zone. Foreign Minister Mousa Koussa is convinced that that Russia and Turkey will oppose the move, and may prevent the implementation of the no fly zone.

The Syrian soldiers in Libya are part of a mission established in 1984 following the signing of a military agreement between Qaddafi and Syria's long-time ruler and Bashir's father, **Hafez al-Assad**, in the presence of General **Soubhi Haddad**, who was the commander in chief of the Air Force at the time. Both Air Forces are equipped with Russian materiel and have had long-standing, close links with Moscow.

II. Note from David Owen, former UK foreign secretary

In exchange for Syria's help, Libya provided financial support to the Syrian state, including funds in support of operations carried out by the Syrian intelligence services in Lebanon. Libyan money helped Hafez al-Assad bribe his brother **Rifaat**, the author of an attempted *coup d'etat* in 1983, to leave the country and go into exile in Spain and France, where he has remained ever since.

According to individuals with access to the Syrian military, Damascus has also sent a second team of pilots and technicians to Tripoli. These are lower-ranking officers loyal to the regime who are specialized in flying helicopters. Before their departure for Tripoli on February 23, they met with General Allaq and General **Jamil Hasan**, head of Air Force's Intelligence.

(Source Comment: During the afternoon of 3 March, an associate of Saif al-Islam Qaddafi stated that he and the Libyan leaders other family members were concerned over the announcement of Jose Luis Moreno-Ocampo, chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC), announced that he was investigating Qaddafi, his sons Khamis, the commander of the 32 battalion, and Montasem, as well as the head of Gadhafi's personal security detail, the Director-General of the External Security Organization (Abuzaid Dorda), the spokesman of the regime (Musa Ibrahim), and the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Mousa Kousa). This source added that Saif al-Islam had said that Qaddafi himself found the announcement amusing.)

From: **Lord Owen**

Cody,

Realistically the UN will not authorise a no fly zone while Gaddafi continues to hold off bombing and strafing but keeping it up front and on the military agenda keeps him worried. Yet for a few frustrating months that ambivalence kept the Serbian aeroplanes on the ground before we acted. My hope is that preparations continue with visuals of planes flying off carriers, airborne early warning planes flying and people with clout outside the Administration demanding preparations. But and it is a big BUT what else can and should we be doing? Encourage humanitarian ships and convoys from Egypt to bring in supplies since we must ensure the cities in the East can hold up living standards, maybe for months. More adventurous, Egyptian Special Forces to go in and advise, even supplying hand held missiles. It appears they have few missiles; the military in the East having been deliberately kept ill-equipped. There is old Nasserite sentiment for a Federation of Egypt, Sudan and Libya. I know some will say Egypt has enough problems and they should stay resolutely focused on domestic reforms. It is delicate but words alone and the balance of advantage will slip to Gaddafi. A Gaddafi victory is possible and needs to be weighed in the balance now when deciding what to do.

I'm more worried than I am ready to say publicly.

Yours
David

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Monday, January 23, 2012 1:41 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: V good intel internal Libya. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo libya internal strife 012312.docx

Fyi, as usual distribute as you determine.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, January 23, 2012 12:11 PM
To: H
Subject: H: V good intel internal Libya. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

January 23, 2012

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: Libya internal strife

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. On the evening of January 22, 2012, according to an official with access to the leadership of the National Transitional Government (NTC), Libyan President Mustafa Abdul Jalil spoke at length with Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib, stating in a heated exchange that el-Keib's government must take the steps necessary to address the complaints of the demobilized fighters from the 2011 revolution. Jalil pointed out that the new government has been discussing this situation since it was formed in October 2011, and matters have now reached a crisis point, with a group of more than 2,000 disgruntled veterans, supported by students, attacking the NTC offices in Benghazi on January 21, destroying computer equipment and NTC files. These demonstrators, some of whom threw Molotov cocktails at the NTC headquarters building, continue to demand better medical care, jobs, payment for their time in the revolutionary army, and a commitment to transparency on the part of the el-Keib regime; particularly the appointment of cabinet members and senior officials.

2. According to this source, when el-Keib replied, pointing out that demonstrators were camped outside of his office in Tripoli. He added that the government had to proceed in a measured and professional manner, Jalil stated in angry tones, that NTC staffers were beaten and could have been killed during the January 21 incident, pointing out that this is how the rebellion against Muammar al Qaddafi began in February 2011. Jalil also warned that Islamist leader General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his supporters, particularly militia commanders from Zintan, Misrata, and other western regions, are anxiously waiting for the NTC government to collapse. Their goal, in the opinion of this individual, is to eventually move in and establish a strict Islamic state. Jalil, added that his contacts in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood had been in touch during the preceding week, warning that the threat from Belhaj is very real. El-Keib stated that he must press Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali and Interior Minister Fawzi Abd Ali to be more efficient in administering their positions. According to this individual, el-Keib fears that al-Juwali, who was a western commander during the revolution, may be maintaining a secret relationship with Belhaj and his allies. In response, Jalil warned el-Keib

to avoid trying to use the regular military forces posted around Benghazi under General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar in an effort to restrain the former militia troops as such a step could lead to civil war.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of an extremely well placed individual, el-Keib is, in fact, increasingly frustrated by the inefficiency in his regime and the inability of his ministers and administrators to arrange contracts with foreign firms. He complains that his principal advisors, Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza and Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, have been too timid in resolving the questions associated with contracts involving foreign firms, both old and new. At present it appears that whenever one official raises a question regarding an agreement the entire matter is put on hold and delayed. In the opinion of this source, el-Keib knows that without these agreements he cannot meet the demands of the veterans and the students. El-Keib stated in confidence, that he may have made a serious mistake in removing the former oil/finance minister Ali Tarhouni from the government. El-Keib also noted that Jalil is shaken by the January 21 attack on NTC headquarters and is searching for ways to appease the demonstrators. Most recently he asked Abdel - Hafidh Ghoza, his principal deputy and NTC spokesman to step down. Ghoza, who comes from the Benghazi area, was particularly unpopular with the western troops.)

4. Following the discussion with Jalil, el-Keib ordered Ziglam and Ngeb Obeda, the head of the Stock Exchange, to move with all possible speed to address the issue of the foreign contracts and arrange for new vendors to provide the services demanded by the veterans and students. In this discussion he pointed out that if they cannot deal with this situation they will not have to worry about the national elections in 2012, Libya will be an Islamic Republic, with Belhaj as the ruler. El-Keib pointed out that foreign governments and large oil firms must be aware of this threat and that this will frighten them into meeting the conditions for foreign contracts set out by the NTC.

5. (Source Comment: According to an extremely sensitive source, el-Keib spoke secretly with Haftar, stating that he, and those troops loyal to him, should be prepared to move to protect the government in the event of increased violence. This effort could include moving against Belhaj and attacking militia forces before they can unite and organize. El-Keib emphasized that this is for planning purposes only, and no action should be taken until el-Keib gives the order. He emphasized that he will do everything possible to avoid civil war, but he is now concerned that Jalil will be unable to deal with the level of hostility against the NTC, and cannot be counted on to take strong positions against Belhaj and his supporters. In the opinion of this individual, el-Keib cannot back away from his commitment to technicians in senior positions, but he will press them as hard as he can to have the government respond to the needs of the veterans and students. El-Keib believes it is not too late to address these problems, but they must move quickly.)

CONFIDENTIAL

January 23, 2012

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: Libya internal strife

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

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2. According to this source, when el-Keib replied, pointing out that demonstrators were camped outside of his office in Tripoli. He added that the government had to proceed in a measured and professional manner, Jalil stated in angry tones, that NTC staffers were beaten and could have been killed during the January 21 incident, pointing out that this is how the rebellion against Muammar al Qaddafi began in February 2011. Jalil also warned that Islamist leader General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his supporters, particularly militia commanders from Zintan, Misrata, and other western regions, are anxiously waiting for the NTC government to collapse. Their goal, in the opinion of this individual, is to eventually move in and establish a strict Islamic state. Jalil, added that his contacts in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood had been in touch during the preceding week, warning that the threat from Belhaj is very real. El-Keib

stated that he must press Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali and Interior Minister Fawzi Abd Ali to be more efficient in administering their positions. According to this individual, el-Keib fears that al-Juwali, who was a western commander during the revolution, may be maintaining a secret relationship with Belhaj and his allies. In response, Jalil warned el-Keib to avoid trying to use the regular military forces posted around Benghazi under General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar in an effort to restrain the former militia troops as such a step could lead to civil war.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of an extremely well placed individual, el-Keib is, in fact, increasingly frustrated by the inefficiency in his regime and the inability of his ministers and administrators to arrange contracts with foreign firms. He complains that his principal advisors, Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza and Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, have been too timid in resolving the questions associated with contracts involving foreign firms, both old and new. At present it appears that whenever one official raises a question regarding an agreement the entire matter is put on hold and delayed. In the opinion of this source, el-Keib knows that without these agreements he cannot meet the demands of the veterans and the students. El-Keib stated in confidence, that he may have made a serious mistake in removing the former oil/finance minister Ali Tarhouni from the government. El-Keib also noted that Jalil is shaken by the January 21 attack on NTC headquarters and is searching for ways to appease the demonstrators. Most recently he asked Abdel – Hafidh Ghoza, his principal deputy and NTC spokesman to step down. Ghoza, who comes from the Benghazi area, was particularly unpopular with the western troops.)

4. Following the discussion with Jalil, el-Keib ordered Ziglam and Ngeb Obeda, the head of the Stock Exchange, to move with all possible speed to address the issue of the foreign contracts and arrange for new vendors to provide the services demanded by the veterans and students. In this discussion he pointed out that if they cannot deal with this situation they will not have to worry about the national elections in 2012, Libya will be an Islamic Republic, with Belhaj as the ruler. El-Keib pointed out that foreign governments and large oil firms must be aware of this threat and that this will frighten them into meeting the conditions for foreign contracts set out by the NTC.

5. (Source Comment: According to an extremely sensitive source, el-Keib spoke secretly with Haftar, stating that he, and those troops loyal to him, should be prepared to move to protect the government in the event of increased violence. This effort could include moving against Belhaj and attacking militia forces before they can unite and organize. El-Keib emphasized that this is for planning purposes only, and no action should be taken until el-Keib gives the order. He emphasized that he will do everything possible to avoid civil war, but he is now concerned that Jalil will be unable to deal with the level of hostility against the NTC, and cannot be counted on to take strong positions against Belhaj and his supporters. In the opinion of this individual, el-Keib cannot back away from his commitment to technicians in senior positions, but he will press them as hard as he can to have the government respond to the needs

of the veterans and students. El-Keib believes it is not too late to address these problems, but they must move quickly.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, June 3, 2011 12:38 PM
To: H
Subject: H: New memo: Q's secret bid to UK. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

June 3, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Q's secret bid to UK

On the morning of June 2, 2011 sensitive sources with access to the advisors to Muammar Qaddafi's son, Saif al-Islam, stated in strict confidence that the Libyan government has opened extremely complicated negotiations with the government of the United Kingdom (UK) in an effort to obtain their support in reaching a ceasefire agreement with the rebels of the Libyan Transitional National Council (TNC), allowing the Qaddafi's to maintain some level of control in the country.

This initiative is directed by Saif al-Islam and, according to these sensitive sources, the Libyans have asked the UK officials to broker a deal with the TNC that will allow some form of power sharing, with the possibility of Saif al-Islam acting as head of state and the TNC members making up a substantial portion of the cabinet in a new government. Under the plan Muammar Qaddafi would be allowed to leave the country and go into exile with no danger of indictment on charges of human rights abuses and corruption by Libyan or international courts.

(Source Comment: In the opinion of these sensitive sources, this initiative reflects the concern of the Qaddafi government that as a result of continuing NATO air raids against their forces, they can no longer defeat the rebel army. They add that there has been no firm response from the UK government, and the initial discussions have been conducted by officers of the British Special Intelligence Service (SIS / MI-6). In the opinion of these same sources the initial idea of these talks may have been raised by former Libyan Foreign Minister Mousa Koussa, after his arrival in London in late March 2011.)

According to these sensitive sources, Saif al-Islam and his advisors realize that there is little chance the TNC will agree to such an offer, and that SIS may be using this contact as a means of collecting intelligence while protecting British interests in Libya. Notwithstanding this concern, in the opinion of these individuals, Saif al-Islam believes that introducing the possibility of a ceasefire and the subsequent negotiations may create divisions within NATO and weaken their military operations against Qaddafi's forces.

(Source Comment: These sources add that many of Saif al-Islam's advisors do not know if, or to what extent, the UK Government has shared knowledge of this initiative with the governments of the United States and the other NATO allies.)

At the same time, sources with access to the operations of the TNC military committee state privately that on June 1, 2011 Libyan intelligence officers detonated a car bomb outside the Tibesti Hotel in the TNC capital of Benghazi. One person was injured in the blast and a number of nearby vehicles were damaged. TNC security officers occupied the hotel and the surrounding area immediately after the attack, but were not able to identify any of the attackers. The Tibesti Hotel is an important landmark in the heart of Benghazi and is used by the TNC government, as well by foreign journalists and diplomats. Hotel security has been heightened in the hours following the attack and all foreign residents are under surveillance by TNC security officers, looking for suspicious activities and contacts.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Sunday, March 27, 2011 9:05 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Lots of new intel; possible Libyan collapse. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo lots of new intel; possible imminent collapse 032711.docx; hrc memo lots of new intel; possible imminent collapse 032711.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

March 27, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Lots of new intel; Libyan army possibly on verge of collapse

Latest:

During the evening of March 27, 2011, individuals with direct access to the military committee of the National Libyan Council (NLC) stated in confidence that while the rebel forces continue to have organization and communications problems, their morale has improved drastically, and they believe the Libyan Army is on the verge of collapse. Under attack from allied Air and Naval forces, the Libyan Army troops have begun to desert to the rebel side in increasing numbers. The rebels are making an effort to greet these troops as fellow Libyans, in an effort to encourage additional defections.

(Source Comment: Speaking in strict confidence, one rebel commander stated that his troops continue to summarily execute all foreign mercenaries captured in the fighting. At the same time Colonel Khalifa Haftar has reportedly joined the rebel command structure, in an effort to help organization the rebel forces. Haftar was the commander of the Libyan National Army (LNA), a 1500 man force of anti-Qaddafi troops based in N'djamena, Chad, until current President Idriss Debi overthrew Chadian President Hussein Habre in the fall of 1990, with the assistance of Libyan and French troops. Haftar and his troops fled to a country in central Africa and many, including Haftar, later settled in the United States.)

An extremely sensitive source added that the rebels are receiving direct assistance and training from a small number of Egyptian Special Forces units, while French and British Special Operations troops are working out of bases in Egypt, along the Libyan border. These troops are overseeing the transfer of weapons and supplies to the rebels.

(Source Comment: The rebels are moving back into areas that they lost in mid- March fighting, and using the allied air cover, they are confident they can move into the Tripoli district in a matter of days. One rebel source reported that they had reliable intelligence that people were evacuating Qaddafi's hometown, Sirte, anticipating its capture by the rebels. Sirte is located mid-way between Tripoli and Benghazi; its loss will be a psychological blow for Qaddafi.)

Separately, a sensitive European source stated in strict confidence that French military commanders anticipate a complete collapse of the Libyan military command and control structure in the next week. These officers, who have experience with the Libyan Army during its invasion of Chad in the late 1980s stated that the Libyan troops did not perform well under concentrated fire from troops armed with modern weapons.

This source also noted that information from Tripoli has become increasingly difficult to obtain, but there are reports of deaths among some Qaddafi's senior security officials, including Mansour Daw, and that the Libyan leader himself may have experienced a health problem. Unfortunately, the European Intelligence services have been unable to confirm or discredit these reports. This situation has become increasingly frustrating for French President Nicolas Sarkozy, who, according to knowledgeable individuals, is pressing to have France emerge from this crisis as the principal foreign ally of any new government that takes power.

Sarkozy is also concerned about continuing reports that radical/terrorist groups such as the Libyan Fighting Groups and Al Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) are infiltrating the NLC and its military command. Accordingly, he asked sociologist [REDACTED] who has long established ties to Israel, Syria, and other nations in the Middle East, to use his contacts to determine the level of influence AQIM and other terrorist groups have inside of the NLC. Sarkozy also asked for reports setting out a clear picture of the role of the Muslim Brotherhood in the rebel leadership.

B6

These sources note that French diplomats and intelligence officers in Egypt are in contact with the following rebel figures in Benghazi:

MESMARI Nouri (Qaddafi's former head of protocol, who along with Mousa Kousa was considered the Libyan leaders most loyal follower. Nouri currently lives in France;

Gehan (GHEHANI) Abdallah (colonel);

CHARRANT Faraj,

BOUKHRIS Fathi,

General Abdelfateh Younis (commander of the rebel forces)

(Source Comment: Senior European security officials caution that AQIM is watching developments in Libya, and elements of that organization have been in touch with tribes in the southeastern part of the country. These officials are concerned that in a post-Qaddafi Libya, France and other western European countries must move quickly to ensure that the new government does not allow AQIM and others to set up small, semi- autonomous local entities—or "Caliphates"—in the oil and gas producing regions of southeastern Libya.)

These knowledgeable sources add that the insurgents have the following weapons stockpiled in Benghazi:

82 and 120 mm. mortars;

GPZ type machine guns;

12.7mm. machine guns mounted on 4x4 vehicles;

some anti-aircraft batteries type ZSU 23/2 and 23/4 as well as Man-Portable Air-Defense Systems

(MANPADS) type SAM7;

some tanks type T-72;

Possibly some fixed wing aircraft, and some light transport/medium helicopters.

A seemingly endless supply of AK47 assault rifles and ammunition (even for systems ZSU 23/4 and 23/2). French, British and Egyptian Special Forces troops are training the rebels inside of western Egypt, and to a limited degree in the western suburbs of Benghazi.

(Source Comment: These sources add that the MANPAD SAM7 systems appear to be old and badly preserved, and have been judged useless by the rebels.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, April 3, 2012 6:49 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Latest from HRC's contact

FYI

-----Original Message-----

From: Stevens, John C
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2012 6:33 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Cretz, Gene A
Subject: RE: Latest from HRC's contact

Very interesting report. By chance, I met with our insightful [REDACTED] in Benghazi yesterday and we discussed the LMB's electoral prospects. He didn't think they would have a large following b/c they don't have a strong organization and because most Libyans view the LMB as a branch of the Egyptian MB, and Libyans don't want to be ruled by Egypt. He did not mention the interesting point below about the LMB as a counterbalance to the eastern-based Federalists. He did emphasize, though, that the Federalist movement has widespread support in the east and will continue to up the ante with Tripoli, including possibly making a move on the oil production in that part of the country (AGOCO, a large state-owned oil company, is based in Benghazi). -- Chris

B6

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

-----Original Message-----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tuesday, April 03, 2012 12:44 PM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Cretz, Gene A; Stevens, John C
Subject: Latest from HRC's contact

Below is the latest report from HRC's contact; would be interested in your reactions.

SOURCE:

Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1.

During the last week of March 2012, the leaders of the National Transitional Council (NTC) regime in Libya discussed the rising popularity and independence of the Libyan Muslim Brotherhood (LMB) in preparation for the national parliamentary elections scheduled for July 2012.

According to a source with direct access to these discussions, President Mustafa Abdel Jalil stated in very direct terms that he sees the emergence of the LMB as a major factor in the upcoming elections, which are already complicated by the Federalist movement for the semi-autonomous status of the historic Eastern Libyan region of Cyrenaica (Barqa in Arabic).

Minister of Defense Ousama al Juwali and Prime Minister Abdurrahim el Keib both believe that the rise of the LMB, which was a relatively minor member of the NTC until November 2011, is, in fact, related to the Federalist movement in Eastern Libya.

According to al Juwali, a native of the Western Libyan region of Zintan, the LMB is drawing strength from people who fear that the Federalist movement in Barqa will result in that region dominating the country, gaining control of an inordinate share of the country's oil and mineral reserves.

For his part, Jalil stated that he agrees with Oil Minister Abdulrahman Ben Yezza that if matters are not resolved by the July elections, the unsettled nature of the political process in Libya will damage the country's image as a business partner and confuse foreign banks and oil firms attempting to open new contacts with the new Libyan Government, or reactivate existing agreements.

2.

According to a sensitive source, while discussing this matter with Dr Abd al-Nasser Shamata, the head of the Crisis Management Unit in the NTC, Prime Minister el Keib stated that the most problematic aspect of the rise of the LMB is the leadership role taken by Islamist militia leader General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj.

In the opinion of this source, the NTC leadership sees Belhaj as one of the greatest threats to the long term success of their regime.

Al Juwali also notes that Belhaj is the head of the founding committee for the LMB's Justice and Construction Party (JCP). As the Federalist movement took hold in early March 2012, al Juwali, under instruction from el Keib and Jalil, met with Belhaj and other Western militia leaders to arrange for their support in the event military force is needed to hold the country together.

Belhaj represented the most effective of the Western militias.

3.

According to the Minister of Defense, this situation with the Federalist movement enhanced Belhaj's prestige at the time he was working to secure a leadership role in the LMB and the JCP.

El Keib and Jalil are concerned that, despite the fact that the LMB has a limited base after years of suppression by the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi, they will appeal to those Libyans who believe that the NTC regime is under the influence of the United States and Western Europe.

The activities of Belhaj in both the LMB and the JCP reinforce this view.

Jalil finds this situation frustrating, particularly in the light of his regular assurances that Libya would operate under Islamic law, and while maintaining appropriate ties to the West, will remain hostile to Israel.

4. (Source Comment:

In a private conversation, Jalil stated that he is working to balance the internal political realities of Libya against the concerns of the international business community.

The President is concerned that the appointment of BenYezza as Oil Minister in October 2011 provided the JCP with a tangible concern to use against NTC candidates during the July elections.

After his long experience as a senior official of the Multinational Italian Oil Firm ENI, Ben Yezza is viewed by Belhaj and many members of the LMB as a symbol of the issue they will pursue in the national election, the idea that NTC, like the Qaddafi, regime is corrupt and involved in allowing foreign interests to control the nation's mineral wealth.

That said, Jalil continues to agree with el Keib that Ben Yezza is an excellent administrator, and in the long run will play an important role in effectively managing the nation's mineral wealth.)

5.

According to an extremely sensitive source, Jalil and his advisors have been in contact with Supreme Guide Mohamed Badie, the leader of the much larger and more powerful Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (EMB).

This contact is largely based on the President's need to address reports he has received that the LMB is reaching out to Badie and his advisors for support.

This effort is particularly important given the belief among NTC leaders that the EMB and its Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) will control the Government of Egypt as that country moves to civilian rule later in 2012. In the opinion of this source, Badie is sympathetic to Jalil's position, especially since the Libyan President and el Keib were members of the EMB during their student days in Egypt.

The Supreme Guide will, according to Jalil, work to influence the LMB to establish a cooperative effort with the NTC.

Badie will point out the fact that his ability to cooperate with both the Supreme Council for the Armed Force (SCAF), as well as the Salafist al Nour party, helped establish the EMB as the dominant political force in Egypt, while avoiding high levels of violence.

6.

(Source Comment: An extremely sensitive source within the EMB agreed that Badie and Jalil have spoken in an effort to develop a plan to deal with the LMB.

According to this source, Jalil told Badie that the LMB and the JCP are far more intolerant of foreign business and banking interests than the NTC, and a strong showing in the July elections will strengthen Belhaj and other conservative Islamists, adversely affecting the Libyan economy, which in turn will cause problems for Egypt as it recovers from its own revolution in 2011.

Jalil emphasized that at this point the NTC has managed to avoid violent outbursts between competing groups, even in the face of the Federalist movement in the East, in a region that borders Egypt.

He warned that an LMB/JCP victory might change this and lead to increased violence between rival militias that could wash over into Egypt.)

7.

According to a sensitive source, the LMB has a complex history and Jalil and el Keib believe this past may hold some points which can be used against the Brotherhood and the JCP in the July elections.

The TNTC leaders know that after Qaddafi came to power in 1969, the LMB was repressed and many of its leaders were executed publicly. Eventually the Brotherhood, having reestablished itself in the United States and Europe, entered into a dialogue with the Qaddafi regime 1999, and in 2005 began a series of negotiations with Saif al-Islam Qaddafi, whose goal was to co-opt and neutralize opposition groups, particularly Islamist ones.

8.

According to this individual, Belhaj and the other Islamist leaders mistrusted the LMB during the first months of the 2011 revolution.

However, Belhaj eventually established a working relationship with Fawzi Abu Kitef, the head of the Revolutionary Brigades Coalition in Eastern Libya and the former deputy defense minister in the NTC. Abu Kitef was a leading figure in the LMB who spent more than 18 years in prison, including the notorious facility at Abu Selim. Under Abu Kitef and leaders like Dr. Abdullah Shamia, who was in charge of the economic committee of the NTC, the Brotherhood established itself as a unique group within the Jalil/el Keib regime; serving there until they began to plan for independent political activity in late 2011 and early 2012.

9.

In early 2012, as the relationship between the NTC and Belhaj and the other Islamists deteriorated in the face of regional and ethnic power struggles, the LMB leadership, in coordination with Belhaj began to look at an independent political effort in the parliamentary elections. During its first public conference in Benghazi during November 2011, the LMB elected a new leader, increased its consultative council membership from 11 to 30 leaders, and decided to form a political party; the JCP.

Mohammed Swan, the former head of the Libyan LMB's Consultative Council, won a tight victory over longtime LMB leader Soliman Abd al-Qadr, to become the first leader of the JCP. Bashir al-Kubty was elected General Observer of the LMB.

10. (Source comment: According to an individual with excellent access, the LMB leaders are sensitive to charges that the JCP is a party with a narrow religious agenda, and they encouraged Walid al-Sakran, non-member of the LMB, to compete as a candidate for JCP leadership.

That said Belhaj and other Islamist leaders believe that the LMB is set to follow the electoral path of Islamist success seen in Egypt, Tunisia, and other Arab countries.

Belhaj now believes that the country will move forward under sharia law, administered by the Islamist bloc, including the LMB/JCP

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, February 24, 2012 5:24 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: From HRC friend

Latest from Gene.

----- Original Message -----

From: Cretz, Gene A
Sent: Friday, February 24, 2012 01:13 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Feltman, Jeffrey D
Subject: RE: From HRC friend

I am skeptical that Jalil and al-keeb are capable either by power or by character to deal with the shortcomings of their MinDef and MinInt in this way. The latter 2 are both very powerful by virtue of their Zintan and Misrata roots respectively, and any effort to remove them would have serious blowback. MinInt Fawzi who I saw the other day is clearly way ahead of his colleague in getting the thuwar into the process of registration, the first step hopefully toward DDR. I think everybody here is aware now how difficult the disarming of these militias, which have become de facto real institutions in and of themselves. It is naive to think they can be dissolved by executive fiat. Some positive movement--Jordanians preparing to accept first tranche of 1500 for police training.

There is concern here that continuing rivalries among the militias remains dangerous from the perspective of the havoc they can wreak with their firepower and their continued control of select turf. At the end of the day, I think everybody is coming to the conclusion that the elections will take place in the context of militia control. We hope that a program can be devised to keep them acting responsibly toward the outcome of the election, especially viz the obligations they may well be asked to undertake to keep elections free, and fair and devoid of violence. Always danger of continuing skirmishes but Armageddon predictions a bit overstated.

We are all worried about the situation in Kufra and the clashes between the Arab alZwai tribe and the African tribals the Tebu. This is again a legacy of the Qadhafi era who played on these divisions to keep himself in control. The government believes that the Tebu are being aided from al_Qadhafi elements and perhaps government supporters in Sudan to undermine the TNC. There are some disturbing signs that in fact the TNC may be supporting the dispatch of select militias to deploy down there maybe rpt maybe to "resolve" this ethnic problem as the situation in Tewarga was resolved--i.e., "ethnic cleansing" --We are only at the very beginning stages of seeing whether there is credible evidence on this score--so please rpt please don't raise any flags about it. It would be explosive. I will keep you informed about any info we develop.

No surprise about Heftar--he is extremely angry he lost out on the COS spot so his efforts to undermine the new COS Manqoosh would be fully in line with his character to be big cheese.

The war wounded is a national tragedy. The former group allowed everybody to go abroad and they did to the tune of 800 million dollars. 50,000 Libyans abroad now--15 percent receiving medical treatment. Who do you think the others are? Relatives, frauds, and those who snuck out to get botox and tummy tucks. Senator McCain will rail about our refusal to take thousands of them to the States but the process has been so bungled I think we did as much as we could considering.

-----Original Message-----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J

Sent: Wednesday, February 22, 2012 9:11 AM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Cretz, Gene A
Subject: From HRC friend

Here is the latest on Libya. As always, let me know your thoughts.

SOURCE:

Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1.

On February 19, 2012, Libyan President Mustafa Abdul Jalil and Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib instructed Minister of the Interior Minister Fawzi Abd Ali and Minister of Defense Osama al Juwali to move as forcefully as possible to deal with armed conflict between the various militias which carried the bulk of fighting during the 2011 revolution against former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi.

According to an extremely sensitive source speaking in secret, el-Keib, acting in his role as the head of government, told the two ministers that, if they could not stop the fighting and disarm the militias he would be forced to find ministers who can carry out his orders.

Ali and Juwali each stated privately that, while they would follow orders, they have little hope of succeeding in this matter until el-Keib and Jalil gain credibility as the rulers of the country.

Ali added that, in his opinion, this situation will persist until a new government is chosen during the national elections planned for later in 2012.

2.

In the opinion of this individual, the Prime Minister is particularly concerned by the situation in the Southern portion of the country, where the area defined by the towns of Ghat, Sabha, and al Kufra, where fighting between rival tribal and regional militias has been exacerbated by the activities of

Qaddafi loyalists, and their allies, Taureg tribal fighters.

This individual added that el-Keib and Jalil agree that the uncertain security situation in this area represents a threat to Libya's future stability.

They agreed that, at present, if faced with a concerted effort by either disaffected militiamen or pro-Qaddafi forces government security forces and the new national army would be unable to protect either Libyan citizens or Western businessmen and oil industry workers in the region.

3. (Source Comment:

In the opinion of this individual, el-Keib believes that any attack against oil field workers will frighten large Western firms and seriously damage Libya's efforts to recover from the revolution.

This individual added that al Juwali is particularly upset with his deputy Minister and Chief of Staff of the Army, General Yousef Mangoush, who he believes has been unable to work with national army ground force commander General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar.

A very sensitive source added that the Benghazi based units of the army, under Haftar's direct command, are currently deploying to the area southeast of al-Kufra, along the Sudanese border.)

4.

In the opinion of a sensitive source, Haftar and al Juwali believe that the Sudanese military is providing arms and supplies to the pro-Qaddafi forces, under direct orders from Sudanese President Omar al Bashir.

El-Keib complained to al-Juwali that Haftar's forces passed through al-Kufra region during early and mid-February on their way to the Sudanese border, however; they did nothing to disarm the local revolutionary militias, or stop the fighting between competing tribal groups.

In the opinion of this individual, Haftar felt that the threat from the pro-Qaddafi forces was greater than that posed by the regional and tribal fighting.

5.

At the same time, a source with excellent access to the leadership of the National Transitional Council (NTC) stated in secret that fighting continues between regional, tribal, and religious rivals throughout the Northern/Mediterranean portions of the country.

This same source added that the ongoing struggle between the Misrata and Zintan militias for control of the area west of Tripoli is particularly violent and disruptive for the rest of the country.

In the capital itself, fighting continues between regional groups, the national army, Islamist militias, and criminal street gangs, all of whom are very well armed.

This individual reports that during mid-February 2012 el-Keib and Jalil agreed to address the problem of disaffected former militiamen and their families by providing payments of 2,000 Dinars (approximately \$1,500) per month to the families of fighters who were wounded or killed in the revolution.

6.

In addition the President and Prime Minister instructed Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam to develop an efficient system to provide assistance funds to unemployed former fighters.

For his part, Ziglam privately expressed concern that previous efforts in this regard have met with a high level of fraud.

According to the government's best estimates, the revolutionary army included approximately 25,000 combat troops, but it is difficult to identify those with legitimate claims, as no accurate service records were maintained.

That said, he stated in private that the government must be seen to take some form of direct action, even if money is paid to fraudulent claimants.

The fact is, according to Ziglam, the NTC is losing control of the country and must give something to the veterans of the revolution to slow this process.

7. (Source Comment: Speaking in strictest confidence, a knowledgeable individual stated that al-Juwali is concerned by the possibility that the country may deteriorate into a multi-sided civil war involving the regional militias, Islamist forces and the national army.

At the same time, he acknowledges that the new army has lost control of large portions of the southern part of the country, with tribal fighting spilling over into Mali and Chad.

According to this source, al-Juwali is also frustrated by the slow pace of military and police training promised to the various Libyan national security forces by the governments of France and Turkey.

He added that, while Turkey has received some of the most seriously wound troops for treatment, the lack of adequate medical care for veterans inside of Libya remains a major source of conflict between the former rebel troops and the NTC government.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, August 24, 2012 9:19 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: H: Intel on new Libya president. Sid

Yes. Some warning signs.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, August 24, 2012 07:43 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: H: Intel on new Libya president. Sid

Very interesting.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Thursday, August 23, 2012 11:33 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Intel on new Libya president. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

August 23, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: New president of Libya

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During early August, 2012, Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC) President Mustafa Abdel Jalil held discreet meetings with Mohammed Youssef Magariaf, the then leader of the newly elected General National Congress (GNC), who Jalil learned was to be named interim President of Libya when the NTC stepped down. During these sessions the two leaders worked out the transition to a new, elected interim Government for Libya; focusing on the need to restore stability and security by disarming the militia units which fought in the 2011 revolution against former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi. According to a source with excellent access to both parties, Jalil came away from the meeting convinced that Magariaf is intent on becoming Libya's first elected president following the overthrow of Qaddafi. Jalil was pleased to learn that Magariaf strongly supports

the three-party Cairo Declaration negotiated between the NTC and the Governments of Tunisia and Egypt in late July allowing for increased trade and a relaxation of existing travel restrictions.

2. According to this individual, Jalil and Magariaf agree that Tunisia and Egypt hold the key to Libya's future economic success, with Libya providing the funding for new projects, while Egypt and Tunisia provide technical expertise. Magariaf stated privately that this relationship marks a departure from the Qaddafi years when Libya's natural resources fell under the control of foreign firms and governments. Jalil added that Magariaf will welcome investment and cooperation from American and Western European banks and corporations, but believes Libya, supported by the new governments rising out of the Arab Spring, must maintain control over all aspects of the industries involved in exploiting its natural resources. In this regard, with the support of both Jalil and Magariaf, the Libyan Ministry of Finance is increasing the level of Libyan investment in the Cairo stock exchange. In turn, Magariaf and Egyptian President Mohamad Morsi discussed increased Tunisian and Egyptian investment in the Benghazi stock exchange as the economic situation in Libya becomes more orderly.

3. In commenting on the new Interim President, Jalil added that Magariaf's current position is bolstered by the fact that he is not tied to any particular faction. At the same time he has maintained the respect that is attached to his role as the first Libyan leader to direct an armed revolt against Qaddafi. This fighting was carried out by the rebel Libyan National Army in 1981. Magariaf is an academic and diplomat with well established Islamist credentials and good relationships with business and government leaders in the United States and Western Europe. A separate sensitive source noted that one interesting issue to watch is Magariaf's relationship with General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar, the commander of one sections of the new Libyan Army. Haftar has been at odds with many of the militia commanders and is currently leading Libyan forces in the Kufra region, attempting to end local tribal fighting and block the smuggling of arms and supplies to pro-Qaddafi militias by supporters based in South Sudan. In the years between 1981 and 1990 Haftar (then Colonel Haftar) commanded the rebel Libyan National Army, under Magariaf's National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL). One source notes that Magariaf's opposition to Qaddafi was based on the dictator's betrayal of Islamic principles, a position that, at that time, was supported by the Western Allies.

4. According to this individual, Jalil also spoke with former Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril, who indicated that he and Magariaf agree on many issues, including the belief that they can build an Islamic state in Libya that can function in the world economy and the international diplomatic community. He did note that he believes Magariaf's view of the role of Islam in the day to day function of the government is more conservative than his, but these are differences that can be sorted out in the GNC. In the opinion of this individual Jibril is well aware of the fact that, while his National Force Alliance (NFA) controls a solid bloc of thirty nine (39) seats in the GNC and Magariaf's National Front Party (NFP) holds no seats in its own right, the interim President has established good working relationships with at least 100 of the 120 independent members of the GNC. Magariaf received 113 votes in his election as Interim President. Again these independent deputies respect Magariaf's role in fighting the Qaddafi regime.

5. (Source Comment: This particularly sensitive individual stated in strict confidence that Magariaf sees his role as establishing an efficient interim government, while overseeing the drafting of a new constitution and election law. This individual believes that Magariaf is very interested in winning the presidency under this new law. Besides meeting with Jalil and Jibril, Magariaf is talking to liberal politicians including former Oil and Finance Minister Ali Tarhouni, and the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood's (MB) Justice and Construction Party (JCP), including Mohamad Sowani.)

6. This individual adds that Jalil believes Magariaf will face a very difficult period as he addresses the many issues left unresolved by the NTC and the interim regime of Prime Minister Abdel Rahman el-Keib. Jalil has been highly frustrated by el-Keib's inability to disarm the many militia units left over from the 2011 revolution against Qaddafi. At the same time he has advised Magariaf to move quickly in replacing el-Keib's cabinet while deciding which ministers to retain. The new interim government is facing a problem of lawlessness and attacks against foreigners, including representatives of the Egyptian Government; this at a time

when the new Muslim Brotherhood government of Egypt is reaching out to increase business and diplomatic contacts between the two countries. According to a sensitive source, Libyan military intelligence officers believe these attacks are the work of Qaddafi loyalists, while former NTC officials fear that they may be carried out by dissident Islamist groups, frustrated with the results of the national elections, which many of them boycotted.

7. (Source Comment: An extremely sensitive source stated in confidence that Libyan Military Intelligence officers reported to Jalil and later Magariaf that a series of bombings in Tripoli and Benghazi appear to be the work of Qaddafi loyalists looking to create tension between the Libyan and Egyptian Governments. These attacks included the car of an Egyptian diplomat, which was blown up near his home in Benghazi, a day after several deadly bomb attacks in the capital Tripoli. At the same time, a homemade bomb exploded under the vehicle of the Egyptian consulate's first secretary Abdelhamid Rifai in one of the Tripoli's most affluent neighborhoods. No one was hurt during this attack. Earlier in August, three car bombs exploded near the Ministry of Interior in Tripoli, killing two people and wounding three others. This sensitive source added that security officers arrested 32 members of what they describe as an organized network of Gaddafi loyalists linked to the attacks. During this period, the Red Cross suspended its activities in Benghazi and Misrata after one of its compounds in Misrata was attacked with grenades and rockets. In late July seven Iranian relief workers associated with the Libyan Red Crescent were kidnapped by tribal troops still loyal to the Qaddafi family. Security officials have no word on the whereabouts of these relief workers.)

8. According to this source, while the Cairo Declaration received a positive reception among Libyan political and business leaders, it also created a drastic increase in the number of Libyan's applying for Egyptian visas under the new, simplified process. This workload has created a backlog of applications, and in mid-August, a group of Libyan nationals frustrated with the Egyptian visa process attacked the interior of the Egyptian consulate in Tripoli. These Libyan applicants were angry about the time it was taking to receive visas to enter Egypt and were demanding that the staff work past their stated hours of operation. A sensitive source noted that a number of Libyans destroyed the furniture in the main waiting room and attacked the consulate. The Magariaf Government has assured the Egyptian ambassador that additional security personnel will be assigned to guard the Embassy, at least until the visa backlog is reduced.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, July 7, 2012 12:31 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Libya intel from S

Fyi

----- Original Message -----

From: Stevens, John C
Sent: Saturday, July 07, 2012 12:13 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Jones, Beth E
Subject: RE: Libya intel from S

Jake - Thanks for this. Tracks with what we are hearing about elections and the weakness of the interim gov't. Elections are going smoothly throughout most of Libya (Ajdabiya being the exception, where some ballots were sabotaged requiring voting in some centers to be postponed for a few hours). Factoring in time to tally votes and process appeals, the UN and the Libyan elections commission are anticipating announcing final results by late July. The expectation is that the TNC will remain in power until the new congress is seated.

Sen McCain and I toured the new parliament this afternoon, where we encountered a TNC member, an engineer and a couple of UN experts reviewing progress on the interior décor of the main chamber. They are racing to get the chamber finished in time for the first session. The UN is offering technical assistance to the secretariat of the new congress, ranging from parliamentary procedure to legislative drafting. They're even helping to plot out the choreography of the first sessions.

The atmosphere in Tripoli is very festive. The gov't declared today a holiday and people are driving around honking and waving flags and making peace sign gestures. We visited several polling stations where we found people patiently waiting in lines (gender-segregated). McCain was applauded and thanked for his support wherever we went.

-- Chris

-----Original Message-----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Saturday, July 07, 2012 10:07 AM
To: Jones, Beth E; Stevens, John C
Subject: Libya intel from S

Further info from friend of S:

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. As of the morning of July 6, an individual with access to the information stated in confidence that Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC) President Mustafa Abdel Jalil remains committed to a transfer of power to a popularly elected government; however, he is prepared to extend the life of the NTC as a guarantor of stability for the Libyan people following the July 7, 2012 election for seats in a 200-member General National Congress (GNC). Jalil realizes that 2.7 million Libyans have registered to vote and are generally anxious to replace the increasingly unpopular NTC. That said, Jalil expects the voting to lead to a period of confusion and he will not abandon his authority until the results are fixed.

2. Jalil is also frustrated by the fact that during its eight-month tenure of the administration of Prime Minister Abdel Rahman el-Keib - who was appointed by the NTC - was unable to provide solutions for Libya's long list of needs: a functioning justice system, a reconciliation process for officials who served the old administration, the disarming of militia, building functional national security forces, rebuilding destroyed areas, and delivering basic services such as healthcare.

3. At the same time, outside of the oil sector, much of Libya's economy is stagnant, and in the opinion of Western security officials, lacks the government's go-ahead to restart public sector infrastructure contracts. In addition, international advisers and foreign investors are reluctant to return to an environment where the government will not sign long term agreements and cannot guarantee security.

4. (Source Comment: According to an extremely sensitive source, Jalil continues to believe that this chaotic situation should not be surprising. He regularly points out that eight months is not a sufficient amount of time to build functioning institutions from the remnants of the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi. The old regime featured a dysfunctional bureaucracy, idiosyncratic rule, and anti-institutionalism. Additionally, Jalil now realizes that due to pronounced incompetence and a lack of will to take unpopular decisions the el-Keib government also failed to make progress in the few areas where it could have achieved meaningful change. The towns of Sirte and Tawargha are representative of the situation in the countryside where people lost their homes in the conflict and have been living in temporary camps with limited ability to register and vote in their home district. Jalil has been urged by contacts in the French and Italian Governments to guarantee the rights of people across the country. In particular, he has serious concerns as to whether or not supporters of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi in his hometown of Sirte will be included in the future political processes of the new Libya; if they are not allowed to vote by local militiamen. At the same time, the fighting between Libyan Arabs and Tebu tribesmen in the Kufra area threatens to prevent any voting there. Jalil has been warned that the NTC regulations now state that members of the National Army are not allowed to vote or run for office, which is a disincentive for armed militia brigade members to become legitimate soldiers.)

5. This well informed individual believes that despite these flaws, the new government created by the July 7 election will eventually have the mandate to take the difficult decisions that can create a reconciliation process. Jalil will work to maintain order in this transition period, and finally reach his goal of creating a situation where the government can rebuild homes and restore sufficient law and order; allowing those in Sirte, Tawargha, Kufra, and throughout the rest of the country to live in their hometowns, establishing a situation where a true civil society can develop.

6. Jalil, in conversations with the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), and separately with liberal leader Ali Tarhouni, has acknowledged that the central government's top priority must be security and that the NTC has been unable to provide it. That said, Jalil and Minister of Defense Ousama al-Juwali have pledged to provide 30,000 to 40,000 security personnel for election day to prevent similar incidents to the July 1 attack on Benghazi's election headquarters. In that case eastern federalists entered the building, where ballot papers were burned and ballot boxes destroyed. Similarly, these federalist forces are suspected of the attack on July 5 that burned down Ajdabiya's main storage centre for election materials.

7. In the opinion of this individual, although those responsible for the Benghazi attack were pro-federalist, it has not been proven that they were members of the self-appointed Cyrenaican National Council (CNC), whose military arm set up a roadblock in Wadi al-Ahmar on Libya's major east-west highway to demand that Cyrenaica get as many seats in the GNC as Tripolitania. Thus far, neither the CNC nor any other group has publicly stated that they intend to use violence to disrupt the elections. (Note: Under the current system Tripolitania will have 120 seats in the GNC, Cyrenaica (Barqa) 62, and Fezzan in the South 18.)

RELEASE IN PART
B5

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, January 24, 2012 1:00 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Libya Info

FYI

From: Cretz, Gene A
Sent: Tuesday, January 24, 2012 2:58 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Feltman, Jeffrey D
Subject: RE: Libya Info

The Benghazi protestors appear to be a pastiche of different groups of disaffected people including war-wounded, martyrs' families, transparency and accountability demandeurs, and those who believe the east is once again being neglected. So the source of this report attributing the whole thing to war-wounded does not jive, although they may have been the ones who carried out the violent acts. The Belhaj bogeyman is a bit overplayed-no doubt his military influence has waned but he does remain a player --one of many --looking to make political gain in this new environment. The proposition that he is just lying in waiting to take advantage of the current stability to move in and establish an Islamic state appears a bit exaggerated. Minister of Labor Rajbani (who has his own axes to grind) said there is now a group of six ministers (I need to clarify whether this is with al-Keib's knowledge or not) who are serving as the "cochones" of the cabinet and taking decisions the others won't. al-Keib is proceeding cautiously (that is his strength and weakness) and that is the problem--this is really the time for a "war-time" cabinet not the cautious approach he appears to be taking does not suit this volatile time. Let's see what the meeting today between the NTC and the government produces--the benghazi protests, the Bani Walid conflict, and the various other incidents that have flared up in recent days point to the need for some real drastic movement in the DDR process and in the other issues that engender current dissatisfaction among the populace. I can't really comment on the points regarding foreign contracts except to say it rings true given the current government's reluctance to make any significant decisions, especially regarding past or future issues of money. The Heftar piece also sounds a bridge too far given al-Keib's disposition. But I do agree that it is not too late if this government can just organize itself and take some fundamental decisions to improve liquidity, get the real war-wounded good treatment, and push the MOD and MOI to speed up the DDR process.

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Tue 1/24/2012 2:25 AM
To: Cretz, Gene A; Feltman, Jeffrey D
Subject: Libya Info

Interested, as always, in your views.

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. On the evening of January 22, 2012, according to an official with access to the leadership of the National Transitional Government (NTC), Libyan President Mustafa Abdul Jalil spoke at length with Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib, stating in a heated exchange that el-Keib's government must take the steps necessary to address the complaints of the demobilized fighters from the 2011 revolution. Jalil pointed out that the new government has been discussing this situation since it was formed in October 2011, and matters have now reached a crisis point, with a group of more than 2,000 disgruntled veterans, supported by students, attacking the NTC offices in Benghazi on January 21, destroying computer equipment and NTC files. These demonstrators, some of whom threw Molotov cocktails at the NTC headquarters building, continue to demand better medical care, jobs, payment for their time in the revolutionary army, and

a commitment to transparency on the part of the el-Keib regime; particularly the appointment of cabinet members and senior officials.

2. According to this source, when el-Keib replied, pointing out that demonstrators were camped outside of his office in Tripoli. He added that the government had to proceed in a measured and professional manner, Jalil stated in angry tones, that NTC staffers were beaten and could have been killed during the January 21 incident, pointing out that this is how the rebellion against Muammar al Qaddafi began in February 2011. Jalil also warned that Islamist leader General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his supporters, particularly militia commanders from Zintan, Misrata, and other western regions, are anxiously waiting for the NTC government to collapse. Their goal, in the opinion of this individual, is to eventually move in and establish a strict Islamic state. Jalil, added that his contacts in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood had been in touch during the preceding week, warning that the threat from Belhaj is very real. El-Keib stated that he must press Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali and Interior Minister Fawzi Abd Ali to be more efficient in administering their positions. According to this individual, el-Keib fears that al-Juwali, who was a western commander during the revolution, may be maintaining a secret relationship with Belhaj and his allies. In response, Jalil warned el-Keib to avoid trying to use the regular military forces posted around Benghazi under General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar in an effort to restrain the former militia troops as such a step could lead to civil war.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of an extremely well placed individual, el-Keib is, in fact, increasingly frustrated by the inefficiency in his regime and the inability of his ministers and administrators to arrange contracts with foreign firms. He complains that his principal advisors, Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza and Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, have been too timid in resolving the questions associated with contracts involving foreign firms, both old and new. At present it appears that whenever one official raises a question regarding an agreement the entire matter is put on hold and delayed. In the opinion of this source, el-Keib knows that without these agreements he cannot meet the demands of the veterans and the students. El-Keib stated in confidence, that he may have made a serious mistake in removing the former oil/finance minister Ali Tarhouni from the government. El-Keib also noted that Jalil is shaken by the January 21 attack on NTC headquarters and is searching for ways to appease the demonstrators. Most recently he asked Abdel - Hafidh Ghoza, his principal deputy and NTC spokesman to step down. Ghoza, who comes from the Benghazi area, was particularly unpopular with the western troops.)

4. Following the discussion with Jalil, el-Keib ordered Ziglam and Ngeb Obeda, the head of the Stock Exchange, to move with all possible speed to address the issue of the foreign contracts and arrange for new vendors to provide the services demanded by the veterans and students. In this discussion he pointed out that if they cannot deal with this situation they will not have to worry about the national elections in 2012, Libya will be an Islamic Republic, with Belhaj as the ruler. El-Keib pointed out that foreign governments and large oil firms must be aware of this threat and that this will frighten them into meeting the conditions for foreign contracts set out by the NTC.

5. (Source Comment: According to an extremely sensitive source, el-Keib spoke secretly with Haftar, stating that he, and those troops loyal to him, should be prepared to move to protect the government in the event of increased violence. This effort could include moving against Belhaj and attacking militia forces before they can unite and organize. El-Keib emphasized that this is for planning purposes only, and no action should be taken until el-Keib gives the order. He emphasized that he will do everything possible to avoid civil war, but he is now concerned that Jalil will be unable to deal with the level of hostility against the NTC, and cannot be counted on to take strong positions against Belhaj and his supporters. In the opinion of this individual, el-Keib cannot back away from his commitment to technicians in senior positions, but he will press them as hard as he can to have the government respond to the needs of the veterans and students. El-Keib believes it is not too late to address these problems, but they must move quickly.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, June 3, 2011 7:43 PM
To: H
Subject: RE: H: New memo: Q's secret bid to UK. Sid

Interesting.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, June 03, 2011 1:54 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Jiloty, Lauren C
Subject: Fw: H: New memo: Q's secret bid to UK. Sid

Jake--fyi

Lauren--pls print.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, June 03, 2011 12:37 PM
To: H
Subject: H: New memo: Q's secret bid to UK. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

June 3, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Q's secret bid to UK

On the morning of June 2, 2011 sensitive sources with access to the advisors to Muammar Qaddafi's son, Saif al-Islam, stated in strict confidence that the Libyan government has opened extremely complicated negotiations with the government of the United Kingdom (UK) in an effort to obtain their support in reaching a ceasefire agreement with the rebels of the Libyan Transitional National Council (TNC), allowing the Qaddafi's to maintain some level of control in the country.

This initiative is directed by Saif al-Islam and, according to these sensitive sources, the Libyans have asked the UK officials to broker a deal with the TNC that will allow some form of power sharing, with the possibility of Saif al-Islam acting as head of state and the TNC members making up a substantial portion of the cabinet in a

new government. Under the plan Muammar Qaddafi would be allowed to leave the country and go into exile with no danger of indictment on charges of human rights abuses and corruption by Libyan or international courts.

(Source Comment: In the opinion of these sensitive sources, this initiative reflects the concern of the Qaddafi government that as a result of continuing NATO air raids against their forces, they can no longer defeat the rebel army. They add that there has been no firm response from the UK government, and the initial discussions have been conducted by officers of the British Special Intelligence Service (SIS / MI-6). In the opinion of these same sources the initial idea of these talks may have been raised by former Libyan Foreign Minister Mousa Kousa, after his arrival in London in late March 2011.)

According to these sensitive sources, Saif al-Islam and his advisors realize that there is little chance the TNC will agree to such an offer, and that SIS may be using this contact as a means of collecting intelligence while protecting British interests in Libya. Notwithstanding this concern, in the opinion of these individuals, Saif al-Islam believes that introducing the possibility of a ceasefire and the subsequent negotiations may create divisions within NATO and weaken their military operations against Qaddafi's forces.

(Source Comment: These sources add that many of Saif al-Islam's advisors do not know if, or to what extent, the UK Government has shared knowledge of this initiative with the governments of the United States and the other NATO allies.)

At the same time, sources with access to the operations of the TNC military committee state privately that on June 1, 2011 Libyan intelligence officers detonated a car bomb outside the Tibesti Hotel in the TNC capital of Benghazi. One person was injured in the blast and a number of nearby vehicles were damaged. TNC security officers occupied the hotel and the surrounding area immediately after the attack, but were not able to identify any of the attackers. The Tibesti Hotel is an important landmark in the heart of Benghazi and is used by the TNC government, as well by foreign journalists and diplomats. Hotel security has been heightened in the hours following the attack and all foreign residents are under surveillance by TNC security officers, looking for suspicious activities and contacts.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, March 11, 2011 1:36 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Fw: H: Latest: How Syria is aiding Qaddafi and more... Sid
Attachments: hrc memo syria aiding libya 030311.docx

Pls print.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, March 03, 2011 09:45 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Latest: How Syria is aiding Qaddafi and more... Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

March 3, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Syria aiding Qaddafi

This memo has two parts. Part one is the report that Syria is providing air support for Qaddafi. Part two is a note to Cody from Lord David Owen, former UK foreign secretary on his views of an increasingly complex crisis. It seems that the situation is developing into a protracted civil war with various nations backing opposing sides with unforeseen consequences. Under these circumstances the crucial challenge is to deprive Qaddafi of his strategic depth—his support both financial and military.

I. Report

During the afternoon of March 3, advisers to Muammar Qaddafi stated privately that the Libyan Leader has decided that civil war is inevitable, pitting troops and mercenary troops loyal to him against the rebel forces gathering around Benghazi. Qaddafi is convinced that these rebels are being supported by the United States, Western Europe and Israel. On March 2 Qaddafi told his son Saif al-Islam that he believes the intelligence services of the United States, Great Britain,

Egypt, and France have deployed paramilitary officers to Benghazi to assist in organizing, training, and equipping opposition forces. Qaddafi is convinced that the National Libyan Council (NLC), and its leader, former Minister of Justice Mustafa Mohamed Abdel Galil have been chosen by the foreign powers to replace him. On March 1 advisors to Qaddafi stated that Qaddafi's cousin, Col. Ali Qaddafiddam had failed in efforts to recruit fighters among the Egyptian population living immediately across the border with Libya.

These individuals added that during the week of February 21 the Libyan Leader spoke to Syrian President Bashir al-Assad on at least three occasions by secure telephone lines. During the conversations Qaddafi asked that Syrian officers and technicians currently training the Libyan Air Force be placed under command of the Libyan Army and allowed to fight against the rebel forces.

(Source Comment: Senior Libyan Army officers still loyal to Qaddafi added that On February 23, President Assad told General **Isam Hallaq**, the commander in chief of the Syrian Air Force, to instruct the pilots and technicians in Tripoli to help the Libyan regime, should full scale Civil War breaks out in the immediate future.)

On March 2, a military officer with ties to Qaddafi's son Khamis stated privately that the number of Libyan pilots defecting to the opposition has destroyed the morale and professional spirit of the Libyan Air Force at this critical moment, when Tripoli's air superiority is its principal weapon against insurgents. In the opinion of this individual Qaddafi and his senior military advisors are convinced that the **European Union** and the U.S will impose a no-fly zone over Libya in the immediate future. These advisors believe that the no fly zone will serve as air support for opposition forces. They are also prepared for the Western allies to bomb anti-aircraft facilities in and around Tripoli in preparation for the establishment of the no-fly zone. Foreign Minister Mousa Kousa is convinced that that Russia and Turkey will oppose the move, and may prevent the implementation of the no fly zone.

The Syrian soldiers in Libya are part of a mission established in 1984 following the signing of a military agreement between Qaddafi and Syria's long-time ruler and Bashir's father, **Hafez al-**

II. Note from David Owen, former UK foreign secretary

Assad, in the presence of General **Soubhi Haddad**, who was the commander in chief of the Air Force at the time. Both Air Forces are equipped with Russian materiel and have had long-standing, close links with Moscow.

In exchange for Syria's help, Libya provided financial support to the Syrian state, including funds in support of operations carried out by the Syrian intelligence services in Lebanon. Libyan money helped Hafez al-Assad bribe his brother **Rifaat**, the author of an attempted *coup d'etat* in 1983, to leave the country and go into exile in Spain and France, where he has remained ever since.

According to individuals with access to the Syrian military, Damascus has also sent a second team of pilots and technicians to Tripoli. These are lower-ranking officers loyal to the regime who are specialized in flying helicopters. Before their departure for Tripoli on February 23, they met with General Allaq and General **Jamil Hasan**, head of Air Force's Intelligence.

(Source Comment: During the afternoon of 3 March, an associate of Saif al-Islam Qaddafi stated that he and the Libyan leaders other family members were concerned over the announcement of Jose Luis Moreno-Ocampo, chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC), announced that he was investigating Qaddafi, his sons Khamis, the commander of the 32 battalion, and Montasem, as well as the head of Gadhafi's personal security detail, the Director-General of the External Security Organization (Abuzaid Dorda), the spokesman of the regime (Musa Ibrahim), and the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Mousa Koussa). This source added that Saif al-Islam had said that Qaddafi himself found the announcement amusing.)

From: **Lord Owen**

Cody,

Realistically the UN will not authorise a no fly zone while Gaddafi continues to hold off bombing and strafing but keeping it up front and on the military agenda keeps him worried. Yet for a few frustrating months that ambivalence kept the Serbian aeroplanes on the ground before we acted. My hope is that preparations continue with visuals of planes flying off carriers, airborne early warning planes flying and people with clout outside the Administration demanding preparations. But and it is a big BUT what else can and should we be doing? Encourage humanitarian ships and convoys from Egypt to bring in supplies since we must ensure the cities in the East can hold up living standards, maybe for months. More adventurous, Egyptian Special Forces to go in and advise, even supplying hand held missiles. It appears they have few missiles; the military in the East having been deliberately kept ill-equipped. There is old Nasserite sentiment for a Federation of Egypt, Sudan and Libya. I know some will say Egypt has enough problems and they should stay resolutely focused on domestic reforms. It is delicate but words alone and the balance of advantage will slip to Gaddafi. A Gaddafi

victory is possible and needs to be weighed in the balance now when deciding what to do.

I'm more worried than I am ready to say publicly.

Yours
David

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, March 11, 2011 1:36 PM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Fw: H: Latest: How Syria is aiding Qaddafi and more... Sid
Attachments: hrc memo syria aiding libya 030311.docx

Pls print.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, March 03, 2011 09:45 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Latest: How Syria is aiding Qaddafi and more... Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

March 3, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Syria aiding Qaddafi

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I. Report

During the afternoon of March 3, advisers to Muammar Qaddafi stated privately that the Libyan Leader has decided that civil war is inevitable, pitting troops and mercenary troops loyal to him against the rebel forces gathering around Benghazi. Qaddafi is convinced that these rebels are being supported by the United States, Western Europe and Israel. On March 2 Qaddafi told his son Saif al-Islam that he believes the intelligence services of the United States, Great Britain,

Egypt, and France have deployed paramilitary officers to Benghazi to assist in organizing, training, and equipping opposition forces. Qaddafi is convinced that the National Libyan Council (NLC), and its leader, former Minister of Justice Mustafa Mohamed Abdel Galil have been chosen by the foreign powers to replace him. On March 1 advisors to Qaddafi stated that Qaddafi's cousin, Col. Ali Qaddafiddam had failed in efforts to recruit fighters among the Egyptian population living immediately across the border with Libya.

These individuals added that during the week of February 21 the Libyan Leader spoke to Syrian President Bashir al-Assad on at least three occasions by secure telephone lines. During the conversations Qaddafi asked that Syrian officers and technicians currently training the Libyan Air Force be placed under command of the Libyan Army and allowed to fight against the rebel forces.

(Source Comment: Senior Libyan Army officers still loyal to Qaddafi added that On February 23, President Assad told General **Isam Hallaq**, the commander in chief of the Syrian Air Force, to instruct the pilots and technicians in Tripoli to help the Libyan regime, should full scale Civil War breaks out in the immediate future.)

On March 2, a military officer with ties to Qaddafi's son Khamis stated privately that the number of Libyan pilots defecting to the opposition has destroyed the morale and professional spirit of the Libyan Air Force at this critical moment, when Tripoli's air superiority is its principal weapon against insurgents. In the opinion of this individual Qaddafi and his senior military advisors are convinced that the **European Union** and the U.S will impose a no-fly zone over Libya in the immediate future. These advisors believe that the no fly zone will serve as air support for opposition forces. They are also prepared for the Western allies to bomb anti-aircraft facilities in and around Tripoli in preparation for the establishment of the no-fly zone. Foreign Minister Mousa Kousa is convinced that that Russia and Turkey will oppose the move, and may prevent the implementation of the no fly zone.

The Syrian soldiers in Libya are part of a mission established in 1984 following the signing of a military agreement between Qaddafi and Syria's long-time ruler and Bashir's father, **Hafez al-**

II. Note from David Owen, former UK foreign secretary

Assad, in the presence of General **Soubhi Haddad**, who was the commander in chief of the Air Force at the time. Both Air Forces are equipped with Russian materiel and have had long-standing, close links with Moscow.

In exchange for Syria's help, Libya provided financial support to the Syrian state, including funds in support of operations carried out by the Syrian intelligence services in Lebanon. Libyan money helped Hafez al-Assad bribe his brother **Rifaat**, the author of an attempted *coup d'etat* in 1983, to leave the country and go into exile in Spain and France, where he has remained ever since.

According to individuals with access to the Syrian military, Damascus has also sent a second team of pilots and technicians to Tripoli. These are lower-ranking officers loyal to the regime who are specialized in flying helicopters. Before their departure for Tripoli on February 23, they met with General Allaq and General **Jamil Hasan**, head of Air Force's Intelligence.

[Source Comment: During the afternoon of 3 March, an associate of Saif al-Islam Qaddafi stated that he and the Libyan leaders other family members were concerned over the announcement of Jose Luis Moreno-Ocampo, chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC), announced that he was investigating Qaddafi, his sons Khamis, the commander of the 32 battalion, and Montasem, as well as the head of Gadhafi's personal security detail, the Director-General of the External Security Organization (Abuzaid Dorda), the spokesman of the regime (Musa Ibrahim), and the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Mousa Kousa). This source added that Saif al-Islam had said that Qaddafi himself found the announcement amusing.)

From: **Lord Owen**

Cody,

Realistically the UN will not authorise a no fly zone while Gaddafi continues to hold off bombing and strafing but keeping it up front and on the military agenda keeps him worried. Yet for a few frustrating months that ambivalence kept the Serbian aeroplanes on the ground before we acted. My hope is that preparations continue with visuals of planes flying off carriers, airborne early warning planes flying and people with clout outside the Administration demanding preparations. But and it is a big BUT what else can and should we be doing? Encourage humanitarian ships and convoys from Egypt to bring in supplies since we must ensure the cities in the East can hold up living standards, maybe for months. More adventurous, Egyptian Special Forces to go in and advise, even supplying hand held missiles. It appears they have few missiles; the military in the East having been deliberately kept ill-equipped. There is old Nasserite sentiment for a Federation of Egypt, Sudan and Libya. I know some will say Egypt has enough problems and they should stay resolutely focused on domestic reforms. It is delicate but words alone and the balance of advantage will slip to Gaddafi. A Gaddafi

victory is possible and needs to be weighed in the balance now when deciding what to do.

I'm more worried than I am ready to say publicly.

Yours
David

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, August 24, 2012 7:44 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: Intel on new Libya president. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo libya new president 082312.docx

Very interesting.

From: Sidney Blumenthal [mailto:]
Sent: Thursday, August 23, 2012 11:33 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Intel on new Libya president. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

August 23, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: New president of Libya

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During early August, 2012, Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC) President Mustafa Abdel Jalil held discreet meetings with Mohammed Youssef Magariaf, the then leader of the newly elected General National Congress (GNC), who Jalil learned was to be named interim President of Libya when the NTC stepped down. During these sessions the two leaders worked out the transition to a new, elected interim Government for Libya, focusing on the need to restore stability and security by disarming the militia units which fought in the 2011 revolution against former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi. According to a source with excellent access to both parties, Jalil came away from the meeting convinced that Magariaf is intent on becoming Libya's first elected president following the overthrow of Qaddafi. Jalil was pleased to learn that Magariaf strongly supports the three-party Cairo Declaration negotiated between the NTC and the Governments of Tunisia and Egypt in late July allowing for increased trade and a relaxation of existing travel restrictions.

2. According to this individual, Jalil and Magariaf agree that Tunisia and Egypt hold the key to Libya's future economic success, with Libya providing the funding for new projects, while Egypt and Tunisia provide technical expertise. Magariaf stated privately that this relationship marks a departure from the Qaddafi years when Libya's natural resources fell under the control of foreign firms and governments. Jalil added that Magariaf will welcome investment and cooperation from American and Western European banks and

corporations, but believes Libya, supported by the new governments rising out of the Arab Spring, must maintain control over all aspects of the industries involved in exploiting its natural resources. In this regard, with the support of both Jalil and Magariaf, the Libyan Ministry of Finance is increasing the level of Libyan investment in the Cairo stock exchange. In turn, Magariaf and Egyptian President Mohamad Morsi discussed increased Tunisian and Egyptian investment in the Benghazi stock exchange as the economic situation in Libya becomes more orderly.

3. In commenting on the new Interim President, Jalil added that Magariaf's current position is bolstered by the fact that he is not tied to any particular faction. At the same time he has maintained the respect that is attached to his role as the first Libyan leader to direct an armed revolt against Qaddafi. This fighting was carried out by the rebel Libyan National Army in 1981. Magariaf is an academic and diplomat with well established Islamist credentials and good relationships with business and government leaders in the United States and Western Europe. A separate sensitive source noted that one interesting issue to watch is Magariaf's relationship with General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar, the commander of one sections of the new Libyan Army. Haftar has been at odds with many of the militia commanders and is currently leading Libyan forces in the Kufra region, attempting to end local tribal fighting and block the smuggling of arms and supplies to pro-Qaddafi militias by supporters based in South Sudan. In the years between 1981 and 1990 Haftar (then Colonel Haftar) commanded the rebel Libyan National Army, under Magariaf's National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL). One source notes that Magariaf's opposition to Qaddafi was based on the dictator's betrayal of Islamic principles, a position that, at that time, was supported by the Western Allies.

4. According to this individual, Jalil also spoke with former Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril, who indicated that he and Magariaf agree on many issues, including the belief that they can build an Islamic state in Libya that can function in the world economy and the international diplomatic community. He did note that he believes Magariaf's view of the role of Islam in the day to day function of the government is more conservative than his, but these are differences that can be sorted out in the GNC. In the opinion of this individual Jibril is well aware of the fact that, while his National Force Alliance (NFA) controls a solid bloc of thirty nine (39) seats in the GNC and Magariaf's National Front Party (NFP) holds no seats in its own right, the interim President has established good working relationships with at least 100 of the 120 independent members of the GNC. Magariaf received 113 votes in his election as Interim President. Again these independent deputies respect Magariaf's role in fighting the Qaddafi regime.

5. (Source Comment: This particularly sensitive individual stated in strict confidence that Magariaf sees his role as establishing an efficient interim government, while overseeing the drafting of a new constitution and election law. This individual believes that Magariaf is very interested in winning the presidency under this new law. Besides meeting with Jalil and Jibril, Magariaf is talking to liberal politicians including former Oil and Finance Minister Ali Tarhouni, and the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood's (MB) Justice and Construction Party (JCP), including Mohamad Sowani.)

6. This individual adds that Jalil believes Magariaf will face a very difficult period as he addresses the many issues left unresolved by the NTC and the interim regime of Prime Minister Abdel Rahman el-Keib. Jalil has been highly frustrated by el-Keib's inability to disarm the many militia units left over from the 2011 revolution against Qaddafi. At the same time he has advised Magariaf to move quickly in replacing el-Keib's cabinet while deciding which ministers to retain. The new interim government is facing a problem of lawlessness and attacks against foreigners, including representatives of the Egyptian Government; this at a time when the new Muslim Brotherhood government of Egypt is reaching out to increase business and diplomatic contacts between the two countries. According to a sensitive source, Libyan military intelligence officers believe these attacks are the work of Qaddafi loyalists, while former NTC officials fear that they may be carried out by dissident Islamist groups, frustrated with the results of the national elections, which many of them boycotted.

7. (Source Comment: An extremely sensitive source stated in confidence that Libyan Military Intelligence officers reported to Jalil and later Magariaf that a series of bombings in Tripoli and Benghazi appear to be the work of Qaddafi loyalists looking to create tension between the Libyan and Egyptian Governments. These attacks included the car of an Egyptian diplomat, which was blown up near his home in Benghazi, a day after several deadly bomb attacks in the capital Tripoli. At the same time, a homemade bomb exploded under the vehicle of the Egyptian consulate's first secretary Abdelhamid Rifai in one of the Tripoli's most affluent neighborhoods. No one was hurt during this attack. Earlier in August, three car bombs exploded near the Ministry of Interior in Tripoli, killing two people and wounding three others. This sensitive source added that security officers arrested 32 members of what they describe as an organized network of Gaddafi loyalists linked to the attacks. During this period, the Red Cross suspended its activities in Benghazi and Misrata after one of its compounds in Misrata was attacked with grenades and rockets. In late July seven Iranian relief workers associated with the Libyan Red Crescent were kidnapped by tribal troops still loyal to the Qaddafi family. Security officials have no word on the whereabouts of these relief workers.)

8. According to this source, while the Cairo Declaration received a positive reception among Libyan political and business leaders, it also created a drastic increase in the number of Libyans applying for Egyptian visas under the new, simplified process. This workload has created a backlog of applications, and in mid-August, a group of Libyan nationals frustrated with the Egyptian visa process attacked the interior of the Egyptian consulate in Tripoli. These Libyan applicants were angry about the time it was taking to receive visas to enter Egypt and were demanding that the staff work past their stated hours of operation. A sensitive source noted that a number of Libyans destroyed the furniture in the main waiting room and attacked the consulate. The Magariaf Government has assured the Egyptian ambassador that additional security personnel will be assigned to guard the Embassy, at least until the visa backlog is reduced.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sidney Blumenthal [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, August 27, 2012 6:36 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Intel, Libyan President. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo Libya President 082712.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

August 27, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: New President of Libya

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. (Source Comment: As the new interim President of Libya Mohammed Yussef el Magariaf is determined to establish a democratic state based on Islamic principles. In the opinion of an extremely sensitive source, Magariaf sees this moment as the climax his entire life's work. Having first served deposed dictator Muammar al Qaddafi as a policy advisor and diplomat, in 1979 Magariaf became disenchanted with what he saw as the cult of personality that Qaddafi was building for himself while turning against the basic beliefs of the Islamist movement. Magariaf was member of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in his student days and remains a devout Islamist intellectual, albeit one who believes that Islam can coexist and even work with the non-Muslim world, particularly the United States and Western Europe. This source also believes that Magariaf is convinced that Libya, with its great natural wealth, can become a leading player in North Africa, as well as the rest of the Islamic world. Magariaf is particularly well disposed toward the governments of the United States and France, based on past experiences with each during his struggle with Qaddafi. This source also believes that he remains hostile to the government of Omar al Bashir in Sudan. In 1989 Bashir overthrew Magariaf's ally, then Sudanese Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi and expelled Magariaf and his followers from Khartoum.)

2. According to the same sensitive source, Magariaf will also seek a discreet relationship with Israel. Political realities in Libya at present will dictate that this relationship be handled in a low key manner, but the new President of Libya shares many common friends and associates with the leaders of Israel and intends to take advantage of this situation to improve the lot of the Libyan people. Magariaf may, at times, be forced to make statements critical of Israel for his own political purposes, but believes he and his associates have the experience and sophistication to manage this issue. At the

same time Magariaf intends to pursue aggressively the regional political initiatives begun by National Transitional Council (NTC) President Mustafa Abdel Jalil. Magariaf will pursue the economic and security cooperation set out in the Cairo Declaration of July 29, 2012 establishing a regional bond between the new revolutionary governments of Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. This same individual notes that Magariaf is aware of the fact that Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi sees Libya as a key factor in Egypt's economic development; and the Libyan leader believes he can manipulate this situation to the advantage of the Libyan people.

3. A separate sensitive source stated on condition of strict secrecy that Magariaf intends to work with his security advisors to develop a plan for disarming the Islamist militias who fought against Qaddafi, without arousing their suspicion. He believes that the most important step in this matter will be providing the medical and economic services demanded by these militias in return for disarming. Magariaf also believes that he can manage the political ambitions of Islamist leaders like General Abdelhakim Belhaj, while preventing the growth of radical groups who might see Libya as a base of operations and support. Magariaf and his supporters believe that his Islamist/anti-Qaddafi credentials will allow him to manage these challenges, and if he can do so he will be able to win the presidency outright in the first full scale national presidential election in the spring of 2013.

4. This source adds that, while avoiding direct involvement in the Syrian crisis, the Magariaf government will support Turkey, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the rest of the nations calling for the end of the regime of Basher al Assad. Magariaf harbors a particular sense of hostility toward Assad, who was a longtime ally of Qaddafi, supporting him with equipment, intelligence, and advisors throughout the revolution of 2011. Magariaf realizes that this stance will also bring him into conflict with Syria's ally Iran, but does not believe Iran has a role to play in Libya, or the rest of North Africa.

5. According to an extremely sensitive source, in 1979 Magariaf, having become increasingly disenchanted with Qaddafi, fled Libya for Khartoum in Sudan, where in 1981, with the help of the government of Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi, Chadian leader Hissene Habre, Iraqi President Sadaam Hussein, and several Western states, he established The National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL), dedicated to overthrowing Qaddafi and establishing an Islamic democracy in Libya. Under the auspices of the NFSL, Magariaf also organized the Libyan National Army (LNA), based in Ndjamena, Chad. The LNA was commanded by the Colonel Khalifa Belqasim Haftar, who is now one of the commanding generals of the new Libyan Army. Under Magariaf's authority the Haftar force, which numbered between 2,500 and 3,000 troops, fought several battles with Qaddafi's troops, with mixed results. These attacks included a raid on Qaddafi's compound at Bab al-Aziza in 1986. The LNA also maintained a 50,000 watt radio station in Ndjamena, broadcasting anti-Qaddafi material into Libya. This radio station was supported by Western governments and Iraqi Military Intelligence.

6. The LNA's greatest success came in support of the Chadian Army under General Idriss Deby, in their overwhelming victory over Libyan troops at the battle Ouadi Doum in 1987. This victory forced the Libyan Army and Air Force out of Chad, and was supported by the French Air Force and other Western personnel. Following the battle Deby became a national hero in Chad. In 1990, with the support of Libyan intelligence officers, Deby, who had undergone military training in Libya and France, rebelled against and overthrew the Habre Government. At that time Deby, under Qaddafi's influence, forced the LNA to abandon Chad for Zaire, and eventually the United States. Magariaf and Haftar both settled in the United States, and while the LNA no longer existed as an effective force, Magariaf continued to maintain the NFSL as a political organization. In 2004 Magariaf and the NFSL joined the National Conference for the Libyan Opposition (NCLO), eventually returning to support the 2011 revolution.

7. (Source Comment: In the opinion of an extremely sensitive source speaking on condition of strict secrecy, Magariaf views himself as an Islamist politician who can work with both Islamic and

non-Islamic states, including Israel, if the relationships are properly managed. The Libyan President also sees the current situation as vindication for all of the problematic experiences he encountered in his long struggle against the Qaddafi regime. This individual believes that Magariaf intends to use his reputation for integrity, commitment to Islam, and his ability to work with divergent groups to establish himself as an effective interim President, and eventually the first elected Libyan Head of State in mid-2013. Magariaf plans to draw on all political, religious, and ethnic groups to form his cabinet, using his stature to form a representative government under the General National Council.)

CONFIDENTIAL

August 27, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: New President of Libya

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. (Source Comment: As the new interim President of Libya Mohammed Yussef el Magariaf is determined to establish a democratic state based on Islamic principles. In the opinion of an extremely sensitive source, Magariaf sees this moment as the climax his entire life's work. Having first served deposed dictator Muammar al Qaddafi as a policy advisor and diplomat, in 1979 Magariaf became disenchanted with what he saw as the cult of personality that Qaddafi was building for himself while turning against the basic beliefs of the Islamist movement. Magariaf was member of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in his student days and remains a devout Islamist intellectual, albeit one who believes that Islam can coexist and even work with the non-Muslim world, particularly the United States and Western Europe. This source also believes that Magariaf is convinced that Libya, with its great natural wealth, can become a leading player in North Africa, as well as the rest of the Islamic world. Magariaf is particularly well disposed toward the governments of the United States and France, based on past experiences with each during his struggle with Qaddafi. This source also believes that he remains hostile to the government of Omar al Bashir in Sudan. In 1989 Bashir overthrew Magariaf's ally, then Sudanese Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi and expelled Magariaf and his followers from Khartoum.)

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July 29, 2012 establishing a regional bond between the new revolutionary governments of Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. This same individual notes that Magariaf is aware of the fact that Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi sees Libya as a key factor in Egypt's economic development; and the Libyan leader believes he can manipulate this situation to the advantage of the Libyan people.

3. A separate sensitive source stated on condition of strict secrecy that Magariaf intends to work with his security advisors to develop a plan for disarming the Islamist militias who fought against Qaddafi, without arousing their suspicion. He believes that the most important step in this matter will be providing the medical and economic services demanded by these militias in return for disarming. Magariaf also believes that he can manage the political ambitions of Islamist leaders like General Abdelhakim Belhaj, while preventing the growth of radical groups who might see Libya as a base of operations and support. Magariaf and his supporters believe that his Islamist/anti-Qaddafi credentials will allow him to manage these challenges, and if he can do so he will be able to win the presidency outright in the first full scale national presidential election in the spring of 2013.

4. This source adds that, while avoiding direct involvement in the Syrian crisis, the Magariaf government will support Turkey, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the rest of the nations calling for the end of the regime of Bashar al Assad. Magariaf harbors a particular sense of hostility toward Assad, who was a longtime ally of Qaddafi, supporting him with equipment, intelligence, and advisors throughout the revolution of 2011. Magariaf realizes that this stance will also bring him into conflict with Syria's ally Iran, but does not believe Iran has a role to play in Libya, or the rest of North Africa.

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, January 27, 2012 7:15 AM
To: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: V good intel internal Libya. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo libya internal strife 012312.docx

Pls print.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, January 23, 2012 12:11 PM
To: H
Subject: H: V good intel internal Libya. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

January 23, 2012

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: Libya internal strife

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. On the evening of January 22, 2012, according to an official with access to the leadership of the National Transitional Government (NTC), Libyan President Mustafa Abdul Jalil spoke at length with Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib, stating in a heated exchange that el-Keib's government must take the steps necessary to address the complaints of the demobilized fighters from the 2011 revolution. Jalil pointed out that the new government has been discussing this situation since it was formed in October 2011, and matters have now reached a crisis point, with a group of more than 2,000 disgruntled veterans, supported by students, attacking the NTC offices in Benghazi on January 21, destroying computer equipment and NTC files. These demonstrators, some of whom threw Molotov cocktails at the NTC headquarters building, continue to demand better medical care, jobs, payment for their time in the revolutionary army, and a commitment to transparency on the part of the el-Keib regime; particularly the appointment of cabinet members and senior officials.

2. According to this source, when el-Keib replied, pointing out that demonstrators were camped outside of his office in Tripoli. He added that the government had to proceed in a measured and professional manner, Jalil stated in angry tones, that NTC staffers were beaten and could have been killed during the January 21 incident, pointing out that this is how the rebellion against Muammar al Qaddafi began in February 2011. Jalil also warned that Islamist leader General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his supporters, particularly militia commanders from Zintan, Misrata, and other western regions, are anxiously waiting for the NTC government to collapse. Their goal, in the opinion of this individual, is to eventually move in and establish a strict Islamic state. Jalil, added that his contacts in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood had been in touch during the preceding week, warning that the threat from Belhaj is very real. El-Keib stated that he must press Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali and Interior Minister Fawzi Abd Ali to be more efficient in administering their positions. According to this individual, el-Keib fears that al-Juwali, who was a western commander during the revolution, may be maintaining a secret relationship with Belhaj and his allies. In response, Jalil warned el-Keib

to avoid trying to use the regular military forces posted around Benghazi under General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar in an effort to restrain the former militia troops as such a step could lead to civil war.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of an extremely well placed individual, el-Keib is, in fact, increasingly frustrated by the inefficiency in his regime and the inability of his ministers and administrators to arrange contracts with foreign firms. He complains that his principal advisors, Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza and Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, have been too timid in resolving the questions associated with contracts involving foreign firms, both old and new. At present it appears that whenever one official raises a question regarding an agreement the entire matter is put on hold and delayed. In the opinion of this source, el-Keib knows that without these agreements he cannot meet the demands of the veterans and the students. El-Keib stated in confidence, that he may have made a serious mistake in removing the former oil/finance minister Ali Tarhouni from the government. El-Keib also noted that Jalil is shaken by the January 21 attack on NTC headquarters and is searching for ways to appease the demonstrators. Most recently he asked Abdel – Hafidh Ghoza, his principal deputy and NTC spokesman to step down. Ghoza, who comes from the Benghazi area, was particularly unpopular with the western troops.)

4. Following the discussion with Jalil, el-Keib ordered Ziglam and Ngeb Obeda, the head of the Stock Exchange, to move with all possible speed to address the issue of the foreign contracts and arrange for new vendors to provide the services demanded by the veterans and students. In this discussion he pointed out that if they cannot deal with this situation they will not have to worry about the national elections in 2012, Libya will be an Islamic Republic, with Belhaj as the ruler. El-Keib pointed out that foreign governments and large oil firms must be aware of this threat and that this will frighten them into meeting the conditions for foreign contracts set out by the NTC.

5. (Source Comment: According to an extremely sensitive source, el-Keib spoke secretly with Haftar, stating that he, and those troops loyal to him, should be prepared to move to protect the government in the event of increased violence. This effort could include moving against Belhaj and attacking militia forces before they can unite and organize. El-Keib emphasized that this is for planning purposes only, and no action should be taken until el-Keib gives the order. He emphasized that he will do everything possible to avoid civil war, but he is now concerned that Jalil will be unable to deal with the level of hostility against the NTC, and cannot be counted on to take strong positions against Belhaj and his supporters. In the opinion of this individual, el-Keib cannot back away from his commitment to technicians in senior positions, but he will press them as hard as he can to have the government respond to the needs of the veterans and students. El-Keib believes it is not too late to address these problems, but they must move quickly.)

CONFIDENTIAL

January 23, 2012

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: Libya internal strife

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. On the evening of January 22, 2012, according to an official with access to the leadership of the National Transitional Government (NTC), Libyan President Mustafa Abdul Jalil spoke at length with Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib, stating in a heated exchange that el-Keib's government must take the steps necessary to address the complaints of the demobilized fighters from the 2011 revolution. Jalil pointed out that the new government has been discussing this situation since it was formed in October 2011, and matters have now reached a crisis point, with a group of more than 2,000 disgruntled veterans, supported by students, attacking the NTC offices in Benghazi on January 21, destroying computer equipment and NTC files. These demonstrators, some of whom threw Molotov cocktails at the NTC headquarters building, continue to demand better medical care, jobs, payment for their time in the revolutionary army, and a commitment to transparency on the part of the el-Keib regime; particularly the appointment of cabinet members and senior officials.

2. According to this source, when el-Keib replied, pointing out that demonstrators were camped outside of his office in Tripoli. He added that the government had to proceed in a measured and professional manner, Jalil stated in angry tones, that NTC staffers were beaten and could have been killed during the January 21 incident, pointing out that this is how the rebellion against Muammar al Qaddafi began in February 2011. Jalil also warned that Islamist leader General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his supporters, particularly militia commanders from Zintan, Misrata, and other western regions, are anxiously waiting for the NTC government to collapse. Their goal, in the opinion of this individual, is to eventually move in and establish a strict Islamic state. Jalil, added that his contacts in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood had been in touch during the preceding week, warning that the threat from Belhaj is very real. El-Keib

stated that he must press Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali and Interior Minister Fawzi Abd Ali to be more efficient in administering their positions. According to this individual, el-Keib fears that al-Juwali, who was a western commander during the revolution, may be maintaining a secret relationship with Belhaj and his allies. In response, Jalil warned el-Keib to avoid trying to use the regular military forces posted around Benghazi under General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar in an effort to restrain the former militia troops as such a step could lead to civil war.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of an extremely well placed individual, el-Keib is, in fact, increasingly frustrated by the inefficiency in his regime and the inability of his ministers and administrators to arrange contracts with foreign firms. He complains that his principal advisors, Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza and Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, have been too timid in resolving the questions associated with contracts involving foreign firms, both old and new. At present it appears that whenever one official raises a question regarding an agreement the entire matter is put on hold and delayed. In the opinion of this source, el-Keib knows that without these agreements he cannot meet the demands of the veterans and the students. El-Keib stated in confidence, that he may have made a serious mistake in removing the former oil/finance minister Ali Tarhouni from the government. El-Keib also noted that Jalil is shaken by the January 21 attack on NTC headquarters and is searching for ways to appease the demonstrators. Most recently he asked Abdel – Hafidh Ghoza, his principal deputy and NTC spokesman to step down. Ghoza, who comes from the Benghazi area, was particularly unpopular with the western troops.)

4. Following the discussion with Jalil, el-Kieb ordered Ziglam and Ngeb Obeda, the head of the Stock Exchange, to move with all possible speed to address the issue of the foreign contracts and arrange for new vendors to provide the services demanded by the veterans and students. In this discussion he pointed out that if they cannot deal with this situation they will not have to worry about the national elections in 2012, Libya will be an Islamic Republic, with Belhaj as the ruler. El-Keib pointed out that foreign governments and large oil firms must be aware of this threat and that this will frighten them into meeting the conditions for foreign contracts set out by the NTC.

5. (Source Comment: According to an extremely sensitive source, el-Keib spoke secretly with Haftar, stating that he, and those troops loyal to him, should be prepared to move to protect the government in the event of increased violence. This effort could include moving against Belhaj and attacking militia forces before they can unite and organize. El-Keib emphasized that this is for planning purposes only, and no action should be taken until el-Keib gives the order. He emphasized that he will do everything possible to avoid civil war, but he is now concerned that Jalil will be unable to deal with the level of hostility against the NTC, and cannot be counted on to take strong positions against Belhaj and his supporters. In the opinion of this individual, el-Keib cannot back away from his commitment to technicians in senior positions, but he will press them as hard as he can to have the government respond to the needs

of the veterans and students. El-Keib believes it is not too late to address these problems, but they must move quickly.)

From: Sidney Blumenthal [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, August 23, 2012 11:34 PM
To: H
Subject: H: Intel on new Libya president. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo libya new president 082312.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

August 23, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: New president of Libya

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During early August, 2012, Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC) President Mustafa Abdel Jalil held discreet meetings with Mohammed Youssef Magariaf, the then leader of the newly elected General National Congress (GNC), who Jalil learned was to be named interim President of Libya when the NTC stepped down. During these sessions the two leaders worked out the transition to a new, elected interim Government for Libya; focusing on the need to restore stability and security by disarming the militia units which fought in the 2011 revolution against former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi. According to a source with excellent access to both parties, Jalil came away from the meeting convinced that Magariaf is intent on becoming Libya's first elected president following the overthrow of Qaddafi. Jalil was pleased to learn that Magariaf strongly supports the three-party Cairo Declaration negotiated between the NTC and the Governments of Tunisia and Egypt in late July allowing for increased trade and a relaxation of existing travel restrictions.

2. According to this individual, Jalil and Magariaf agree that Tunisia and Egypt hold the key to Libya's future economic success, with Libya providing the funding for new projects, while Egypt and Tunisia provide technical expertise. Magariaf stated privately that this relationship marks a departure from the Qaddafi years when Libya's natural resources fell under the control of foreign firms and governments. Jalil added that Magariaf will welcome investment and cooperation from American and Western European banks and corporations, but believes Libya, supported by the new governments rising out of the Arab Spring, must maintain control over all aspects of the industries involved in exploiting its natural resources. In this regard, with the support of both Jalil and Magariaf, the Libyan Ministry of Finance is increasing the level of Libyan investment in the Cairo stock exchange. In turn, Magariaf and Egyptian President Mohamad Morsi discussed increased Tunisian and Egyptian investment in the Benghazi stock exchange as the economic situation in Libya becomes more orderly.

3. In commenting on the new Interim President, Jalil added that Magariaf's current position is bolstered by the fact that he is not tied to any particular faction. At the same time he has maintained the respect that is attached to his role as the first Libyan leader to direct an armed revolt against Qaddafi. This fighting was carried out by the rebel Libyan National Army in 1981. Magariaf is an academic and diplomat with well established Islamist credentials and good relationships with business and government leaders in the United States and Western Europe. A separate sensitive source noted that one interesting issue to watch is Magariaf's relationship with General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar, the commander of one sections of the new Libyan Army. Haftar has been at odds with many of the militia commanders and is currently leading Libyan forces in the Kufra region, attempting to end local tribal fighting and block the smuggling of arms and supplies to pro-Qaddafi militias by supporters based in South Sudan. In the years between 1981 and 1990 Haftar (then Colonel Haftar) commanded the rebel Libyan National Army, under Magariaf's National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL). One source notes that Magariaf's opposition to Qaddafi was based on the dictator's betrayal of Islamic principles, a position that, at that time, was supported by the Western Allies.

4. According to this individual, Jalil also spoke with former Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril, who indicated that he and Magariaf agree on many issues, including the belief that they can build an Islamic state in Libya that can function in the world economy and the international diplomatic community. He did note that he believes Magariaf's view of the role of Islam in the day to day function of the government is more conservative than his, but these are differences that can be sorted out in the GNC. In the opinion of this individual Jibril is well aware of the fact that, while his National Force Alliance (NFA) controls a solid bloc of thirty nine (39) seats in the GNC and Magariaf's National Front Party (NFP) holds no seats in its own right, the interim President has established good working relationships with at least 100 of the 120 independent members of the GNC. Magariaf received 113 votes in his election as Interim President. Again these independent deputies respect Magariaf's role in fighting the Qaddafi regime.

5. (Source Comment: This particularly sensitive individual stated in strict confidence that Magariaf sees his role as establishing an efficient interim government, while overseeing the drafting of a new constitution and election law. This individual believes that Magariaf is very interested in winning the presidency under this new law. Besides meeting with Jalil and Jibril, Magariaf is talking to liberal politicians including former Oil and Finance Minister Ali Tarhouni, and the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood's (MB) Justice and Construction Party (JCP), including Mohamad Sowan.)

6. This individual adds that Jalil believes Magariaf will face a very difficult period as he addresses the many issues left unresolved by the NTC and the interim regime of Prime Minister Abdel Rahman el-Keib. Jalil has been highly frustrated by el-Keib's inability to disarm the many militia units left over from the 2011 revolution against Qaddafi. At the same time he has advised Magariaf to move quickly in replacing el-Keib's cabinet while deciding which ministers to retain. The new interim government is facing a problem of lawlessness and attacks against foreigners, including representatives of the Egyptian Government; this at a time when the new Muslim Brotherhood government of Egypt is reaching out to increase business and diplomatic contacts between the two countries. According to a sensitive source, Libyan military intelligence officers believe these attacks are the work of Qaddafi loyalists, while former NTC officials fear that they may be carried out by dissident Islamist groups, frustrated with the results of the national elections, which many of them boycotted.

7. (Source Comment: An extremely sensitive source stated in confidence that Libyan Military Intelligence officers reported to Jalil and later Magariaf that a series of bombings in Tripoli and Benghazi appear to be the work of Qaddafi loyalists looking to create tension between the Libyan and Egyptian Governments. These attacks included the car of an Egyptian diplomat, which was blown up near his home in Benghazi, a day after several deadly bomb attacks in the capital Tripoli. At the same time, a homemade bomb exploded under the vehicle of the Egyptian consulate's first secretary Abdelhamid Rifai in one of the Tripoli's most affluent neighborhoods. No one was hurt during this attack. Earlier in August, three car bombs exploded near the Ministry of Interior in Tripoli, killing two people and wounding three others. This sensitive source

added that security officers arrested 32 members of what they describe as an organized network of Gaddafi loyalists linked to the attacks. During this period, the Red Cross suspended its activities in Benghazi and Misrata after one of its compounds in Misrata was attacked with grenades and rockets. In late July seven Iranian relief workers associated with the Libyan Red Crescent were kidnapped by tribal troops still loyal to the Qaddafi family. Security officials have no word on the whereabouts of these relief workers.)

8. According to this source, while the Cairo Declaration received a positive reception among Libyan political and business leaders, it also created a drastic increase in the number of Libyans applying for Egyptian visas under the new, simplified process. This workload has created a backlog of applications, and in mid-August, a group of Libyan nationals frustrated with the Egyptian visa process attacked the interior of the Egyptian consulate in Tripoli. These Libyan applicants were angry about the time it was taking to receive visas to enter Egypt and were demanding that the staff work past their stated hours of operation. A sensitive source noted that a number of Libyans destroyed the furniture in the main waiting room and attacked the consulate. The Magariaf Government has assured the Egyptian ambassador that additional security personnel will be assigned to guard the Embassy, at least until the visa backlog is reduced.

CONFIDENTIAL

August 23, 2012

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From: Sid
Re: New president of Libya

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sidney Blumenthal [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 12:50 AM
To: H
Subject: H: Magariaf on attack on US in Libya. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo magariaf, attack on US in Libya 091212.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

September 12, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Magariaf and the attack on US in Libya

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During the afternoon of September 11, 2012 new interim President of Libya Mohammed Yusef el Magariaf spoke in private with senior advisors, including the members of the Libyan Muslim Brotherhood, to discuss the attacks by demonstrators on U.S. missions in Tripoli and Benghazi. According to a sensitive source, el Magariaf was shaken by the attacks, and gave permission to commanders on the ground for security forces to open fire over the heads of the crowds in an effort to break up mobs attacking the missions. During this session, a senior security officer told el Magariaf that the attacks on that day were inspired by what many devout Libyan viewed as a sacrilegious internet video on the prophet Mohammed originating in America. The Libyan attacks were also inspired by and linked to an attack on the U.S. mission in Egypt on the same day. At the same time, el Magariaf noted in strong terms that the atmosphere that made fostered these incidents in Libya is the product of widespread publicity regarding the security situation in the country between 2004 and 2010 and

the cooperation that developed between a number of Western Intelligence services and the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi.

2. This source added that el Magariaf's advisors believe that this situation adds to the President's growing concern over the unpredictable effects that will follow current covert efforts by his political opponents to link him directly to foreign intelligence services. According to a separate sensitive source, el Magariaf noted that his opponents had often tried to connect him to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) through the National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL), a group established in opposition to former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi, which el Magariaf led in the 1980s. In the opinion of this individual el Magariaf believes that he can survive potential negative publicity in this regard, but if this situation continues to develop in this manner it will complicate his efforts to establish an orderly administration in the country. Again, he stated that the attacks on the U.S. missions were as much a result of the atmosphere created by this campaign, as the controversial internet video.

3. At the same time, this individual noted that several of el Magariaf's advisors share his concerns in this matter, pointing out that the return of Qaddafi's intelligence chief Abdullah al-Senoussi for trial in Libya has heightened public interest in the liaison relationships conducted by the CIA and British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) with Qaddafi's intelligence and security services. These same individuals note that they believe Islamist militia forces under the command of General Abdelhakim Belhaj captured files and documents describing this relationship from Qaddafi's offices in Tripoli. This fascination with Western intelligence operations in Qaddafi's Libya is also driven by Human Rights Watch (HRW) and its efforts to tie Western governments to human rights violations committed under Qaddafi. In this regard HRW has interviewed at least fourteen (14) individuals claiming that they were turned over to Qaddafi's forces by the Western powers. Belhaj is included in this group.

4. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el Magariaf's enemies are working to take advantage of his suspected links to the CIA at a time when Western intelligence services are under scrutiny in Libya. They also fear that this situation will only grow more complex as Qaddafi's son Saif al Islam Qaddafi and al Senousi are brought before Libyan courts to answer for their crimes under the old regime, particularly during the 2011 revolution. These individuals believe both men will be linked to Western Intelligence during their trials.)

5. According to this individual, el Magariaf is working with the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamist groups to defuse this situation. He is particularly concerned by the level of violence between Sufi Muslims and Salafists, and believes he must maintain his reputation for impartiality if he is to defuse this growing problem. As he works to organize the government, and disarm the militias, he cannot afford to lose the respect and trust of the Libyan people, especially at a time when cultural clashes between followers of the mystical Sufi tradition and ultra-conservative Salafis

have taken central stage in the new Libya. This source adds that these religious conflicts were largely unknown during Qaddafi's rule.

6. (Source Comment: This source added that the individuals interviewed for the HRW report were former members of the Libyan Islamist Fighting Group (LIFG), an Islamist group formed in opposition to Gaddafi's controversial interpretations of Islam. These LIFG fighters fled the country in the late 1980s and went to Afghanistan to join the fight against the Soviet Union while also gaining training and experience for their own struggle. A separate source adds that messages to Libya from the CIA and SIS were found among the Tripoli Documents published by HRW, indicating that the United States and Britain were eager to help Libya capture several senior LIFG figures, including its co-founders, Belhaj and Sami al-Saadi.)

7. As Libyan authorities struggle to control the armed rings that refuse to surrender weapons following last year's civil war, Salafis, who say Islam should return to the simple ways followed by Mohammed, have established their own armed gangs in post-Gaddafi Libya. They view Sufi practices as idolatrous. Since the start of the Arab Spring uprising across the region, a number of Sufi sites have been attacked in Egypt, Mali and Libya. Magariaf is determined to establish a democratic state based on Islamic principles. This individual adds that Magariaf remains dedicated to the idea of building a tolerant Islamic state in Libya. El Magariaf's opinions continue to be shaped by his experience with Qaddafi, whom he felt built a cult of personality in violation of all of the basic ideas of Islam.

CONFIDENTIAL

September 12, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Magariaf and the attack on US in Libya

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

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2. This source added that el Magariaf's advisors believe that this situation adds to the President's growing concern over the unpredictable effects that will follow current covert efforts by his political opponents to link him directly to foreign intelligence services. According to a separate sensitive source, el Magariaf noted that his opponents had often tried to connect him to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) through the National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL), a group established in opposition to former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi, which el Magariaf led in the 1980s. In the opinion of this individual el Magariaf believes that he can survive potential negative publicity in this regard, but if this situation continues to develop in this manner it will complicate his efforts to establish an orderly administration in the country. Again, he stated that the attacks on the U.S. missions were as much a result of the atmosphere created by this campaign, as the controversial internet video.

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RELEASE IN PART B3
CIA PERS/ORG,B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2011 1:25 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Special Envoy Stevens report from Benghazi 4/26 1200 (SBU)

From: Mull, Stephen D
Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2011 1:21 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Nides, Thomas R
Cc: Toiv, Nora F; Laszczych, Joanne; Austin-Ferguson, Kathleen T
Subject: FW: Special Envoy Stevens report from Benghazi 4/26 1200 (SBU)

Here are more details on the overnight traffic accident.

From: Tomlinson, Christina
Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2011 13:02 PM
To: SES_DutyDeputies; S_SpecialAssistants; D(S); D(N); P; M_Staff
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); NEA-MAG-DL; Tripoli Cooperation; Gordon, Philip H; McEldowney, Nancy E; Dibble, Elizabeth L; Harris, Rian H; EUR-RPM-Libya; USNATO Libya DL; [redacted] DS Command Center; SES-O; PA FO Core; Malin, Mary Catherine;

B3 CIA PERS/ORG
B6

[redacted]; [redacted]; [redacted]; Maier, Christina A;
Gotoh, Kay E; INR-STAFFER; SES-O_Shift-II; SP_Staff Assistants
Subject: Special Envoy Stevens report from Benghazi 4/26 1200 (SBU)

B6

Dear Colleagues,

S/E Chris Stevens provided the following update from Benghazi at 1200 EDT to Embassy Tripoli DCM Polaschik and NEA/MAG Director Roebuck:

- Traffic accident: Following discussions with S/E Stevens and other USG officials, the TNC has agreed not to issue any public statement regarding the accident. S/E Stevens' USG colleagues are waiting for guidance from their HQ regarding proposed compensation of 52,000 Libyan dinars (\$43,312): 13,000 (\$10,828) per victim, to cover funeral costs and other compensation. TNC will accompany S/E Stevens on his courtesy calls on the families, to take place either today or tomorrow. In the view of S/E Stevens, the TNC has been handling this incident in a professional and low-profile manner.
- [Note: S/E Stevens separately provided the following details of the accident: The U.S. vehicle was traveling back from the Benghazi airport at moderate speed. The U.S. vehicle was struck by the Libyan vehicle going at high speed in an intersection. As a **correction** to earlier information – four people were killed and only two were injured.]
- Police chief: S/E Stevens met with the Benghazi chief of police today, following discussions related to the accident. The police chief is a university professor who took on these police duties after the revolution. According to the police chief, there are only 3,000 police in the Benghazi area, down from 6,000 prior to the revolution. Many police simply did not return to their jobs after the revolution, as they feared retaliation. EU and UK reps have met with the

police chief to discuss possible assistance; the UK is offering body armor and radios, and is chairing a local donor coordination working group on security issues.

- TNC governing capacity: Following up on concerns raised by the UK Envoy regarding the TNC's governing capacities, S/E Stevens said that there are indeed gaps in the TNC's structure and services, as well as some concerns regarding PM-equivalent Mahmoud Jibril's prolonged absences from Benghazi. However, the TNC is taking steps to address these concerns. The Council is holding meetings this week to appoint Ministers-equivalent for Interior and Justice, and will hold its first cabinet meetings this weekend (April 30-May 1) after Jibril returns from abroad. While S/E Stevens shares the UK's concerns regarding the TNC's governing capacities, he does not think there is a need yet to address this directly with the TNC. S/E Stevens recommends that we wait to see how the TNC addresses these issues over the next week.



Christina Tomlinson
Senior Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
tomlinsonc@state.gov 202-647-1512

US DEPARTMENT OF STATE OPERATIONS CENTER Ops Center celebrates its 50th anniversary with 24 hours of worldwide service on April 30th. [Register now to participate.](#)

From: Tomlinson, Christina

Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2011 8:41 AM

To: SES_DutyDeputies; S_SpecialAssistants; D(S); D(N); P; M_Staff

Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Holtz, Greta C (NEA); NEA-MAG-DL; Tripoli Cooperation; Gordon, Philip H; McEldowney, Nancy E; Dibble, Elizabeth L; Harris, Rian H; EUR-RPM-Libya; USNATO Libya DL;

DS Command Center; SES-O; PA FO Core; Malin, Mary Catherine

Subject: Special Envoy Stevens report from Benghazi 4/26 0700 (SBU)

B3 CIA PERS/ORG
B6

Special Envoy Stevens reported at 0700 EDT on 4/26:

- Traffic accident: Police have accepted the USG version of the story: that it was an accident and the victims were not wearing seatbelts. The USG employees were returning from the airport when the incident occurred. **A total of four people died and six injured.** USG employee injuries are light if any. Our people are standing by pending official USG instructions. Stevens notes there is a UK flight tomorrow they could be on if necessary. The TNC wants to do a press release to quell the rumor mill. Stevens will send the draft back to Department for L and PA clearance.
- The British envoy departs tomorrow on permanent change of station. There will be a gap before his replacement, John Jenkins, arrives from Baghdad.
- TNC head Mahmoud Jibril will be going to Jordan and will not be back in Benghazi until Friday. The development is likely to be met with additional criticism that he is spending too much time abroad at the expense of other government affairs.



Christina Tomlinson
Senior Watch Officer
State Department Operations Center
tomlinsonc@state.gov 202-647-1512

US DEPARTMENT OF STATE OPERATIONS CENTER Ops Center celebrates its 50th anniversary with 24 hours of worldwide service on April 30th. [Register now to participate.](#)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, April 8, 2011 5:28 PM
To: H
Subject: H: UK game playing; new rebel strategists; Egypt moves in. Sid -
Attachments: hrc memo UK games; new rebel strategists; Egypt moves 040811.docx; hrc memo UK games; new rebel strategists; Egypt moves 040811.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: UK game playing; new rebel strategists; Egypt moves in

Latest report:

LIBYA/GREAT BRITAIN/France

On the morning of April 8, an individual with direct access to the leadership of the Libyan National Council (LNC) stated in strictest confidence that members of the Military Committee of the LNC are concerned that, despite the involvement of NATO against the forces of Muammar Qaddafi, the government of Great Britain is using its intelligence services in an effort to dictate the actions of both the LNC and the Qaddafi regime. These individuals add that they have been informed by contacts in France and Italy that, while they have been engaged in discussions with the LNC regarding possible assistance, British diplomats and intelligence officers have maintained contact with members of the Qaddafi government, in an effort to protect the British position in the event the rebellion settles into a stalemate. These LNC officials believe that the defection of Libyan Minister of Foreign Affairs Mousa Kousa to the United Kingdom was part of this effort. By the same token they believe that British intelligence officers are in discussion with associates of Saif al-Islam Qaddafi, regarding future relations between the two countries if he takes over power from his father and implements reforms.

According to these individuals, senior LNC military personnel suspect that despite early indications that they would provide clandestine military support to the rebels; neither the French nor the British government will provide the rebels with enough equipment and training to defeat Qaddafi's forces. They also believe that the French, British, and other European countries will be satisfied with a stalemate that leaves Libya divided into two rival entities.

(Source Comment: In the opinion of these individuals the LNC military leaders are considering the possibility of hiring private security firms to help train and organize their forces. One of these individuals added that a number of the LNC members believe that this solution may be best for the rebels; noting that if they accept clandestine aid from France and/or Great Britain those two countries will be in a position to control the development of post-Qaddafi Libya.)

LIBYA - INSURGENT ACTIVITY

(This information is based on sensitive reporting from individuals with direct access to the leadership of the LNC.)

1. With little hope of achieving a quick military victory, the LNC is deploying a three part strategy; leveraging tribal relationships, oil production and diplomatic pressure to get the better of Qaddafi. A former spokesman for the Libyan Human Rights League (LHRL) in Europe, Ali Zidane, is in talks with representatives of tribes in Sebha and Sirte in an effort to persuade them to rally to the revolution and the LNC before fighting actually reaches their regions. Zidane is a candidate to be the Minister of the Interior in the "new Libya." Among his close associates is Mohamed Allagui, president of the LHRL, who is interested in the justice portfolio in the future, transition government.

2. At the same time, Ali Tarhouni, the LNC's financial expert and possibly Finance Minister in post-Qaddafi Libya, is struggling to get oil exports back on track in eastern Libya, with backing from the United States and Qatar. The LNC believes that the U.S. will focus on restarting operations at the oil terminal in Tobruk, and an American envoy is expected in Benghazi in the near future to facilitate this process. For its part, Qatar is advancing cash to the LNC to stimulate the shipment of oil from eastern Libya. Some commodity traders stepped in recently (under contract from Qatar) to deliver refined oil products to the insurgents. VITOL and the Swiss firm GLENCORE are operating in the rebel zone, but denied any involvement in this shipment.

Elsewhere, these sources add that Mahmud Shammam is overseeing the information and communications campaign for the rebels against Qaddafi. Considered one of the LNC most important leaders, Shammam brings to the insurgency the expertise he acquired while working for *Voice of America*, *Foreign Policy*, *Newsweek* and *Al Jazeera*. Shammam lived in the U.S. for more than twenty years, and he is believed to have excellent connections in the U.S. Government.

3. **Islamist activity:** Libya's Islamist activists have maintained a low profile since the start of the insurgency in late February; fearing that their activities would give credence to Qaddafi's claims that the rebels are terrorists. As the LNC is taking shape, they are now working to make their voice heard, and influence events within the LNC. Ali Sallabi, Salem Al Shiki and Mohamed Al Guirtili, leading Islamic figures who had taken refuge in London (and are close to the Moslem Brotherhood), drafted a "national pact" which looks like a road map for organizing the role of the Islamist movement in the transition to a post-Qaddafi Libya.

Sallabi and his two associates draw their inspiration from the "February 17 Movement" which helped spark the uprising by commemorating the massacre of Islamist prisoners at the Abu Salim prison in 1996. Prior to the current rebellion, Mustapha Abdel Jalil, the President of the LNC and former Minister of Justice called for the release of reformed Islamists. At present, the Islamists are handicapped by the fact they supported Saif's reform projects before the recent crisis. Saif played a crucial part in getting the Islamists to sever ties between the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group's and al Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).

EGYPT AND LIBYA:

A source with excellent access to the highest levels of the SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE ARMED FORCES (SCAF) states that the Egyptian Military has turned its full attention to the crisis in Libya. Traditionally, Egypt is a strong influence in the eastern Libyan region of Cyrenaica and is now taking advantage of the current crisis to regain that position. Regardless of whether Muammar Qaddafi remains in power or not, the political division of Libya will give Egypt the opportunity to fill the void in the east. A senior diplomatic source reported that since the early days of the Libyan crisis, the Egyptian government has been quietly supporting Libyan opposition forces through training, weaponry, food, and medical supplies, while attempting to organize a political structure in the east. In addition, Egyptian Special Operations troops are serving with rebel forces in the eastern part of Libya. Senior Egyptian military officers stated privately that these troops are responsible for many of the rebel's combat successes.

The following factors are the focus of Egypt's plans for a post-Qaddafi regime:

-Avoiding a refugee crisis. In the event Qaddafi's forces invade the east, Egypt is the most logical destination for refugees from Libyan. Egypt has an interest in controlling any turmoil in Libya that could harm efforts to restart its struggling economy.

-Labor market. Libya is an important market for unemployed Egyptian laborers. According to the Egyptian Labor Ministry, around 1.5 million Egyptians reside and work in Libya, sending home an estimated \$254 million in remittances. In the past few years, Qaddafi has placed heavy restrictions on foreign workers, and Egypt hopes that a new regime will be more flexible, and open to receiving Egyptian workers.

-Radical Islamists. Traditionally, the eastern part of Libya has been a stronghold for radical Islamist groups, including the al Qaida-linked Libyan Islamic Fighting Group. While Qaddafi's regime has been successful in suppressing the jihadist threat in Libya, the current situation opens the door for jihadist resurgence. Egypt has a growing interest in keeping a close eye on jihadist movements in eastern Libya. This is especially true as the Egyptian Military is already concerned about Islamist militancy overflow from Gaza, after their forces were pulled back to Cairo during the uprising against Mubarak.

-Oil and energy resources. Egypt has strong economic interests in the oil rich eastern part of Libya. Any opportunity to gain direct or indirect access to these energy resources will increase Egypt's wealth.

-Regional power. The Egypt's military-led government is looking to reestablish their country's role in the Arab world. So far, Egypt has fostered discussions in the Palestinian territories between Fatah and Hamas, while reaching out to Syria and Saudi Arabia on the issue of Iran.

(Source Comment: According to a sensitive diplomatic source, the current Egyptian diplomatic strategy is to enhance its stature by defending the Libyan people against Qaddafi's regime, while at the same time, distancing itself from any military intervention led by the region's former colonial powers in Europe.)

It should be noted that, in the opinion of knowledgeable sources, Egypt cannot count on the support of every Arab power in the region. Egypt led the call for imposing the no-fly zone in Libya, while Algeria, while Yemen, and Syria voted against it. These countries (especially Yemen) fear the precedence that would be created for their own governments in the event Qaddafi is ousted.

(Source Comment: A source with access to the leadership of NATO state in confidence that their information indicates that Syria and Algeria are concerned with Egypt's revival in the region. This source stated that a de facto split between eastern and western Libya would give Egypt the opportunity to reassume an influential position in Cyrenaica.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2012 5:22 PM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: H: latest intel libyan conflicts, leaders & militias. Sid

B6

Thanks, as always, and Happy New Year!

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2012 12:26 PM
To: H
Subject: H: latest intel libyan conflicts, leaders & militias. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

January 5, 2012

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: Libyan leadership and militias

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During the last week of December 2011, and the first week of 2012, Libya's Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib and President Mustafa Abdul Jalil engaged in a series of emergency planning meetings attempting to deal with specific issues threatening the stability of the new National Transitional Council (NTC) Government. According to extremely sensitive sources speaking in strict confidence, paramount among these issues are the questions of disarming and rewarding the regional militias who bore the majority of the fighting against the regime of Muammar al Qaddafi, as well as the related issue of finding ministers and senior administrators for the new government who are acceptable to these revolutionary forces. These individuals noted that on four occasions, beginning on December 23, 2011, groups of angry militiamen came to el-Keib's office and demanded better treatment, a clear message of support for the role of Islamic law, and the removal of former Qaddafi advisors from the new government.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib is genuinely concerned that this situation could spiral out of control and threatens the regime. He also suspects that much of the unrest is being stirred by General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his conservative Islamist supporters. By staying out of the new government, Belhaj has established a position from which he can criticize their actions and appointments without concern or control. That said, el - Keib has been told by his contacts in the Moslem Brotherhood (MB) that even Belhaj has been surprised that the

unrest in the militias has begun to manifest itself in fighting between groups that previously shared the same goals and operated under Belhaj's loose command. This is particularly true in the case of the increasingly violent conflicts between the Misrata and Zintan regional militias.)

3. In an effort to address these problems el-Keib is making changes in his new administration, removing Minister of Economics Taher Sherkaz, who, as a former economic advisor to Qaddafi, was a particular target of the militiamen. In the opinion of well informed individuals, el-Keib's closest and most influential advisors are experts with economic backgrounds and experience dealing with Western firms and governments. The most influential of this group are Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza, Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, National Oil Company chief Nuri Berrusien, and Ngeb Obeda from the Libyan Stock Exchange.

4. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib and Jalil are also very concerned over growing criticism that these technocrats are puppets of various Western governments and firms. Belhaj and the militiamen appear intent on limiting the influence of these Western entities, using them as a weapon to weaken the el-Keib regime. This trend is also affecting national security, where, despite el-Keib's efforts to maintain a balance between the Islamists, regional commanders, and the national army, a potentially dangerous conflict has arisen over the position of Chief of Staff of the National Army. El-Kieb, according to this individual, believes that he must settle this matter in short order to avoid provoking security concerns among foreign allies and businesses contacts.)

5. According to a knowledgeable individual, in late December 2011 el-Kieb resisted efforts by General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar to establish himself as the Chief of Staff of the National Army. Haftar, who lived in the United States for many years and is believed by Belhaj and others to have a relationship with the U.S. Government, is using his popularity among the officer corps of the regular NTC army to support his claim to be Chief of Staff. This produced heated protests from militia leaders and in late December 2011 el-Keib named deputy Minister of Defense Colonel Yussef al-Mangoush, to be Chief of Staff. In the opinion of one source, this is a problematic choice, since el-Keib is replacing the supposedly pro-American Haftar with al-Mangoush who commanded one of Qaddafi's elite Special Forces units, even after the revolution began. This individual believes that el-Keib's decision was driven by personal animosity toward Haftar, and the influence of Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali. The situation is far from resolved, as Haftar and his supporters, particularly in the Benghazi garrison, continue to claim that the General is the true Chief of Staff. El-Keib and al-Juwali are working to reconcile all of the elements in this conflict as quickly as possible, before the supporters of the two claimants begin fighting. In the meantime, el-Keib has stated in private that he fully expects Belhaj to attack al-Mangoush, but the Prime Minister believes that the Colonel is the only officer strong enough to disarm the militias and avoid a civil war.

6. At the same time, a very sensitive source added that el-Keib and Jalil are attempting to reconcile the fighting between Misrata and Zintan forces in Tripoli by naming Misrata leader Fawzi Abd Ali as Minister of the Interior and al-Juwali, who was commander of the Zintan militia, as Minister of Defense. To date, according to this individual, this effort has met with limited success, as the fighting has continued and the militias are refusing to disarm until their demands regarding living standards are met.

7. (Source Comment: One very sensitive source noted, that el-Keib is aware of the fact that he is running out of time to stabilize the situation in Libya. He believes that if he does not disarm the militias and meet their demands in the next six months there is a good chance of increased fighting among rival groups that could lead to civil war. In any event, he realizes that the ongoing instability will cause Western governments, firms, and banks, to hesitate before committing themselves to long term relationships with Libya. El-Keib believes that Belhaj and his advisors have made the same judgment, and are waiting to fill any vacuum created by this violence, by establishing a conservative Islamic Republic.)

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Saturday, July 7, 2012 8:20 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fyi

Another report---

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. As of the morning of July 6, an individual with access to the information stated in confidence that Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC) President Mustafa Abdel Jalil remains committed to a transfer of power to a popularly elected government; however, he is prepared to extend the life of the NTC as a guarantor of stability for the Libyan people following the July 7, 2012 election for seats in a 200-member General National Congress (GNC). Jalil realizes that 2.7 million Libyans have registered to vote and are generally anxious to replace the increasingly unpopular NTC. That said, Jalil expects the voting to lead to a period of confusion and he will not abandon his authority until the results are fixed.

2. Jalil is also frustrated by the fact that during its eight-month tenure of the administration of Prime Minister Abdel Rahman el-Keib - who was appointed by the NTC -- was unable to provide solutions for Libya's long list of needs: a functioning justice system, a reconciliation process for officials who served the old administration, the disarming of militia, building functional national security forces, rebuilding destroyed areas, and delivering basic services such as healthcare.

3. At the same time, outside of the oil sector, much of Libya's economy is stagnant, and in the opinion of Western security officials, lacks the government's go-ahead to restart public sector infrastructure contracts. In addition, international advisers and foreign investors are reluctant to return to an environment where the government will not sign long term agreements and cannot guarantee security.

4. (Source Comment: According to an extremely sensitive source, Jalil continues to believe that this chaotic situation should not be surprising. He regularly points out that eight months is not a sufficient amount of time to build functioning institutions from the remnants of the regime of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi. The old regime featured a dysfunctional bureaucracy, idiosyncratic rule, and anti-institutionalism. Additionally, Jalil now realizes that due to pronounced incompetence and a lack of will to take unpopular decisions the el-Keib government also failed to make progress in the few areas where it could have achieved meaningful change. The towns of Sirte and Tawargha are representative of the situation in the countryside where people lost their homes in the conflict and have been living in temporary camps with limited ability to register and vote in their home district. Jalil has been urged by contacts in the French and Italian Governments to guarantee the rights of people across the country. In particular, he has serious concerns as to whether or not supporters of former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi in his hometown of Sirte will be included in the future political processes of the new Libya; if they are not allowed to vote by local militiamen. At the same time, the fighting between Libyan Arabs and Tebu tribesmen in the Kufra area threatens to prevent any voting there. Jalil has been warned that the NTC regulations now state that members of the National Army are not allowed to vote or run for office, which is a disincentive for armed militia brigade members to become legitimate soldiers.)

5. This well informed individual believes that despite these flaws, the new government created by the July 7 election will eventually have the mandate to take the difficult decisions that can create a reconciliation process. Jalil will work to maintain order in this transition period, and finally reach his goal of creating a situation where the government can rebuild homes and restore sufficient law and order; allowing those in Sirte, Tawargha, Kufra, and throughout the rest of the country to live in their hometowns, establishing a situation where a true civil society can develop.

6. Jalil, in conversations with the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), and separately with liberal leader Ali Tarhouni, has acknowledged that the central government's top priority must be security and that the NTC has been unable to provide it. That said, Jalil and Minister of Defense Ousama al-Juwali have pledged to provide 30,000 to 40,000 security personnel for election day to prevent similar incidents to the July 1 attack on Benghazi's election headquarters. In that case eastern federalists entered the building, where ballot papers were burned and ballot boxes destroyed. Similarly, these federalist forces are suspected of the attack on July 5 that burned down Ajdabiya's main storage centre for election materials.

7. In the opinion of this individual, although those responsible for the Benghazi attack were pro-federalist, it has not been proven that they were members of the self-appointed Cyrenaican National Council (CNC), whose military arm set up a roadblock in Wadi al-Ahmar on Libya's major east-west highway to demand that Cyrenaica get as many seats in the GNC as Tripolitania. Thus far, neither the CNC nor any other group has publicly stated that they intend to use violence to disrupt the elections. (Note: Under the current system Tripolitania will have 120 seats in the GNC, Cyrenaica (Barqa) 62, and Fezzan in the South 18.)

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, May 6, 2011 2:07 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: H: UBL, AQ & Libya. Sid

RELEASE IN
PART B6

Strikes me as a little strange. But certainly disturbing. I will pass info on.

From: H [mailto:H0R22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, May 06, 2011 01:52 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: H: UBL, AQ & Libya. Sid

More to pass on--disturbing, if true.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, May 02, 2011 09:12 AM
To: H
Subject: H: UBL, AQ & Libya. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

May 2, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Bin Laden, AQ & Libya

Latest report:

During the early morning of May 2, 2011 sources with access to the leadership of the Libyan rebellion's ruling Transitional National Council (TNC) stated in confidence that they are concerned that the death of al Qa'ida leader Osama Bin Laden will inspire al Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) to use weapons they have obtained, which were originally intended for the rebels in Libya, to retaliate against the United States and its allies for this attack in Pakistan. These individuals fear that the use of the weapons in this manner will complicate the TNC's relationship with NATO and the United States, whose support is vital to them in their struggle with the forces of Muammar al Qaddafi. In this regard they are concerned that U.S. officials will believe reports, often created by the Tripoli Government, regarding the degree of influence exercised by AQIM on the TNC.

These individuals note that the TNC officials are reacting to reports received during the week of April 25 from their own sources of information, the French General Directorate for External Security (DGSE), and British external intelligence service (MI-6), stating that AQIM has acquired about 10 SAM 7- Grail/Streela man-portable air-defense systems

(MPADS or MPADS) from illegal weapons markets in Western Niger and Northern Mali. These weapons were originally intended for sale to the rebel forces in Libya, but AQIM operatives were able to meet secretly with these arms dealers and purchase the equipment. The acquisition of these sophisticated weapons creates a serious threat to air traffic in Southern Morocco, Algeria, Northern Mali, Western Niger, and Eastern Mauritania.

(Source Comment: According to very sensitive sources, the Libyan rebels are concerned that AQIM may also obtain SPIGOTT wire-guided anti-tank missiles and an unspecified number of Russian anti-tank mines made of plastic and undetectable by anti-mine equipment. This equipment again was coming through Niger and Mali, and was intended for the rebels in Libya. They note that AQIM is very strong in this region of Northwest Africa.)

In the opinion of these knowledgeable individuals, Libyan rebel commanders are also concerned that the death of Bin Laden comes at a time when sensitive information indicates that the leaders of AQIM are planning to launch attacks across North Africa and Europe in an effort to reassert their relevance during the ongoing upheavals in Libya, as well as the rest of North Africa and the Middle East. They believe the first step in this campaign was the April 30 bombing of a café in Marrakesh, Morocco that is frequented by Western tourists. These individuals point out that AQIM also maintains a wide reach in Europe.

The TNC leaders are also concerned that, with the death of Saif al-Arab Qaddafi, the youngest son of Muammar Qaddafi, the Tripoli Government may pursue retaliation against the United States and its Western allies through surrogate terrorist groups, particularly Hezbollah. While the deaths of Bin Laden and Saif al-Arab are completely unrelated, two separate and very dangerous groups will now be looking for revenge against the U.S. and its allies.

(Source Comment: These knowledgeable sources believe that the leaders of the TNC are also worried about the reaction to the death of Bin Laden among rebel fighters and their supporters in Libya and Egypt, where the al Qa'ida leader was very popular. These TNC officials do not want the death of Bin Laden to affect their relations with the West or their support from NATO, the U.S., France, or Great Britain.)

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Thursday, January 12, 2012 3:41 PM
To: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: HRC friend

Pls print.

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, January 09, 2012 12:36 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: HRC friend

FYI latest.

From: Cretz, Gene A
Sent: Monday, January 09, 2012 10:10 AM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: RE: HRC friend

jeff thanks for reminding me. The Al-Keab government is clearly facing many crises, the major one being the inability so far to implement what appeared to be fairly detailed plans by Minister of Interior Fauzi and Minister of Defense Juwaili to incorporate 25k thuwar each (total 75k) into the security forces, armed forces and into the private sector (jobs, training , education). the main obstacles appear to be inability to implement plans by any of the GOL ministers so far and lack of funds although we hope there will be a solution to that soon. Also, none of the militias appears willing to budge without seeing some proof that others are also willing to do so.

I am not sure about HRC contact ascribing these problems mainly to Bel-Haj, whose star we believed had fallen over the past several weeks. The Islamists are demanding their share of the political pie like everyone else-no more and no less. I met with a Libyan contact yesterday who had just met with an Islamist-led militiaman from Zintan. The leader of this group demanded that women's role be inscribed in the constitution as per Sharia'-if that did not happen this guy threatened to take up arms again. Sarkis-the new but now deposed Economy Minister is an example of the power of the street and different voices clamoring for different things. He was a technocrat whom we dealt with in the past but because of the perception that he was "part of the old regime" he had to go even though al-Keab regretted the decision since Sarkis was an able technocrat. So, the bottom line is that the disarming and reintegration of the militias is not going as well as we would have liked though the Minister of Interior told me on the margins of the PM discussion with DDCI Morrell today that things on that score were going "well." One positive ray of light is that Tripoli Local Council reps told us today that they had begun registering thuwar to determine which of the three possible categories they could stream into. Another disturbing trend which may be happening is the emergence of organized crime perhaps fueled by old regime elements including Snussi and al-Baghdadi. According to [REDACTED] MOI sources have expressed real concern about an unholy alliance of former Qadhafi loyalists, criminals who escaped from prison, and odd assortments of different thuwar. They are apparently getting money, terrorizing the cities by night and engaging in human trafficking, drugs, gunrunning and alcohol backed by old regime money. The motivation would be economic and political (creating chaos and undermining stability). Our Legatt reps will meet with the e the Brits tomorrow to see if we can respond to MOI request for help in training a team to deal with this possible new and troubling phenomenon. Not sure whether this crime phenomenon is connected to the murder of my good friend Hugo deSamie, a french businessman who had been involved in deals with the old regime and was back trying his hand with the new group.

B6

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It is not clear whether he will survive given the intense pressure the PM is coming under from the eastern Obeidi tribes-they want one of theirs in the position as compensation for the murder of Yusuf Obeidi.

B5

So bottom line, there is ferment and things are not progressing as fast and as far as we would like. But let's not panic yet- the PM is well-intentioned and the ministers are able people if they can get the means to implement their plans. I told the PM today that we could help in various areas and that we could be as discrete as need be in light of his formidable political vulnerabilities. By the way, he may be planning to visit Washington and NY end of January-early February period.

From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Mon 1/9/2012 2:35 PM
To: Cretz, Gene A
Subject: FW: HRC friend

Gene, if you responded to Jake, could you forward me your response? I'd be interested.

Jeffrey Feltman
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Department of State
202-647-7209

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Friday, January 06, 2012 3:25 AM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Cretz, Gene A
Cc: Burns, William J
Subject: HRC friend

Another friend of HRC's offers the following assessment/report from a source. HRC interested in your views.

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During the last week of December 2011, and the first week of 2012, Libya's Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib and President Mustafa Abdul Jalil engaged in a series of emergency planning meetings attempting to deal with specific issues threatening the stability of the new National Transitional Council (NTC) Government. According to extremely sensitive sources speaking in strict confidence, paramount among these issues are the questions of disarming and rewarding the regional militias who bore the majority of the fighting against the regime of Muammar al Qaddafi, as well as the related issue of finding ministers and senior administrators for the new government who are acceptable to these revolutionary forces. These individuals noted that on four occasions, beginning on December 23, 2011, groups of angry militiamen came to el-Keib's office and demanded better treatment, a clear message of support for the role of Islamic law, and the removal of former Qaddafi advisors from the new government.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib is genuinely concerned that this situation could spiral out of control and threatens the regime. He also suspects that much of the unrest is being stirred by General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his conservative Islamist supporters. By staying out of the new government, Belhaj has established a position from which he can criticize their actions and appointments without concern or control. That said, el - Keib has been told by his contacts in the Moslem Brotherhood (MB) that even Belhaj has been surprised that the unrest in the militias has begun to manifest itself in fighting between groups that previously shared the same goals and operated under Belhaj's loose command. This is particularly true in the case of the increasingly violent conflicts between the Misrata and Zintan regional militias.)

3. In an effort to address these problems el-Keib is making changes in his new administration, removing Minister of Economics Taher Sherkaz, who, as a former economic advisor to Qaddafi, was a particular target of the militiamen. In the opinion of well informed individuals, el-Keib's closest and most influential advisors are experts with economic backgrounds and experience dealing with Western firms and governments. The most influential of this group are Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza, Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, National Oil Company chief Nuri Berrusien, and Ngeb Obeda from the Libyan Stock Exchange.

4. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib and Jalil are also very concerned over growing criticism that these technocrats are puppets of various Western governments and firms. Belhaj

and the militiamen appear intent on limiting the influence of these Western entities, using them as a weapon to weaken the el-Keib regime. This trend is also affecting national security, where, despite el-Keib's efforts to maintain a balance between the Islamists, regional commanders, and the national army, a potentially dangerous conflict has arisen over the position of Chief of Staff of the National Army. El-Keib, according to this individual, believes that he must settle this matter in short order to avoid provoking security concerns among foreign allies and businesses contacts.)

5. According to a knowledgeable individual, in late December 2011 el-Keib resisted efforts by General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar to establish himself as the Chief of Staff of the National Army. Haftar, who lived in the United States for many years and is believed by Belhaj and others to have a relationship with the U.S. Government, is using his popularity among the officer corps of the regular NTC army to support his claim to be Chief of Staff. This produced heated protests from militia leaders and in late December 2011 el-Keib named deputy Minister of Defense Colonel Yussef al-Mangoush, to be Chief of Staff. In the opinion of one source, this is a problematic choice, since el-Keib is replacing the supposedly pro-American Haftar with al-Mangoush who commanded one of Qaddafi's elite Special Forces units, even after the revolution began. This individual believes that el-Keib's decision was driven by personal animosity toward Haftar, and the influence of Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali. The situation is far from resolved, as Haftar and his supporters, particularly in the Benghazi garrison, continue to claim that the General is the true Chief of Staff. El-Keib and al-Juwali are working to reconcile all of the elements in this conflict as quickly as possible, before the supporters of the two claimants begin fighting. In the meantime, el-Keib has stated in private that he fully expects Belhaj to attack al-Mangoush, but the Prime Minister believes that the Colonel is the only officer strong enough to disarm the militias and avoid a civil war.

6. At the same time, a very sensitive source added that el-Keib and Jalil are attempting to reconcile the fighting between Misrata and Zintan forces in Tripoli by naming Misrata leader Fawzi Abd Ali as Minister of the Interior and al-Juwali, who was commander of the Zintan militia, as Minister of Defense. To date, according to this individual, this effort has met with limited success, as the fighting has continued and the militias are refusing to disarm until their demands regarding living standards are met.

7. (Source Comment: One very sensitive source noted, that el-Keib is aware of the fact that he is running out of time to stabilize the situation in Libya. He believes that if he does not disarm the militias and meet their demands in the next six months there is a good chance of increased fighting among rival groups that could lead to civil war. In any event, he realizes that the ongoing instability will cause Western governments, firms, and banks, to hesitate before committing themselves to long term relationships with Libya. El-Keib believes that Belhaj and his advisors have made the same judgment, and are waiting to fill any vacuum created by this violence, by establishing a conservative Islamic Republic.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, January 5, 2012 7:22 PM
To: H
Subject: RE: H: latest intel libyan conflicts, leaders & militias. Sid

Will do.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2012 5:16 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: H: latest intel libyan conflicts, leaders & militias. Sid

Worrying. Pls distribute and request feedback from Jeff, Cretz, et al.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2012 12:26 PM
To: H
Subject: H: latest intel libyan conflicts, leaders & militias. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

January 5, 2012

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: Libyan leadership and militias

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During the last week of December 2011, and the first week of 2012, Libya's Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib and President Mustafa Abdul Jalil engaged in a series of emergency planning meetings attempting to deal with specific issues threatening the stability of the new National Transitional Council (NTC) Government. According to extremely sensitive sources speaking in strict confidence, paramount among these issues are the questions of disarming and rewarding the regional militias who bore the majority of the fighting against the regime of Muammar al Qaddafi, as well as the related issue of finding ministers and senior administrators for the new government who are acceptable to these revolutionary forces. These individuals noted that on four occasions, beginning on December 23, 2011, groups of angry militiamen came to el-Keib's office and demanded better

treatment, a clear message of support for the role of Islamic law, and the removal of former Qaddafi advisors from the new government.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib is genuinely concerned that this situation could spiral out of control and threatens the regime. He also suspects that much of the unrest is being stirred by General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his conservative Islamist supporters. By staying out of the new government, Belhaj has established a position from which he can criticize their actions and appointments without concern or control. That said, el - Keib has been told by his contacts in the Moslem Brotherhood (MB) that even Belhaj has been surprised that the unrest in the militias has begun to manifest itself in fighting between groups that previously shared the same goals and operated under Belhaj's loose command. This is particularly true in the case of the increasingly violent conflicts between the Misrata and Zintan regional militias.)

3. In an effort to address these problems el-Keib is making changes in his new administration, removing Minister of Economics Taher Sherkaz, who, as a former economic advisor to Qaddafi, was a particular target of the militiamen. In the opinion of well informed individuals, el-Keib's closest and most influential advisors are experts with economic backgrounds and experience dealing with Western firms and governments. The most influential of this group are Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza, Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, National Oil Company chief Nuri Berrusien, and Ngeb Obeda from the Libyan Stock Exchange.

4. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib and Jalil are also very concerned over growing criticism that these technocrats are puppets of various Western governments and firms. Belhaj and the militiamen appear intent on limiting the influence of these Western entities, using them as a weapon to weaken the el-Keib regime. This trend is also affecting national security, where, despite el-Keib's efforts to maintain a balance between the Islamists, regional commanders, and the national army, a potentially dangerous conflict has arisen over the position of Chief of Staff of the National Army. El-Kieb, according to this individual, believes that he must settle this matter in short order to avoid provoking security concerns among foreign allies and businesses contacts.)

5. According to a knowledgeable individual, in late December 2011 el-Kieb resisted efforts by General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar to establish himself as the Chief of Staff of the National Army. Haftar, who lived in the United States for many years and is believed by Belhaj and others to have a relationship with the U.S. Government, is using his popularity among the officer corps of the regular NTC army to support his claim to be Chief of Staff. This produced heated protests from militia leaders and in late December 2011 el-Keib named deputy Minister of Defense Colonel Yussef al-Mangoush, to be Chief of Staff. In the opinion of one source, this is a problematic choice, since el-Keib is replacing the supposedly pro-American Haftar with al-Mangoush who commanded one of Qaddafi's elite Special Forces units, even after the revolution began. This individual believes that el-Keib's decision was driven by personal animosity toward Haftar, and the influence of Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali. The situation is far from resolved, as Haftar and his supporters, particularly in the Benghazi garrison, continue to claim that the General is the true Chief of Staff. El-Keib and al-Juwali are working to reconcile all of the elements in this conflict as quickly as possible, before the supporters of the two claimants begin fighting. In the meantime, el-Keib has stated in private that he fully expects Belhaj to attack al-Mangoush, but the Prime Minister believes that the Colonel is the only officer strong enough to disarm the militias and avoid a civil war.

6. At the same time, a very sensitive source added that el-Keib and Jalil are attempting to reconcile the fighting between Misrata and Zintan forces in Tripoli by naming Misrata leader Fawzi Abd Ali as Minister of the Interior and al-Juwali, who was commander of the Zintan militia, as Minister of Defense. To date, according to this individual, this effort has met with limited success, as the fighting has continued and the militias are refusing to disarm until their demands regarding living standards are met.

7. (Source Comment: One very sensitive source noted, that el-Keib is aware of the fact that he is running out of time to stabilize the situation in Libya. He believes that if he does not disarm the militias and meet their demands in the next six months there is a good chance of increased fighting

among rival groups that could lead to civil war. In any event, he realizes that the ongoing instability will cause Western governments, firms, and banks, to hesitate before committing themselves to long term relationships with Libya. El-Keib believes that Belhaj and his advisors have made the same judgment, and are waiting to fill any vacuum created by this violence, by establishing a conservative Islamic Republic.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From:
Sent: Friday, June 3, 2011 12:38 PM
To: H
Subject: H: memo attached on q secret bid to uk. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo q secret bid UK 060311.docx; hrc memo q secret bid UK 060311.docx

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

June 3, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Q's secret bid to UK

On the morning of June 2, 2011 sensitive sources with access to the advisors to Muammar Qaddafi's son, Saif al-Islam, stated in strict confidence that the Libyan government has opened extremely complicated negotiations with the government of the United Kingdom (UK) in an effort to obtain their support in reaching a ceasefire agreement with the rebels of the Libyan Transitional National Council (TNC), allowing the Qaddafi's to maintain some level of control in the country.

This initiative is directed by Saif al-Islam and, according to these sensitive sources, the Libyans have asked the UK officials to broker a deal with the TNC that will allow some form of power sharing, with the possibility of Saif al-Islam acting as head of state and the TNC members making up a substantial portion of the cabinet in a new government. Under the plan Muammar Qaddafi would be allowed to leave the country and go into exile with no danger of indictment on charges of human rights abuses and corruption by Libyan or international courts.

(Source Comment: In the opinion of these sensitive sources, this initiative reflects the concern of the Qaddafi government that as a result of continuing NATO air raids against their forces, they can no longer defeat the rebel army. They add that there has been no firm response from the UK government, and the initial discussions have been conducted by officers of the British Special Intelligence Service (SIS / MI-6). In the opinion of these same sources the initial idea of these talks may have been raised by former Libyan Foreign Minister Mousa Koussa, after his arrival in London in late March 2011.)

According to these sensitive sources, Saif al-Islam and his advisors realize that there is little chance the TNC will agree to such an offer, and that SIS may be using this contact as a means of collecting intelligence while protecting British interests in Libya. Notwithstanding this concern, in the opinion of these individuals, Saif al-Islam believes that introducing the possibility of a ceasefire and the subsequent negotiations may create divisions within NATO and weaken their military operations against Qaddafi's forces.

(Source Comment: These sources add that many of Saif al-Islam's advisors do not know if, or to what extent, the UK Government has shared knowledge of this initiative with the governments of the United States and the other NATO allies.)

At the same time, sources with access to the operations of the TNC military committee state privately that on June 1, 2011 Libyan intelligence officers detonated a car bomb outside the Tibesti Hotel in the TNC capital of Benghazi. One person was injured in the blast and a number of nearby vehicles were damaged. TNC security officers occupied the hotel and the surrounding area immediately after the attack, but were not able to identify any of the attackers. The Tibesti Hotel is an important landmark in the heart of Benghazi and is used by the TNC government, as well by foreign journalists and diplomats. Hotel security has been heightened in the hours following the attack and all foreign residents are under surveillance by TNC security officers, looking for suspicious activities and contacts.

CONFIDENTIAL

June 3, 2011

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From: Sid
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RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, January 6, 2012 2:25 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: HRC friend

FYI

From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Friday, January 06, 2012 1:55 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Cretz, Gene A
Cc: Burns, William J
Subject: Re: HRC friend

I'll have to defer to Gene on this. It's a fascinating read, and some stuff mentioned has already happened (such as the appointment of Juwaili as Minister of Defense -- Juwaili is close to the UAE, incidentally). But I simply do not know the ins and outs of the new Libyan politics in sufficient detail to give a view as to the accuracy of this report. A few bits seemed off key (e.g., the reference that both the Misrata and Zintan Brigades once reported "loosely" to BelHaj I don't believe is true, since Juwaili and the UAE supported the latter and Qatar the former).

The comment about Belhaj staying out of gov't and thus retain the flexibility to carp and make trouble: Jake, you may remember that AbZ warned exactly of that danger in that weird mtg Qatar insisted upon on the margins of UNGA.

Gene?
Jeffrey Feltman

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Thursday, January 05, 2012 07:25 PM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Cretz, Gene A
Cc: Burns, William J
Subject: HRC friend

Another friend of HRC's offers the following assessment/report from a source. HRC interested in your views.

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. During the last week of December 2011, and the first week of 2012, Libya's Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib and President Mustafa Abdul Jalil engaged in a series of emergency planning meetings attempting to deal with specific issues threatening the stability of the new National Transitional Council (NTC) Government. According to extremely sensitive sources speaking in strict confidence, paramount among these issues are the questions of disarming and rewarding the regional militias who bore the majority of the fighting against the regime of Muammar al Qaddafi, as well as the related issue of finding ministers and senior administrators for the new government who are acceptable to these revolutionary forces. These individuals noted that on four occasions, beginning on December 23, 2011, groups of angry militiamen came to el-Keib's office and demanded better treatment, a clear message of support for the role of Islamic law, and the removal of former Qaddafi advisors from the new government.

2. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib is genuinely concerned that this situation could spiral out of control and threatens the regime. He also suspects that much of the unrest is being stirred by General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his conservative Islamist supporters. By staying out of the new government, Belhaj has established a position from which he can criticize their actions and appointments without concern or control. That said, el - Keib has been told by his contacts in the Moslem Brotherhood (MB)

that even Belhaj has been surprised that the unrest in the militias has begun to manifest itself in fighting between groups that previously shared the same goals and operated under Belhaj's loose command. This is particularly true in the case of the increasingly violent conflicts between the Misrata and Zintan regional militias.)

3. In an effort to address these problems el-Keib is making changes in his new administration, removing Minister of Economics Taher Sherkaz, who, as a former economic advisor to Qaddafi, was a particular target of the militiamen. In the opinion of well informed individuals, el-Keib's closest and most influential advisors are experts with economic backgrounds and experience dealing with Western firms and governments. The most influential of this group are Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza, Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, National Oil Company chief Nuri Berrusien, and Ngeb Obeda from the Libyan Stock Exchange.

4. (Source Comment: In the opinion of a very sensitive source, el-Keib and Jalil are also very concerned over growing criticism that these technocrats are puppets of various Western governments and firms. Belhaj and the militiamen appear intent on limiting the influence of these Western entities, using them as a weapon to weaken the el-Keib regime. This trend is also affecting national security, where, despite el-Keib's efforts to maintain a balance between the Islamists, regional commanders, and the national army, a potentially dangerous conflict has arisen over the position of Chief of Staff of the National Army. El-Kieb, according to this individual, believes that he must settle this matter in short order to avoid provoking security concerns among foreign allies and businesses contacts.)

5. According to a knowledgeable individual, in late December 2011 el-Keib resisted efforts by General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar to establish himself as the Chief of Staff of the National Army. Haftar, who lived in the United States for many years and is believed by Belhaj and others to have a relationship with the U.S. Government, is using his popularity among the officer corps of the regular NTC army to support his claim to be Chief of Staff. This produced heated protests from militia leaders and in late December 2011 el-Keib named deputy Minister of Defense Colonel Yussef al-Mangoush, to be Chief of Staff. In the opinion of one source, this is a problematic choice, since el-Keib is replacing the supposedly pro-American Haftar with al-Mangoush who commanded one of Qaddafi's elite Special Forces units, even after the revolution began. This individual believes that el-Keib's decision was driven by personal animosity toward Haftar, and the influence of Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali. The situation is far from resolved, as Haftar and his supporters, particularly in the Benghazi garrison, continue to claim that the General is the true Chief of Staff. El-Keib and al-Juwali are working to reconcile all of the elements in this conflict as quickly as possible, before the supporters of the two claimants begin fighting. In the meantime, el-Keib has stated in private that he fully expects Belhaj to attack al-Mangoush, but the Prime Minister believes that the Colonel is the only officer strong enough to disarm the militias and avoid a civil war.

6. At the same time, a very sensitive source added that el-Keib and Jalil are attempting to reconcile the fighting between Misrata and Zintan forces in Tripoli by naming Misrata leader Fawzi Abd Ali as Minister of the Interior and al-Juwali, who was commander of the Zintan militia, as Minister of Defense. To date, according to this individual, this effort has met with limited success, as the fighting has continued and the militias are refusing to disarm until their demands regarding living standards are met.

7. (Source Comment: One very sensitive source noted, that el-Keib is aware of the fact that he is running out of time to stabilize the situation in Libya. He believes that if he does not disarm the militias and meet their demands in the next six months there is a good chance of increased fighting among rival groups that could lead to civil war. In any event, he realizes that the ongoing instability will cause Western governments, firms, and banks, to hesitate before committing themselves to long term relationships with Libya. El-Keib believes that Belhaj and his advisors have made the same judgment, and are waiting to fill any vacuum created by this violence, by establishing a conservative Islamic Republic.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, February 22, 2012 12:15 AM
To: H
Subject: Re: Fwd: H: Libya, intel, internal conflict over militias. Sid

Will do.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, February 21, 2012 11:14 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fwd: H: Libya, intel, internal conflict over militias. Sid

Pls review and forward as appropriate.

Sent from my iPad

Begin forwarded message:

From: "
Date: February 21, 2012 10:04:57 PM EST
To: H <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: H: Libya, intel, internal conflict over militias. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

February 21, 2012

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Libya politics to control militias

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. On February 19, 2012, Libyan President Mustafa Abdul Jalil and Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib instructed Minister of the Interior Minister Fawzi Abd Ali and Minister of Defense Osama al Juwali to move as forcefully as possible to deal with armed conflict between the various militias which carried the bulk of fighting during the 2011 revolution against former dictator Muammar al Qaddafi. According to an

extremely sensitive source speaking in secret, el-Keib, acting in his role as the head of government, told the two ministers that, if they could not stop the fighting and disarm the militias he would be forced to find ministers who can carry out his orders. Ali and Juwali each stated privately that, while they would follow orders, they have little hope of succeeding in this matter until el-Keib and Jalil gain credibility as the rulers of the country. Ali added that, in his opinion, this situation will persist until a new government is chosen during the national elections planned for later in 2012.

2. In the opinion of this individual, the Prime Minister is particularly concerned by the situation in the Southern portion of the country, where the area defined by the towns of Ghat, Sabha, and al Kufra, where fighting between rival tribal and regional militias has been exacerbated by the activities of Qaddafi loyalists, and their allies, Taureg tribal fighters. This individual added that el-Keib and Jalil agree that the uncertain security situation in this area represents a threat to Libya's future stability. They agreed that, at present, if faced with a concerted effort by either disaffected militiamen or pro-Qaddafi forces government security forces and the new national army would be unable to protect either Libyan citizens or Western businessmen and oil industry workers in the region.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of this individual, el-Keib believes that any attack against oil field workers will frighten large Western firms and seriously damage Libya's efforts to recover from the revolution. This individual added that al Juwali is particularly upset with his deputy Minister and Chief of Staff of the Army, General Yousef Mangoush, who he believes has been unable to work with national army ground force commander General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar. A very sensitive source added that the Benghazi based units of the army, under Haftar's direct command, are currently deploying to the area southeast of al-Kufra, along the Sudanese border.)

4. In the opinion of a sensitive source, Haftar and al Juwali believe that the Sudanese military is providing arms and supplies to the pro-Qaddafi forces, under direct orders from Sudanese President Omar al Bashir. El-Keib complained to al-Juwali that Haftar's forces passed through al-Kufra region during early and mid-February on their way to the Sudanese border, however; they did nothing to disarm the local revolutionary militias, or stop the fighting between competing tribal groups. In the opinion of this individual, Haftar felt that the threat from the pro-Qaddafi forces was greater than that posed by the regional and tribal fighting.

5. At the same time, a source with excellent access to the leadership of the National Transitional Council (NTC) stated in secret that fighting continues between regional, tribal, and religious rivals throughout the Northern/Mediterranean portions of the country. This same source added that the ongoing struggle between the Misrata and Zintan militias for control of the area west of Tripoli is particularly violent and disruptive for the rest of the country. In the capital itself, fighting continues between regional groups, the national army, Islamist militias, and criminal street gangs, all of whom are very well armed. This individual reports that during mid-February 2012 el-Keib and Jalil agreed to address the problem of disaffected former militiamen and their families by providing payments of 2,000 Dinars (approximately \$1,500) per month to the families of fighters who were wounded or killed in the revolution.

6. In addition the President and Prime Minister instructed Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam to develop an efficient system to provide assistance funds to unemployed former fighters. For his part, Ziglam privately expressed concern that previous efforts in this regard have met with a high level of fraud. According to the government's best estimates, the revolutionary army included approximately 25,000 combat troops, but it is difficult to identify those with legitimate claims, as no accurate service records were maintained. That said, he stated in private that the government must be seen to take some form of direct action, even if money is paid to fraudulent claimants. The fact is,

according to Ziglam, the NTC is losing control of the country and must give something to the veterans of the revolution to slow this process.

7. (Source Comment: Speaking in strictest confidence, a knowledgeable individual stated that al-Juwali is concerned by the possibility that the country may deteriorate into a multi-sided civil war involving the regional militias, Islamist forces and the national army. At the same time, he acknowledges that the new army has lost control of large portions of the southern part of the country, with tribal fighting spilling over into Mali and Chad. According to this source, al-Juwali is also frustrated by the slow pace of military and police training promised to the various Libyan national security forces by the governments of France and Turkey. He added that, while Turkey has received some of the most seriously wound troops for treatment, the lack of adequate medical care for veterans inside of Libya remains a major source of conflict between the former rebel troops and the NTC government.)

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, January 23, 2012 7:23 PM
To: H
Subject: RE: H: V good intel internal Libya. Sid

Will do, as with the other.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, January 23, 2012 1:41 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: H: V good intel internal Libya. Sid

Fyi, as usual distribute as you determine.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, January 23, 2012 12:11 PM
To: H
Subject: H: V good intel internal Libya. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

January 23, 2012

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: Libya internal strife

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. On the evening of January 22, 2012, according to an official with access to the leadership of the National Transitional Government (NTC), Libyan President Mustafa Abdul Jalil spoke at length with Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib, stating in a heated exchange that el-Keib's government must take the steps necessary to address the complaints of the demobilized fighters from the 2011 revolution. Jalil pointed out that the new government has been discussing this situation since it was formed in October 2011, and matters have now reached a crisis point, with a group of more than 2,000 disgruntled veterans, supported by students, attacking the NTC offices in Benghazi on January 21, destroying computer equipment and NTC files. These demonstrators, some of whom threw Molotov cocktails at the NTC headquarters building, continue to demand better medical care, jobs, payment for their time in the revolutionary army, and a commitment to transparency on the part of the el-Keib regime; particularly the appointment of cabinet members and senior officials.

2. According to this source, when el-Keib replied, pointing out that demonstrators were camped outside of his office in Tripoli. He added that the government had to proceed in a measured and professional manner, Jalil stated in angry tones, that NTC staffers were beaten and could have been killed during the January 21 incident, pointing out that this is how the rebellion against Muammar al Qaddafi began in February 2011. Jalil also warned that Islamist leader General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his supporters, particularly militia commanders from Zintan, Misrata, and other

western regions, are anxiously waiting for the NTC government to collapse. Their goal, in the opinion of this individual, is to eventually move in and establish a strict Islamic state. Jalil, added that his contacts in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood had been in touch during the preceding week, warning that the threat from Belhaj is very real. El-Keib stated that he must press Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali and Interior Minister Fawzi Abd Ali to be more efficient in administering their positions. According to this individual, el-Keib fears that al-Juwali, who was a western commander during the revolution, may be maintaining a secret relationship with Belhaj and his allies. In response, Jalil warned el-Keib to avoid trying to use the regular military forces posted around Benghazi under General Khalifa Belqasim Haftar in an effort to restrain the former militia troops as such a step could lead to civil war.

3. (Source Comment: In the opinion of an extremely well placed individual, el-Keib is, in fact, increasingly frustrated by the inefficiency in his regime and the inability of his ministers and administrators to arrange contracts with foreign firms. He complains that his principal advisors, Minister of Oil Abdulrahman Ben Yezza and Minister of Finance Hassan Ziglam, have been too timid in resolving the questions associated with contracts involving foreign firms, both old and new. At present it appears that whenever one official raises a question regarding an agreement the entire matter is put on hold and delayed. In the opinion of this source, el-Keib knows that without these agreements he cannot meet the demands of the veterans and the students. El-Keib stated in confidence, that he may have made a serious mistake in removing the former oil/finance minister Ali Tarhouni from the government. El-Keib also noted that Jalil is shaken by the January 21 attack on NTC headquarters and is searching for ways to appease the demonstrators. Most recently he asked Abdel - Hafidh Ghoza, his principal deputy and NTC spokesman to step down. Ghoza, who comes from the Benghazi area, was particularly unpopular with the western troops.)

4. Following the discussion with Jalil, el-Keib ordered Ziglam and Ngeb Obeda, the head of the Stock Exchange, to move with all possible speed to address the issue of the foreign contracts and arrange for new vendors to provide the services demanded by the veterans and students. In this discussion he pointed out that if they cannot deal with this situation they will not have to worry about the national elections in 2012, Libya will be an Islamic Republic, with Belhaj as the ruler. El-Keib pointed out that foreign governments and large oil firms must be aware of this threat and that this will frighten them into meeting the conditions for foreign contracts set out by the NTC.

5. (Source Comment: According to an extremely sensitive source, el-Keib spoke secretly with Haftar, stating that he, and those troops loyal to him, should be prepared to move to protect the government in the event of increased violence. This effort could include moving against Belhaj and attacking militia forces before they can unite and organize. El-Keib emphasized that this is for planning purposes only, and no action should be taken until el-Keib gives the order. He emphasized that he will do everything possible to avoid civil war, but he is now concerned that Jalil will be unable to deal with the level of hostility against the NTC, and cannot be counted on to take strong positions against Belhaj and his supporters. In the opinion of this individual, el-Keib cannot back away from his commitment to technicians in senior positions, but he will press them as hard as he can to have the government respond to the needs of the veterans and students. El-Keib believes it is not too late to address these problems, but they must move quickly.)

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Monday, January 23, 2012 9:17 PM
To: 'Russorv@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: V good intel internal Libya. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo libya internal strife 012312.docx

Pls print.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, January 23, 2012 12:11 PM
To: H
Subject: H: V good intel internal Libya. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

January 23, 2012

For: HRC
From: Sid
Re: Libya internal strife

SOURCE: Sources with direct access to the Libyan National Transitional Council, as well as the highest levels of European Governments, and Western Intelligence and security services.

1. On the evening of January 22, 2012, according to an official with access to the leadership of the National Transitional Government (NTC), Libyan President Mustafa Abdul Jalil spoke at length with Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib, stating in a heated exchange that el-Keib's government must take the steps necessary to address the complaints of the demobilized fighters from the 2011 revolution. Jalil pointed out that the new government has been discussing this situation since it was formed in October 2011, and matters have now reached a crisis point, with a group of more than 2,000 disgruntled veterans, supported by students, attacking the NTC offices in Benghazi on January 21, destroying computer equipment and NTC files. These demonstrators, some of whom threw Molotov cocktails at the NTC headquarters building, continue to demand better medical care, jobs, payment for their time in the revolutionary army, and a commitment to transparency on the part of the el-Keib regime; particularly the appointment of cabinet members and senior officials.

2. According to this source, when el-Keib replied, pointing out that demonstrators were camped outside of his office in Tripoli. He added that the government had to proceed in a measured and professional manner, Jalil stated in angry tones, that NTC staffers were beaten and could have been killed during the January 21 incident, pointing out that this is how the rebellion against Muammar al Qaddafi began in February 2011. Jalil also warned that Islamist leader General Abdel Hakim Alamin Belhaj and his supporters, particularly militia commanders from Zintan, Misrata, and other western regions, are anxiously waiting for the NTC government to collapse. Their goal, in the opinion of this individual, is to eventually move in and establish a strict Islamic state. Jalil, added that his contacts in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood had been in touch during the preceding week, warning that the threat from Belhaj is very real. El-Keib stated that he must press Minister of Defense Osama al-Juwali and Interior Minister Fawzi Abd Ali to be more efficient in administering their positions. According to this individual, el-Keib fears that al-Juwali, who was a western commander during the revolution, may be maintaining a secret relationship with Belhaj and his allies. In response, Jalil warned el-Keib

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RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Friday, May 6, 2011 1:53 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Fw: H: UBL, AQ & Libya. Sid
Attachments: hrc memo bin laden, aq & libya.docx

More to pass on--disturbing, if true.

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, May 02, 2011 09:12 AM
To: H
Subject: H: UBL, AQ & Libya. Sid

B6

CONFIDENTIAL

May 2, 2011

For: Hillary
From: Sid
Re: Bin Laden, AQ & Libya

Latest report:

During the early morning of May 2, 2011 sources with access to the leadership of the Libyan rebellion's ruling Transitional National Council (TNC) stated in confidence that they are concerned that the death of al Qa'ida leader Osama Bin Laden will inspire al Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) to use weapons they have obtained, which were originally intended for the rebels in Libya, to retaliate against the United States and its allies for this attack in Pakistan. These individuals fear that the use of the weapons in this manner will complicate the TNC's relationship with NATO and the United States, whose support is vital to them in their struggle with the forces of Muammar al Qaddafi. In this regard they are concerned that U.S. officials will believe reports, often created by the Tripoli Government, regarding the degree of influence exercised by AQIM on the TNC.

These individuals note that the TNC officials are reacting to reports received during the week of April 25 from their own sources of information, the French General Directorate for External Security (DGSE), and British external intelligence service (MI-6), stating that AQIM has acquired about 10 SAM 7- Grail/Streela man-portable air-defense systems (MANPADS or MPADS) from illegal weapons markets in Western Niger and Northern Mali. These weapons were originally intended for sale to the rebel forces in Libya, but AQIM operatives were able to meet secretly with these arms dealers and purchase the equipment. The acquisition of these sophisticated weapons creates a serious threat to air traffic in Southern Morocco, Algeria, Northern Mali, Western Niger, and Eastern Mauritania.

(Source Comment: According to very sensitive sources, the Libyan rebels are concerned that AQIM may also obtain SPIGOTT wire-guided anti-tank missiles and an unspecified number of Russian anti-tank mines made of plastic and undetectable by anti-mine equipment. This equipment again was coming through Niger and Mali, and was intended for the rebels in Libya. They note that AQIM is very strong in this region of Northwest Africa.)

In the opinion of these knowledgeable individuals, Libyan rebel commanders are also concerned that the death of Bin Laden comes at a time when sensitive information indicates that the leaders of AQIM are planning to launch attacks across North Africa and Europe in an effort to reassert their relevance during the ongoing upheavals in Libya, as well as the rest of North Africa and the Middle East. They believe the first step in this campaign was the April 30 bombing of a café in Marrakesh, Morocco that is frequented by Western tourists. These individuals point out that AQIM also maintains a wide reach in Europe.

The TNC leaders are also concerned that, with the death of Saif al-Arab Qaddafi, the youngest son of Muammar Qaddafi, the Tripoli Government may pursue retaliation against the United States and its Western allies through surrogate terrorist groups, particularly Hezbollah. While the deaths of Bin Laden and Saif al-Arab are completely unrelated, two separate and very dangerous groups will now be looking for revenge against the U.S. and its allies.

(Source Comment: These knowledgeable sources believe that the leaders of the TNC are also worried about the reaction to the death of Bin Laden among rebel fighters and their supporters in Libya and Egypt, where the al Qa'ida leader was very popular. These TNC officials do not want the death of Bin Laden to affect their relations with the West or their support from NATO, the U.S., France, or Great Britain.)

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RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

From: Jake Sullivan [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, April 4, 2012 7:35 AM
To: H
Subject: Libya

B6

Secretary Clinton's leadership on Libya

HRC has been a critical voice on Libya in administration deliberations, at NATO, and in contact group meetings – as well as the public face of the U.S. effort in Libya. She was instrumental in securing the authorization, building the coalition, and tightening the noose around Qadhafi and his regime.

February 25 – HRC announces the suspension of operations of the Libyan embassy in Washington.

February 26 – HRC directs efforts to evacuate all U.S. embassy personnel from Tripoli and orders the closing of the embassy.

February 26 -- HRC made a series of calls to her counterparts to help secure passage of UNSC 1970, which imposes sanctions on Gaddafi and his family and refers Qadhafi and his cronies to the ICC

February 28 – HRC travels to Geneva, Switzerland for consultations with European partners on Libya. She gives a major address in which she says: "Colonel Qadhafi and those around him must be held accountable for these acts, which violate international legal obligations and common decency. Through their actions, they have lost the legitimacy to govern. And the people of Libya have made themselves clear: It is time for Qadhafi to go – now, without further violence or delay." She also works to secure the suspension of Libya from membership in the Human Rights Council.

Early March – HRC appoints Special Envoy Chris Stevens to be the U.S. representative to Benghazi

March 14 – HRC travels to Paris for the G8 foreign minister's meeting. She meets with TNC representative Jibril and consults with her colleagues on further UN Security Council action. She notes that a no-fly zone will not be adequate.

March 14-16 – HRC participates in a series of high-level video- and teleconferences [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] She is a leading voice for strong UNSC action and a NATO civilian protection mission. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

B5

March 17 – HRC secures Russian abstention and Portuguese and African support for UNSC 1973, ensuring that it passes. 1973 authorizes a no-fly zone over Libya and "all necessary measures" - code for military action - to protect civilians against Gaddafi's army.

March 19 – HRC travels to Paris to meet with European and Arab leaders to prepare for military action to protect civilians. That night, the first U.S. air strikes halt the advance of Gaddafi's forces on Benghazi and target Libya's air defenses.

March 24 – HRC engages with allies and secures the transition of command and control of the civilian protection mission to NATO. She announces the transition in a statement.

March 18-30— HRC engages with UAE, Qatar, and Jordan to seek their participation in coalition operations. Over the course of several days, all three devote aircraft to the mission.

March 29 — HRC travels to London for a conference on Libya, where she is a driving force behind the creation of a Contact Group comprising 20-plus countries to coordinate efforts to protect civilians and plan for a post-Qadhafi Libya. She is instrumental in setting up a rotating chair system to ensure regional buy-in.

April 14 — HRC travels to Berlin for NATO meetings. She is the driving force behind NATO adopting a communiqué that calls for Qadhafi's departure as a political objective, and lays out three clear military objectives: end of attacks and threat of attacks on civilians; the removal of Qadhafi forces from cities they forcibly entered; and the unfettered provision of humanitarian access.

May 5 — HRC travels to Rome for a Contact Group meeting. The Contact Group establishes a coordination system and a temporary financial mechanism to funnel money to the TNC.

June 8 — HRC travels to Abu Dhabi for another Contact Group meeting and holds a series of intense discussions with rebel leaders.

June 12 — HRC travels to Addis for consultations and a speech before the African Union, pressing the case for a democratic transition in Libya.

Late June — HRC meets with House Democrats and Senate Republicans to persuade them not to de-fund the Libya operation.

July 15 — HRC travels to Istanbul and announces that the U.S. recognizes the TNC as the legitimate government of Libya. She also secures recognition from the other members of the Contact Group.

July 16 — HRC sends Feltman, Cretz, and Chollet to Tunis to meet with Qadhafi envoys "to deliver a clear and firm message that the only way to move forward, is for Qadhafi to step down".

Early August — HRC works to construct a \$1.5 billion assets package to be approved by the Security Council and sent to the TNC. That package is working through its last hurdles.

Early August -- After military chief Abdel Fattah Younes is killed, S sends a personal message to TNC head Jalil to press for a responsible investigation and a careful and inclusive approach to creating a new executive council.

Early August -- HRC secures written pledges from the TNC to an inclusive, pluralistic democratic transition. She continues to consult with European and Arab colleagues on the evolving situation.

RELEASE IN PART
B5,B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, April 2, 2011 1:06 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: Brits and Libya

Was supposed to go today. Will check.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 11:59 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Brits and Libya

When is Chris Stevens going?

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 10:34 AM
To: H
Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Brits and Libya

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Subject: Re: Brits and Libya

But, how does HBJ go w the Amir in DC?

B5

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 10:19 AM
To: H

Cc: Huma Abedin
Subject: Re: Brits and Libya

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----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 10:09 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Cc: Huma Abedin <Huma@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re: Brits and Libya

I don't know how they do it the 13th since I'm supposed to have breakfast w Amir that morning in DC after the dinner on the 12th [REDACTED] Could we try to move to the 16th and I could go on my way to Japan?
I'm copying Huma.

B5

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From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 10:05 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Brits and Libya

Fyi

----- Original Message -----

From: Burns, William J
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 09:39 AM
To: Gordon, Philip H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Feltman, Jeffrey D; [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Waller, Robert P (P)
Subject: Brits and Libya

Talked to [REDACTED] this am:

B6

-- Cameron talked to Qatari Amir this morning, and they agreed on Apr 13 in Doha for CG meeting. [REDACTED] said Brits liked our suggestions on participation, and will invite Greeks. Will do more work on TOR. Understand S will not attend, aiming for senior officials level (although Hague and HBJ will be there).

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Bill

RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Saturday, September 3, 2011 10:28 PM
To: Oscar Flores
Subject: Fw: tick tock on libya

Pls print for me.

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, August 22, 2011 12:37 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: tick tock on libya

Here is Draft

From: Jake Sullivan [redacted]
Sent: Sunday, August 21, 2011 7:40 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Nuland, Victoria J
Subject: tick tock on libya

B6

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Secretary Clinton's leadership on Libya

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March 14-16 – HRC participates in a series of high-level video- and teleconferences with [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] She is a leading voice for strong UNSC action and a NATO civilian protection mission. [REDACTED]

B5

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From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 14, 2011 10:26 AM
To: H
Subject: FW: Quick readout from Jeff Feltman in Tripoli

RELEASE IN PART B5,B3
INA,B6

FYI – worth a scan.

From: Dibble, Elizabeth L
Sent: Wednesday, September 14, 2011 10:08 AM

To: [REDACTED]; Sullivan, Jacob J; Gordon, Philip H; Carson, Johnnie; Ryu, Rexon Y; Pelofsky, Eric J; Wells, Alice G; Zeya, Uzra S; Grantham, Chris W; Shannon, Thomas A (P); Nuland, Victoria J; Ward, Kenneth D; Kennedy, Patrick F; Austin-Ferguson, Kathleen T; Lohman, Lee; Cretz, Gene A; Carl Yoder, Samantha A; Sullivan, Stephanie S; Naranjo, Brian R; Pittman, H Dean; Pascual, Carlos; Cekuta, Robert F; [REDACTED]; Ward, Mark (DCHA/AA); Romanowski, Alina (ME/AA); Gray, Gordon
Cc: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Djerassi, Alexander M; Maxwell, Raymond D; Roebuck, William V; Sidereas, Eugenia M; Abdalla, Alyce N; Polaschik, Joan A
Subject: Quick readout from Jeff Feltman in Tripoli

B6

Jeff asked me to pass along the following readout. Please excuse the free-form list of subjects but I wanted to get this out quickly to as wide an audience as possible. Please feel free to share with others I've missed.

1. **State of Embassy Tripoli facility:** While admitting he is no engineer, Jeff agrees with the initial OBO assessment that the facility is not salvageable – the condition is “shocking and photos doesn’t do it justice.” Floors have collapsed, the ballistic glass and metal support beams have melted, and it has been totally trashed. Jeff asked for their help on Embassy security; they took this on board but noted that they are still in the process of trying to secure the country.
2. **Abdel Jalil and Mahmoud Jibril both to NY next week:** Both will travel to NY next week for the high level meeting on the 20th. Jalil will then return to Libya, and Jibril will remain in NY to deliver the Libyan address to UNGA on the 24th. The plan is to have the new cabinet in place by the 24th, with Jibril the likely PM. Jeff pressed them on including a woman on their UN delegation. He also made all of the points about the need for the TNC to take the lead in NY in outlining what they are seeking from the int’l community but they didn’t share their ideas about what they will say.
Action needed: Jalil needs a visa, [REDACTED] I understand MAG is working this now but we will need to facilitate issuance (likely by Embassy Tunis).
3. **Saadi Qadhafi and Niger:** Jibril has sent a letter to Niamey and is sending the Deputy FM there to talk about Saadi. The Libyan request to Niger will be two-fold: 1. Detain him properly (they understand he is free to roam about; 2. Be prepared to return him to Libya to stand trial.
4. **Weapons issues:** They will ask OPCW to come back and they want them to say yes but the Libyans are picking up noises from OPCW that they can’t accept a request from the TNC now because the TNC is not a UN member. (comment: I know the credentials issue is being worked this week in NY but Ken Ward please convey to OPCW that they need to take the Libyans up on their request asap.)
5. **OUP mandate:** they think NATO should stay beyond an additional 30 days (I told Jeff I thought we were now looking at 90 in any case).
6. **Pan Am 103:** Jeff raised the issue with Jalil and the Justice Minister, which they took on board; Justice Minister said “this was a crime against humanity so Libya has to cooperate.”
7. **Treatment of Libyans of color and African migrants:** Jeff raised and they responded with the right things.
8. **Oil fund paper:** Passed to TNC.
9. **“Boots on the ground”:** they asked about the comments they had seen and expressed their concern over them. Jeff explained that these were people to help provide security for our people and facility and why they were necessary. [REDACTED]

B3 INA

B5

RELEASE IN
PART B5

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, March 27, 2011 12:32 PM
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Fw: chris stevens mission

See note below

From: Davis, Timmy T
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J; Macmanus, Joseph E; S_SpecialAssistants
Sent: Sun Mar 27 12:12:03 2011
Subject: Fw: chris stevens mission

Jake and Huma,

Please find below a status report on Chris Stevens mission to Benghazi.



B5

Thanks.

Tim

From: Bitter, Rena
Sent: Sunday, March 27, 2011 12:00 PM
To: Davis, Timmy T
Subject: chris stevens mission

Status update on the Chris Stevens mission to Benghazi:

The current game plan is for Mr. Stevens to move no later than Wednesday from Malta to Benghazi. He will stage off shore initially for a one day visit during which he will have meetings with TNC interlocutors and get a sense of the situation on the ground. The goal of this one day trip is for him to lay the groundwork for a stay of up to 30 days.

He will be accompanied by a DS team, a staff member from Embassy Tripoli and the leader of USAID's DART team. With the support of Ambassador Cretz and Embassy Tripoli, Mr Stevens is in contact with TNC members on the ground in Benghazi and elsewhere; the team is also in contact with other diplomatic missions and NGOs in Benghazi. We expect to get support in particular from the Turks who have a consulate in Benghazi.

Mr. Stevens team has been in touch with Africom planners on the details of the mission. We have made the official request for support from OSD but have yet to get approval. Once we have that -- and we hope that will be very soon -- we will be able to move forward with the planning.

Rena Bitter

Director, State Department Operations Center
202 647 2522
BitterR@state.gov

RELEASE IN
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RELEASE IN
PART B5,B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, March 23, 2011 9:17 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: Proposed Quad Deal

From: Sullivan, Jacob J
Sent: Wednesday, March 23, 2011 09:10 PM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Subject: Re: Proposed Quad Deal

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, March 23, 2011 09:04 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Proposed Quad Deal

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, March 23, 2011 08:43 PM
To: H
Subject: RE: Proposed Quad Deal

I will forward you the Turkish proposal momentarily.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, March 23, 2011 8:42 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Proposed Quad Deal

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, March 23, 2011 08:40 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Proposed Quad Deal

You probably saw this from Huma, but Burns will call Sinir and Gordon will call Audibert and report to you before you talk to Juppe.

From: Gordon, Phillip H

Sent: Wednesday, March 23, 2011 6:55 PM

To: Steinberg, James B; 'McDonough, Denis R.'; Burns, William J; [REDACTED] 'Sherwood-Randall, Liz';
Daalder, Ivo H; Sullivan, Jacob J

Cc: McEldowney, Nancy E; Heffern, John A; Spence, Matthew J.

Subject: Proposed Quad Deal

B6

B5

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, April 8, 2011 4:16 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Benghazi and NATO

FYI – Jeff and I discussed and I fully agree that a NATO liaison is a good idea.

From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Friday, April 08, 2011 3:08 PM
To: Daalder, Ivo H; Cretz, Gene A; Polaschik, Joan A; Gordon, Philip H; Roebuck, William V; Keene, Matt E; Dibble, Elizabeth L
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Djerassi, Alexander M; [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Heffern, John A; Degnan, Kelly C
Subject: RE: Benghazi and NATO

Ivo, thanks for the helpful response. From NEA's perspective, an operational liaison with the TNC does not constitute formal, legal recognition of the TNC as the government of Libya. We don't consider Chris Stevens' presence in Benghazi to trigger formal recognition, and we've never broken relations with Libya despite suspending our embassy operations.

Without question, having a NATO liaison in Benghazi would have the appearance of NATO leaning in the direction of the TNC. But NATO's operations already show a considerable lean away from Qadhafi. Speaking for NEA, I don't mind the appearance. But the real purpose would be to avoid friendly fire incidents, of course.

Cheers,
Jeff

*Jeffrey Feltman
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Department of State
202-647-7209*

From: Daalder, Ivo H
Sent: Friday, April 08, 2011 2:51 PM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Cretz, Gene A; Polaschik, Joan A; Gordon, Philip H; Roebuck, William V; Keene, Matt E; Dibble, Elizabeth L
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Djerassi, Alexander M; [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Heffern, John A; Degnan, Kelly C
Subject: Re: Benghazi and NATO

Jeff -

Been in touch with ADMs Stavridis and Locklear. They are working the issue hard, thru both US and UK channels, to solidify liaison cells with the rebels. The diversity of the opposition makes setting up the contacts more difficult, but the Nato command is fully engaged in trying to set up the right structure to ensure closest possible coordination between Naples and the TNC.

Relatedly, FR and UK are pushing the idea of sending a Nato liaison to the TNC to work the PA angle as well as to provide a way to improve communications between TNC and Nato HQ on the bigger picture. Sounds sensible, tho we need to avoid sense that Nato is recognizing TNC or wants role in any political process. Would welcome your thoughts on

this.

Ivo
Sent Using U.S. Department of State / Blackberry Server

From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
To: Daalder, Ivo H; Cretz, Gene A; Polaschik, Joan A; Gordon, Philip H; Roebuck, William V; Keene, Matt E; Polaschik, Joan A; Dibble, Elizabeth L
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Dierassi, Alexander M; [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] 'Shapiro, Daniel B.' [REDACTED] Ross, Dennis B.

B6

Sent: Fri Apr 08 19:53:58 2011
Subject: Benghazi and NATO

Ivo et al: Greetings. Please look at points #3 and #4 below, conveyed by DCM Polaschik (from Embassy Tripoli, in exile on Navy Hill) from Chris Stevens, our envoy in Benghazi. This gets at a problem that I raised with Jake Sullivan and me: coordination between the Libyan TNC and NATO. I expressed deep frustration that there doesn't seem to be an existing, working mechanism for communication between the TNC and NATO (thus leading to mistakes such as attacks on TNC tanks). She asked us to find a way to fix this, now.

The question for you and your colleagues, Ivo, is what would work quickly? Should we rely on the UK military advisors to do this, as suggested in point 3? Or should we be encouraging the quick formation of a NATO cell, as suggested in para 4 (but which at least RADM Foggo suspected might not work)? Are there other ideas? (Joan, does Chris have views, from his on-the-ground-in-Benghazi perspective?)

We obviously need a quick, real solution to avoid more friendly fire incidents.

Jeffrey Feltman
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Department of State
202-647-7209

From: Polaschik, Joan A
Sent: Friday, April 08, 2011 12:36 PM
To: SES-O_SWO; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Cretz, Gene A; Roebuck, William V; Dibble, Elizabeth L
Cc: Kalmbach, Heather E; Keene, Matt E
Subject: Stevens Update - April 8 at 1200

SWO – could you please pass this to 7th floor principals/staff? DS also needs to see this update

- 1) Security situation in Benghazi remains quiet. Chris Stevens & team are in the hotel, moving only for meetings as required.
- 2) Chris spoke to the RADM Foggo, Deputy Commander of the 6th Fleet, who confirmed that the 6th fleet would be responsible for the team's evacuation if needed.
- 3) RADM Foggo was very interested in Chris' meeting with TNC Military Coordinator Abdul Fatah Yunis, particularly Yunis' frustration with the lack of coordination with NATO. Foggo is hopeful that presence of UK military advisors on the ground in Benghazi will help improve this coordination. According to Foggo, DoD is looking at ways to improve communications with the TNC, while still being mindful of red line re "boots on the ground."

- 4) Separately, Chris has heard from the UK Envoy that the UK and France are recommending that NATO place a coordination cell with the TNC in order to improve coordination, reduce chances of friendly fire incidents, etc. UK and France believe that existing coordination on a national level (which according to Chris also includes the Italians) is not working well. When Chris briefed this to RADM Foggo, Foggo expressed concern that NATO would not be able to reach agreement on establishment of this kind of coordination cell.

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 12:14 AM
To: H
Subject: FW: (SBU) UPDATE: Benghazi

From: Mull, Stephen D
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 11:54 PM
To: Kennedy, Patrick F; Jones, Beth E; Dibble, Elizabeth L; Mills, Cheryl D; Nuland, Victoria J; Sullivan, Stephanie S; Sullivan, Jacob J; Zeya, Uzra S; Sherman, Wendy R; Austin-Ferguson, Kathleen T
Subject: FW: (SBU) UPDATE: Benghazi

FYI, fresh attacks on Benghazi

From: Fullerton, T Barry
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 23:51 PM
To: SES_DutyDeputies
Cc: SES-O_SWO
Subject: FW: (SBU) UPDATE: Benghazi

Ambassador Mull: Please see update from RSO Benghazi below. We are also preparing an alert now.

From: DS Command Center
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 11:41 PM
To: SES-O
Cc: DS Command Center; DSCC_Management_Team
Subject: (SBU) UPDATE: Benghazi

ALCON:

The DS Command Center is sharing the following event information for your situational awareness. Please contact the DS Command Center directly for any follow-up requests for information.

Per TelCall with RSO in Benghazi. Their current shelter location is now under attack by mortar fire. Three to four rounds have impacted on their location. There are new injuries to COM staff. Update to follow.

This is an initial incident report from the DS Command Center. The information contained in this report is provided only for immediate situational awareness. Additional reports may follow, updating and correcting information, if necessary. Please protect accordingly.

DS Command Center

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 11:40 PM
To: 'millsd@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'nulandvj@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Chris Smith

Ok.

----- Original Message -----

From: Mills, Cheryl D [mailto:MillsCD@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 11:38 PM
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>; Nuland, Victoria J <nulandvj@state.gov>
Subject: RE: Chris Smith

We are awaiting formal confirmation from our team. We are drafting a statement while we wait.

-----Original Message-----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 11:38 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Nuland, Victoria J
Subject: Chris Smith

Cheryl told me the Libyans confirmed his death. Should we announce tonight or wait until morning?

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter [redacted]
Sent: Friday, April 1, 2011 11:53 AM
To: H
Subject: RE: gorgeous pic on the front page of the NYT!

B/c sending more arms into a society generally – particularly when they are as disorganized and fragmented as they are – will result in more violence – against each other. Boys like to play with guns (trust me as the mother of sons). I am all for saying we have no objection to French doing it to increase pressure on Gaddafi, but in a tribal society where conflicts have been repressed for so long, adding even more weapons does not make sense. Obviously they can get weapons from other places, but nb that they are not awash in weapons now. I wrote something for New York Review of Books this week that builds on my farewell remarks and I think you will like it; will send it to you for weekend reading.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Friday, April 01, 2011 11:18 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: gorgeous pic on the front page of the NYT!

B6

Why are you dubious?

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 30, 2011 08:37 AM
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Subject: gorgeous pic on the front page of the NYT!

One for the wall...

For what it's worth, I am VERY dubious about arming the Libyan rebels. Our best bet is to keep pressure on BOTH sides to force a diplo solution. AMS

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, August 22, 2011 7:10 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Benghazi update (1200 local)

From: Abbaszadeh, Nima
Sent: Monday, August 22, 2011 06:54 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Wells, Alice G; Abedin, Huma; Hanley, Monica R; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: FW: Benghazi update (1200 local)

Update from Rep. Stevens in Benghazi, based on largely on info from acting PM Ali Tarhouni and acting FM Salah Bishari:

- TNC caretaker cabinet/members were up until 4am following events in Tripoli and discussing plans for the coming days. Tarhouni said the TNC has been in constant communication with its people in Tripoli, including both fighters and those entrusted with implementing the stabilization plans. Rebels in Tripoli, in coordination with the TNC, have begun to set up checkpoints inside the city and guard public buildings.
- TNC chairman Abd al Jalil and PM Jibril made statements to the media last night, urging people to refrain from revenge attacks and destruction of public buildings.
- There has so far been "no bloodbath" or serious looting.
- The capture of Saif al-Islam al-Qadhafi and Mohamed al-Qadhafi is significant. The TNC, including Abd al-Jalil himself, intervened with rebels surrounding Mohamed's house to ensure that they did not harm him. They understood that it would be harmful to the revolution and the TNC if he were killed. These events were captured live by Al Jazeera in interviews with Mohamed. Both brothers are in rebel custody (at this time, it is unclear to us exactly who is holding them, however).
- Per Tarhouni, the next steps are: 1) find Muammar Qadhafi; 2) issue a statement announcing the end of the Qadhafi regime and the start of the interim period under the TNC (TNC staff have begun drafting this statement already); 3) insure the delivery of essential services and commodities (esp. addressing the acute shortages of fuel, children's milk, and medication for blood pressure and diabetes); and 4) move the TNC to Tripoli.
- Regarding the move to Tripoli, Tarhouni said security arrangements would need to be made before they could send the TNC leadership to the capital. We have heard from another contact that some TNC members are already making plans to fly to Misurata and the Western Mountains, possibly as early as today, and from there drive to Tripoli.
- Request for assistance: Tarhouni, who also holds US citizenship, said the items listed above (gas, diesel, baby milk, and medicine) are urgently needed in Tripoli and recommended that the USG ship those items directly to Zawiya's Port and publicize such assistance as soon as feasible (in coordination with the TNC). He said this would bring the US even more goodwill than it has already earned here.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, April 22, 2011 5:03 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: update on situation in Benghazi: McCain visit

From: Macmanus, Joseph E
Sent: Friday, April 22, 2011 04:39 PM
To: Abedin, Huma
Subject: update on situation in Benghazi: McCain visit

(SBU)

Benghazi Sitrep #17, April 22, 2011

Political/economic developments

Codel McCain: Senator McCain had an enthusiastic reception in Benghazi. The TNC welcomed his strong statements of support, and US flag-waving Libyans cheered him wherever he went. The TNC praised the introduction of US Predator aircraft and asked that the US jam Libyan television broadcasting. The TNC's finance minister told him that his top priorities are to obtain a line of credit to meet basic needs, and to find a way under the sanctions to allow trade with the liberated parts of Libya. He was impressed by the civilian leadership but came away with serious doubts about the military's leadership, organization, and capabilities. He was heartened to hear that the TNC plans to shake up the military leadership and appoint a minister of defense-equivalent as early as next week. In a press conference, he advocated the use of more effective US strike aircraft in the NATO missions and US facilitation of 3rd party arms transfers to the rebels; he stopped short of endorsing the introduction of US military advisers, saying that role could be filled by others. He was clearly moved by the plight of the people of Misrata and visited a hospital where he met a number of patients who were severely wounded in the fighting there. The Human Rights Watch representative in Benghazi and a TNC member from Misrata briefed him on the situation there.

Consular issue: Conoff received the deceased Amcit's personal effects from the IOM representative in Benghazi and submitted them to the UK delegation in Benghazi in order to be flown out with the body. The Amcit's body departed Libya on the evening of 22 April.

Injured Amcit [] will board a UNICEF-chartered ship that will depart Misurata at 2300 local time on 22 April and will arrive in Malta approximately 22 hours later.

B6

A memorial service for the journalists was held at the Tibesti hotel, attended by TNC deputy chairman Abd al-Hafidh Gogha, the UK envoy, and the US envoy. Ghoga and the envoys also delivered remarks.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 5:50 AM
To: Huma Abedin
Subject: Request

B6

Can you get us a copy of Bernard Henri-Levi's film about Libya? I think Harvey made it and showed it at Cannes last spring.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 10:59 PM
To: H
Subject: Re: Libyan

My fyi was referring to the Libyan. The arming the rebels breathlessness is silly.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 10:46 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Libyan

Both Gates and I said the same on the Sunday shows.


----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 10:41 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Libyan

Fyi

----- Original Message -----

From: Gordon, Philip H
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 05:56 PM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Burns, William J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Libyan

 now says the issue of the visitor is "more complicated than they thought" and he prefers to send me a secure message in the morning. Will let you know.

Meanwhile, press here all about whether US/coalition going to "arm rebels" based on HRC comments about "no decision yet, resolution allows that". Tomorrow's Guardian headline is "Coalition ready to arm rebellion if Gadafy clings to power". Don't know if playing same way back home.

----- Original Message -----

From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 02:57 PM
To: Gordon, Philip H; Burns, William J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Libyan

Thanks.
Jeffrey Feltman

----- Original Message -----

From: Gordon, Philip H
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 02:34 PM
To: Burns, William J; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J

B6

Subject: Libyan

says plane of Libyan mystery visitor just landed. Said he'd keep us posted as details emerge.

B6

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, April 10, 2011 10:14 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Stevens Update (important)

Importance: High

Jake may have sent but in case not..

----- Original Message -----

From: Davis, Timmy T
Sent: Sunday, April 10, 2011 06:48 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Wells, Alice G; S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: Stevens Update (important)

(SBU) Per Special Envoy Stevens:

- The situation in Ajdabiyah has worsened to the point where Stevens is considering departure from Benghazi. The envoy's delegation is currently doing a phased checkout (paying the hotel bills, moving some comms to the boat, etc). He will monitor the situation to see if it deteriorates further, but no decision has been made on departure. He will wait 2-3 more hours, then revisit the decision on departure.
- He received reports of shelling last night in Ajdabiyah as well as snipers shooting people in the city. AFRICOM reported Qadhafi's forces took the eastern and western gates of Ajdabiyah, with 5 vehicles at the eastern gate and 50 at the western gate. More Qadhafi forces are heading to Ajdabiyah from Brega.
- The Brits report Qadhafi forces are moving from Sirte to Brega, which they interpret as preparation for another assault on Ajdabiyah today.
- He plans to discuss the situation further with the Brits, Turks, and the TNC to see if this is an irreversible situation. Departure would send a significant political signal, and would be interpreted as the U.S. losing confidence in the TNC. Initial message to the TNC would frame the departure as due to security grounds and as a temporary measure only.
- Polaschik said she would discuss these developments with Amb. Cretz.
- If the group departs, the contract for the boat stipulates they return to Greece. One scenario could be the group stages elsewhere for a few days.

Ops will continue to monitor the situation.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, March 30, 2011 8:21 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Statement by the Press Secretary

FYI – should take care of the job.

From: Rhodes, Benjamin J. [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, March 30, 2011 8:15 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Fw: Statement by the Press Secretary

B6

From: White House Press Office [REDACTED]
To: Rhodes, Benjamin J.
Sent: Wed Mar 30 17:54:12 2011
Subject: Statement by the Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE

RELEASE

2011

March 30,

Statement by the Press Secretary

As is common practice for this and all Administrations, I am not going to comment on intelligence matters. I will reiterate what the President said yesterday – no decision has been made about providing arms to the opposition or to any group in Libya. We're not ruling it out or ruling it in. We're assessing and reviewing options for all types of assistance that we could provide to the Libyan people, and have consulted directly with the opposition and our international partners about these matters.

###

Unsubscribe

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RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Otero, Maria <OteroM2@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 6:46 AM
To: H
Subject: I am so sorry

Hillary:
I'm just boarding plane to Honduras and thinking of you especially with this painful tragedy in Libya.
Warmest,
Maria

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Judith McHale [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 8:54 AM
To: H
Subject: Libya

B6

The news from Libya is truly shocking. Just wanted you to know that you, all my colleagues at State and the Stevens family are in my thoughts and prayers.
Tough world we live in my friend.

Take care of yourself.

Judith

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Nuland, Victoria J <nulandvj@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 11:44 PM
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Re: Chris Smith

We need to ck family's druthers. If they are OK, we should put something out from you tonight.

Also, everyone will assume the first statement was about Chris so we need to make clear this is a second death and/or name both.

----- Original Message -----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 11:37 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Nuland, Victoria J
Subject: Chris Smith

Cheryl told me the Libyans confirmed his death. Should we announce tonight or wait until morning?

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 11:39 PM
To: H; Sullivan, Jacob J; Nuland, Victoria J
Subject: RE: Chris Smith

We are awaiting formal confirmation from our team. We are drafting a statement while we wait.

-----Original Message-----

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 11:38 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Nuland, Victoria J
Subject: Chris Smith

Cheryl told me the Libyans confirmed his death. Should we announce tonight or wait until morning?

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, August 22, 2011 7:07 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Benghazi update (1200 local)

From: Abbaszadeh, Nima
Sent: Monday, August 22, 2011 06:54 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Wells, Alice G; Abedin, Huma; Hanley, Monica R; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: FW: Benghazi update (1200 local)

Update from Rep. Stevens in Benghazi, based on largely on info from acting PM Ali Tarhouni and acting FM Salah Bishari:

- TNC caretaker cabinet/members were up until 4am following events in Tripoli and discussing plans for the coming days. Tarhouni said the TNC has been in constant communication with its people in Tripoli, including both fighters and those entrusted with implementing the stabilization plans. Rebels in Tripoli, in coordination with the TNC, have begun to set up checkpoints inside the city and guard public buildings.
- TNC chairman Abd al Jalil and PM Jibril made statements to the media last night, urging people to refrain from revenge attacks and destruction of public buildings.
- There has so far been "no bloodbath" or serious looting.
- The capture of Saif al-Islam al-Qadhafi and Mohamed al-Qadhafi is significant. The TNC, including Abd al-Jalil himself, intervened with rebels surrounding Mohamed's house to ensure that they did not harm him. They understood that it would be harmful to the revolution and the TNC if he were killed. These events were captured live by Al Jazeera in interviews with Mohamed. Both brothers are in rebel custody (at this time, it is unclear to us exactly who is holding them, however).
- Per Tarhouni, the next steps are: 1) find Muammar Qadhafi; 2) issue a statement announcing the end of the Qadhafi regime and the start of the interim period under the TNC (TNC staff have begun drafting this statement already); 3) insure the delivery of essential services and commodities (esp. addressing the acute shortages of fuel, children's milk, and medication for blood pressure and diabetes); and 4) move the TNC to Tripoli.
- Regarding the move to Tripoli, Tarhouni said security arrangements would need to be made before they could send the TNC leadership to the capital. We have heard from another contact that some TNC members are already making plans to fly to Misurata and the Western Mountains, possibly as early as today, and from there drive to Tripoli.
- Request for assistance: Tarhouni, who also holds US citizenship, said the items listed above (gas, diesel, baby milk, and medicine) are urgently needed in Tripoli and recommended that the US ship those items directly to Zawiya's Port and publicize such assistance as soon as feasible (in coordination with the TNC). He said this would bring the US even more goodwill than it has already earned here.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Monday, August 22, 2011 7:11 AM
To: 'abedinh@state.gov'; 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Benghazi update (1200 local)

Can we arrange shipments of what's requested?

From: Abedin, Huma [mailto:AbedinH@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, August 22, 2011 07:06 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Benghazi update (1200 local)

From: Abbaszadeh, Nima
Sent: Monday, August 22, 2011 06:54 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Wells, Alice G; Abedin, Huma; Hanley, Monica R; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: FW: Benghazi update (1200 local)

Update from Rep. Stevens in Benghazi, based on largely on info from acting PM Ali Tarhouni and acting FM Salah Bishari:

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RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, August 21, 2011 9:26 AM
To: H
Subject: Jeff update

Contrast between Benghazi and reports from the West: Here in Benghazi since Thursday, I have joined our representative, Chris Stevens, in meetings with a large number of representatives from the TNC, civil society, UN organizations and NGOs, and the diplomatic corps. While we had no idea that our trip would correspond with significant military advances in the east and the start of the coordinated Tripoli uprising dubbed "Operation Mermaid Dawn," the timing gave us the opportunity to note the contrast between the relative bureaucratic quiet here compared to hyped-up activity in western Libya. Clearly, some coordination is underway between Benghazi and the west: Ali Tarhouni, recently promoted to Deputy Prime Minister in a still-to-be-completed cabinet reshuffle, previewed the Tripoli uprising with us, down almost to the minute. Yet one feels that, to a large extent, TNC officials are observers and chroniclers rather than the authors of the unfolding developments to the west. (In a telling anecdote, just after confiding in us the plans for Tripoli about to unfold, Tarhouni turned off his ringing cell phone, to concentrate on talking to us in a leisurely manner.) What TNC officials told us to a large extent was sensible and mostly reassuring in its content -- and the TNC just issued a directive reiterating its policy to treat combatants according to the Geneva conventions and observe human rights -- but their comments fell mostly in the category of passive analysis rather than aggressive forward thinking. Washington has task forces in focused on Tripoli; Benghazi does not.

While there's a sense in the air that the final battles have begun, that palpable anticipation does not seem to have translated into the type of stepped-up bureaucratic activity that one would expect. After meeting with us for nearly two hours on Thursday, TNC Executive Committee chair (and PM-equivalent) Mahmoud Jibril returned to Doha rather than head any kind of war room here. I was on the ground far longer than Jibril, giving another cameo appearance here. Tarhouni confided that there is no plan for when or how the TNC would relocate quickly to Tripoli, should Tripoli fall. TNC Chairman Mustafa Abduljalil (who remains by all accounts a unifying figure here) is a humble, retiring leader, which after Qadhafi's flamboyance is part of the attraction for Libyans but which does not make him naturally think of how to project TNC authority and symbolism quickly to the newly liberated areas. The question is, when Tripoli falls, do the extensive plans that the TNC has made about the post-Qadhafi transitional structures have any relevance for Tripoli? I do not want to overplay this: the flags being raised in the western towns are the flags used here. Our visit to the military command center demonstrated that there is active information flow (if not exactly command and control) passing between east and west. Tarhouni and others who visit western towns, usually from Tunis, describe support there and from tribal leaders across Libya. No other groups are claiming to have established or planned for an alternative civilian authority to compete with the TNC. Still, in our engagement with TNC officials, we will need to remind them continually of the imperative to nurture their legitimacy and authority and to prevent a political vacuum that others could fill -- especially after Tripoli falls and the TNC is here, not there.

We've talked a lot about Tripoli and whether a battle for the capital could be avoided, which we argued would be the best solution. One of the TNC's assets is the moral distinction between what the Libya that the TNC aspires to promote and how Qadhafi has treated Libya's citizens. The world's attention will focus on a battle for Tripoli, we cautioned, and acts of brutality and revenge and potential internal fights among competing militias will blur that moral distinction even more than the assassination of TNC Chief of Staff Abdulfatah Younis already did. The damage to the TNC's credibility could be irreparable. We also noted that a TNC-led negotiation that succeeds in winning Tripoli without a fight would underscore the TNC leadership far more dramatically than a successful militia assault only vaguely connected to the Benghazi leadership. The TNC officials heard us out patiently, but they clearly were not in the mood to negotiate. They feel confident about the current military situation, and they remain convinced that Qadhafi simply will not give up no matter how high the pressure. If anything, their positions have hardened in recent weeks, with Abduljalil telling us that the TNC will no longer contemplate Qadhafi staying in Libya once he is out of power. Saif Qadhafi is seen in the same category as his father. I do not believe that anything short of a significant change -- Qadhafi's departure, a military

setback that punctures the TNC's current confidence, NATO insisting on a pause in operations in favor of negotiations -- will persuade the TNC leadership that it is in their interest right now to offer Qadhafi a peaceful way out. Tarhouni also acknowledged with his trademark candor that, to the Libyan people right now, negotiations would appear weak and not a satisfactory climax to the revolution. They do have a point that, despite signs of desperation around Qadhafi (e.g., Mohammed Ismail's multiple attempts to contact Gene Cretz and me), there is no indication that Qadhafi himself is prepared to throw in the towel. There is real fear that, should Qadhafi somehow make it from Tripoli to Sebha, a guerilla war could persist for years, with supplies and mercenaries smuggled across the Saharan border.

Among other topics, we pushed the TNC officials hard on starting a high-profile discussion immediately on the reconciliation which is part of the TNC's platform. We noted that the many victims of Qadhafi's 42-year rule will be less likely to pursue individual acts of revenge if they are assured that there will be some form to address grievances through rule-of-law accountability. The same message should also appeal to average Libyans who for whatever reason remained as part of Qadhafi's regime to the end but who have no blood on their hands and might otherwise fear retribution. TNC officials refer approvingly to the South African and Moroccan models, and they reiterated their commitment for an inclusive process for Libya's future that welcomes all but the most notorious individuals around Qadhafi. Yet they still seem to rely largely on (variously described) luck, tribal discipline, and the "gentle character" of the Libyan people as the best assurances against abuse and revenge killings. We will continue to push on this.

Benghazi remained full of chatter about the Abdulfatah Younis assassination. With tribal visits and investigation committees and cabinet changes, the TNC addressed the immediate crisis sufficiently effectively that the initial tension and gunfire quickly dissipated. But the assassination highlighted two realities of Libyan life that TNC officials had previously tried to downplay: tribes and militias. Rather than denying the tribal affiliations of Libyans, TNC officials are now looking to the tribes as part of the solution in enforcing discipline and preventing the type of widescale looting and pillaging that destroyed Benghazi's security infrastructure in March. Tribes, we heard, can also be a corrective balance to Islamist leanings. On reining in the militias, we heard no good answers. Some people (Tarhouni, TNC National Security Advisor Bazama, some civil society representatives) spoke frankly about the problem, including the Islamist leanings of the most powerful. The Islamist militias deserve more discussion in other channels, but a couple of people noted that the Younis assassination had an upside in making scrutiny of this issue imperative. Others seemed to rely, again, on luck or tried to avert their eyes from the problem that militias could post on the Day After. There was widespread disdain for Qatar's role in encouraging certain militia elements, and I will be able to cite lots of concern here when I go to Doha later. Qatar's role, too, is a subject better discussed elsewhere.

We also discussed humanitarian and financial needs. Tarhouni and Jibril noted that the TNC's financial needs increase as more territory falls under rebel control; they are worried that, if they can't provide electricity to newly liberated towns or fund other services there, disenchantment with the TNC will grow. Tarhouni agreed to reach out to the Indians to discuss Libya's outstanding debts, to see if he can help us get India's hold on the frozen asset proposal lifted. Briefed on South Africa's objections, Jibril understood the need for continued outreach to Africa (although part of our South Africa problem may derive from Jibril's poor relations with Zuma, with Jibril telling us that he recently accused Zuma of making Nelson Mandela feel ashamed); Abdulrahman Shalgam will go to the August 25-26 AU Summit and Jibril did not rule out attending himself. I've spoken several times to UAE Foreign Minister Abdullah bin Zayed since arriving here, and the UAE has finally responded positively to our soft collateral proposal for a loan to the TNC, which may be our fastest way of getting funds here, assuming we can come up with a letter that meets the UAE's needs and passes the scrutiny of the U.S. interagency process.

My traveling companions, Bill Roebuck (NEA/MAG director) and Ben Fishman from the NSS, start their return trip today. I will go on to Cairo, Doha, and Abu Dhabi, where, inter alia, I will have more Libya discussions, including seeing Jibril again in Doha. With NileSat continuing to broadcast Qadhafi's propaganda, the Libyan anger over Egypt's role approaches if not exceeds annoyance with Qataar. We are also checking on how to get from Cairo back here, should I need to join Chris here in the coming days.

Chris and his tiny staff are doing a heroic job in representing our interests here. I am especially appreciative to DS for all the work done to support my trip. I also want to highlight the work that Pat Kennedy's M family and NEA/EX did in establishing living and working quarters for Chris and his team. Thanks to a lot of creativity and hard work, the

environment for American staff here is significantly improved over what I saw two months ago when we were located in the downtown Tibesty Hotel.

-- Jeff

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, March 30, 2011 6:49 AM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Libyan

Pls let me know what Phil finds out asap. Thx.

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 10:41 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Libyan

Fyi

----- Original Message -----

From: Gordon, Philip H
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 05:56 PM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Burns, William J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Libyan

[redacted] now says the issue of the visitor is "more complicated than they thought" and he prefers to send me a secure message in the morning. Will let you know.
Meanwhile, press here all about whether US/coalition going to "arm rebels" based on HRC comments about "no decision yet, resolution allows that". Tomorrow's Guardian headline is "Coalition ready to arm rebellion if Gadafy clings to power". Don't know if playing same way back home.

B6

----- Original Message -----

From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 02:57 PM
To: Gordon, Philip H; Burns, William J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Libyan

Thanks.
Jeffrey Feltman

----- Original Message -----

From: Gordon, Philip H
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 02:34 PM
To: Burns, William J; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Libyan

[redacted] says plane of Libyan mystery visitor just landed. Said he'd keep us posted as details emerge.

B6

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, April 2, 2011 4:04 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Mission to Benghazi

Fyi

----- Original Message -----

From: Kennedy, Patrick F
Sent: Saturday, April 02, 2011 03:56 PM
To: Steinberg, James B; Nides, Thomas R; Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J
Cc: Boswell, Eric J
Subject: Mission to Benghazi

Ferry due malta at 0900 Local sunday

Refuel and load staff, vehicles, supplies and equipment

Sked to sail at 1200 local sunday

Eta benghazi at 1200 local monday

Will contine to report

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, March 13, 2011 10:55 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: AbZ and HbJ on Libya and West Bank/Gaza

Fyi

From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Sunday, March 13, 2011 10:27 AM
To: 'Shapiro, Daniel B.' <[REDACTED]> 'Ross, Dennis B.' <[REDACTED]>
'McDonough, Denis R.' <[REDACTED]> Burns, William J; Sullivan, Jacob J; Wells, Alice G;
Schrepel, Dawn M; Schlicher, Ronald L; Sanderson, Janet A; Walles, Jacob; Roebuck, William V; Bondy, Steven C;
Sutphin, Paul R; 'Taiwar, Puneet' <[REDACTED]> Tsou, Leslie <[REDACTED]> 'Kumar,
Prem G.' <[REDACTED]> Hale, David M;
Rudman, Mara; 'Mitchell, George' <[REDACTED]> Sachar, Alon (NEA/IPA); Olson, Richard G; LeBaron,
Joseph E; Cretz, Gene A; Polaschik, Joan A; Barks-Ruggles, Erica J; Stevens, John C
Subject: AbZ and HbJ on Libya and West Bank/Gaza

B6

(SBU) I had back-to-back phone calls this morning from Qatari PM/FM Hamad bin Jassim and UAE Foreign Minister Abdullah bin Zayed. The content was virtually identical, suggesting either rare coincidence or, more likely, an unusual level of UAE-Qatari coordination at yesterday's Arab League meeting. Main points (mostly Libya related but one Palestinian-related) are as follows:

(SBU) No-Fly Zone: The Arab League has now called for a NFZ; the UNSC needs to act. Syria was the last hold-out, but the resolution passed. Time is wasting. Both HbJ and AbZ made the right kind of noises (but still less than a solid commitment) that there would be some kind of Qatari and Emirati participation in an international effort. Their chicken-and-egg question to me was, are we going to support a NFZ? If we are, then we can talk about the other participation.

(SBU) Recognizing the Council: Both urged us to do so. I noted that the Arab League statement fell short of recognition. They urged us to find some kind of language that would suggest moving in that direction, and I noted our decisions to suspend the operations of the Libyan Embassy, have S meet with Mahmoud Jibril of the Council, and send a diplomatic representative to Benghazi. They pushed for more, with HbJ going to far as to say that recognition of the Council will help underscore to Qadhafi and his circle that he's finished.

(SBU) Jibril meeting: They each said the same thing that Gene Cretz has picked up separately, that Jibril doesn't want media for his meeting with S unless he feels that there will be something significant out of the meeting. HbJ is providing a plane for Jibril to get to Paris. HbJ more than AbZ agreed with me that the meeting itself is a significant deliverable; AbZ urged us not to be slower or quieter than France.

(SBU) West Bank/Gaza: Both reacted negatively to Israeli announcements regarding "hundreds of houses" in the West Bank. They asked if we were going to say anything; I noted we were still at this point getting the facts. "Jeff, you guys just aren't serious," AbZ complained. I noted the political context, in which a family was brutally murdered.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Coleman, Claire L <ColemanCL@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 7:29 AM
To: H
Subject: FW: Gen Dempsey called.

Just wanted you to be aware that he called for you on the secure line.

From: Randolph, Lawrence M
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 7:22 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Hanley, Monica R; Coleman, Claire L
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: Gen Dempsey called.

General Dempsey just called to speak to S. He would like to speak to the Secretary around 8 if she is available. He said the two topics he would like to discuss are Benghazi and Afghanistan.

Thanks,
L

Lawrence Randolph
Special Assistant
Office of the Secretary of State
202.647.9573

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, April 3, 2011 10:33 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: EXCLUSIVE: Bill Clinton Says He Wouldn't Rule Out Arming Libya's Rebels

From: Nora Tolv [mailto:]
Sent: Sunday, April 03, 2011 09:25 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: EXCLUSIVE: Bill Clinton Says He Wouldn't Rule Out Arming Libya's Rebels

B6



EXCLUSIVE: Bill Clinton Says He Wouldn't Rule Out Arming Libya's Rebels

'I'm Just Speaking For Myself,' Former President Says

By SUZAN CLARKE

April 3, 2011 —

Former U.S. President Bill Clinton said he thinks the United States should consider arming the rebels in Libya's civil war.

"It would depend ... and I might need to know a little more, but I would be inclined to do it," Clinton told correspondent Bianna Golodryga today in San Diego during an exclusive interview with ABC News.

Clinton was in San Diego for his annual Clinton Global Initiative University Meeting.

The uprising in Libya started in February during a wave of social and political unrest in the Middle East. Fighting has escalated all across the country, but the rebels have found themselves outgunned by Libyan leader Col. Moammar Gadhafi's forces, which are better equipped.

Last month the United Nations authorized a no-fly zone over the North African nation to prevent further attacks on civilians from Gadhafi's troops in the air.

Clinton on Arming Rebels: 'I Sure Wouldn't Shut the Door to It'

The United States backed the no-fly zone and has also authorized additional support for the anti-Gadhafi fighters, but key U.S. lawmakers and top officials in the government of President Barack Obama have said they are not comfortable with arming the rebels -- apparently because not enough is known about them.

But Clinton said he wouldn't completely rule out the idea of supplying arms to Libya's rebels.

"Let me just say this. I sure wouldn't shut the door to it. I think ... we may need to know a little more," he said.

Clinton, husband of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, stressed that he was speaking without "any official sanction" whatsoever.

"I'm just speaking from myself. But I certainly wouldn't take that off the table, too," he said.

Watch More of Interview With Bill Clinton Monday on 'Good Morning America'

Gadhafi is the focus of an investigation by the International Criminal Court in the Hague.

Watch "Good Morning America" tomorrow for the full interview and hear Clinton speak about his summit, the looming government shutdown and the controversy over President Obama's birth certificate.

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RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Sunday, April 24, 2011 10:25 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Stevens update

----- Original Message -----

From: Davis, Timmy T
Sent: Sunday, April 24, 2011 07:51 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Wells, Alice G; S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: Stevens update

Security: Today's focus is on the security situation in Benghazi. There is new local reporting that hotels are being targeted. The TNC conducted a raid on a house/storage facility and found and arrested an Egyptian cell reportedly there for the purpose of attacking hotels. It is believed they were connected to the cell arrested last week, and that interrogation of those arrested earlier led to this round of arrests. Ahmed Qadafadam, cousin of Qadhafi who was envoy to Egypt (and was rumored to have defected), is purportedly the funder and organizer of this cell.

CA updated its travel guidance to tell travelers to stay away from the Fadihl Hotel. Stevens will inform the TNC this afternoon. [NOTE: for your reference, I appended the new WM at the end of this email.]

Stevens will be meeting with MFA in one hour and will make a written request for better security at the hotel and for better security-related coordination. He still feels comfortable in the hotel. They are looking into the idea of moving into a villa, but that is some way off. Need to consider resource requirements (would need TDY'er with authority to sign lease, hire local guards, etc.). Based on discussion with DS yesterday, the hotel remains the safest location. Stevens will continue to work to have the TNC post more people outside and beef up security presence. They have a good set back and are way off the ground.

Flights: Stevens checked with head of the airport. There are no regular humanitarian or other flights, however, there are flights coming in, and the airport could support an air bridge if any country wanted to set one up. Stevens will see his European counterparts this afternoon and will ask how they are bringing in their people and whether we can be part of it.

Trip to Rome: Stevens doesn't know yet if Jalil is going to Rome. As of now, he's inclined not to go but he might change his mind. If the Department thinks he ought to go, Stevens can pass that message. As it stands now, Mahmoud Jabril and Ali Tarhouni will be going.

Misrata: Stevens spoke with Brig. Gen. Hassi re Misrata. The general was pretty clear that the ostensible move by Qadhafi forces out of the area is a ruse. They are withdrawing troops so they won't be hit by NATO, but will send them back in in civilian clothing so they can continue killing that way. Hassi said the assertion Qadhafi would leave to the tribes to resolve was ridiculous because there are no armed tribes around.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 10:47 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'
Subject: Re: Libyan

Both Gates and I said the same on the Sunday shows.

----- Original Message -----

From: Sullivan, Jacob J [mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 10:41 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Libyan

Fyi

----- Original Message -----

From: Gordon, Philip H
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 05:56 PM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D; Burns, William J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Libyan

[REDACTED] now says the issue of the visitor is "more complicated than they thought" and he prefers to send me a secure message in the morning. Will let you know.

Meanwhile, press here all about whether US/coalition going to "arm rebels" based on HRC comments about "no decision yet, resolution allows that". Tomorrow's Guardian headline is "Coalition ready to arm rebellion if Gadafy clings to power". Don't know if playing same way back home.

----- Original Message -----

From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 02:57 PM
To: Gordon, Philip H; Burns, William J; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Libyan

Thanks.
Jeffrey Feltman

----- Original Message -----

From: Gordon, Philip H
Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 02:34 PM
To: Burns, William J; Feltman, Jeffrey D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Libyan

[REDACTED] says plane of Libyan mystery visitor just landed. Said he'd keep us posted as details emerge.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

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Sent: Tuesday, March 29, 2011 10:41 PM
To: H
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Jeffrey Feltman

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Subject: Libyan

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RELEASE IN PART B6

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, April 22, 2011 5:53 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Benghazi staffing

From: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Sent: Friday, April 22, 2011 05:49 PM
To: S_SpecialAssistants; Abedin, Huma
Cc: Burns, William J; Wells, Alice G; Sanderson, Janet A
Subject: Benghazi staffing

S Specials, Huma -- I'd be grateful if you could pass this to S, for her information. Thank you.
-- Jeff

Madam Secretary: I want to let you know about a temporary rotation in Benghazi. TNC Envoy Chris Stevens has been on the road since March 13, when he began his outreach mission, and has been in Benghazi since April 5. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] I discussed this with Bill Burns today. Bill and I support this request and look forward to the opportunity to discuss with Chris the way forward with the TNC.

I know how important it is to have continual coverage (security conditions permitting) in Benghazi. I will send Embassy Tripoli's DCM Joan Polaschik to serve as Acting Envoy during Chris' absence. Like Chris, she knows many of the TNC leaders from her time in Tripoli. Since her return to Washington, she's been working with Gene and NEA on Libya policy and also been coordinating many of the support issues for the team in Benghazi. [REDACTED]

Cheers,
Jeff

*Jeffrey Feltman
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Department of State
202-647-7209*

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

B6

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 6:23 AM
To: H
Subject: We recovered both bodies overnite and are looking at getting at statement out at 7am

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Hanley, Monica R <HanleyMR@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 10:41 PM
To: H
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Tom Donilon

Its Tom Donilon who wants to speak with you secure. Ops was mistaken. He would like to speak with you asap as he is leaving shortly.

----- Original Message -----

From: Hanley, Monica R
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 10:37 PM
To: 'HDR22@clintonemail.com' <HDR22@clintonemail.com>
Cc: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Charge Nolan

Would like to speak with you secure. We are waiting to hear back on his availability.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2011 9:23 AM
To: H
Subject: FW: Stevens Update on Benghazi -- 4/26 @ 7am

From: Fogarty, Daniel J
Sent: Tuesday, April 26, 2011 8:46 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Wells, Alice G
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: Stevens Update on Benghazi -- 4/26 @ 7am

All:

Ops has provided below the latest Stevens update on Benghazi:

- Traffic accident: Police have accepted the USG version of the story: that it was an accident and the victims were not wearing seatbelts. The USG employees were returning from the airport when the incident occurred. **A total of four people died and six injured.** USG employee injuries are light if any. Our people are standing by pending official USG instructions. Stevens notes there is a UK flight tomorrow they could be on if necessary. The TNC wants to do a press release to quell the rumor mill. Stevens will send the draft back to Department for L and PA clearance.
- The British envoy departs tomorrow on permanent change of station. There will be a gap before his replacement, John Jenkins, arrives from Baghdad.
- TNC head Mahmoud Jibril will be going to Jordan and will not be back in Benghazi until Friday. The development is likely to be met with additional criticism that he is spending too much time abroad at the expense of other government affairs.

Thanks,

Dan

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, March 30, 2011 8:38 AM
To: H
Cc: Abedin, Huma
Subject: gorgeous pic on the front page of the NYT!

B6

One for the wall...

For what it's worth, I am VERY dubious about arming the Libyan rebels. Our best bet is to keep pressure on BOTH sides to force a diplo solution. AMS

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 7:47 AM
To: H
Cc: 'AbedinH@state.gov'; 'MillsCD@state.gov'
Subject: Chris Stevens

B6

To you and all my former colleagues, I'm so terribly sorry. Our FSOs stand on the front lines just as surely and devotedly as our soldiers do. Thinking of you and Pat and everyone this morning.
AM

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Saturday, April 23, 2011 3:52 PM
To: 'abedinh@state.gov'
Subject: Re: McCain update

What is Donna's #?

----- Original Message -----

From: Abedin, Huma [mailto:AbedinH@state.gov]
Sent: Saturday, April 23, 2011 03:27 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: McCain update

----- Original Message -----

From: Davis, Timmy T
Sent: Saturday, April 23, 2011 03:12 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Wells, Alice G; S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: McCain update

The Watch received the following readout of CODEL McCain's April 23 meetings in Cairo.

Foreign Minister Alaraby:

- McCain discussed his visit to Libya, emphasizing it appeared a stalemate was emerging. McCain supported the decision to send in predator drones and would like NATO to provide equipment, as well as training, to the rebel forces. McCain characterized the TNC as "good people," but said its military was far less impressive.

- Regarding the possibility of Egypt increasing aid to the TNC, Alaraby said Egypt was reluctant to provide additional support out of concern for the estimated 1 million Egyptian nationals living in Libya.

- Alaraby reiterated Egypt is in no rush to restore diplomatic relations with Iran.

- Alaraby said Egypt will abide by all agreements made with Israel. He encouraged the United States to support, or at least not oppose, recognition of Palestinian statehood in the UN.

- McCain said the USG had discussed a modest assistance package for Egypt, but warned it was probably more modest than Egypt wished given the current economic climate. McCain planned to organize a group of businessmen to visit Egypt and encouraged Alaraby to create a more pro-business environment.

Defense Minister, Field Marshall Tantawi:

- The meeting focused on Libya and strategies to increase U.S. and Egyptian assistance. The discussion was not as in depth as McCain's meeting with the FM. Tantawi echoed Alaraby's concern about Egyptian nationals in Libya and request for increased U.S. assistance.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, August 22, 2011 7:17 AM
To: H; Abedin, Huma
Subject: Re: Benghazi update (1200 local)

Already working on it with Eric S., Jeremy B., and NSS.

From: H [mailto:HDR22@clintonemail.com]
Sent: Monday, August 22, 2011 07:10 AM
To: Abedin, Huma; Sullivan, Jacob J
Subject: Re: Benghazi update (1200 local)

Can we arrange shipments of what's requested?

From: Abedin, Huma [mailto:AbedinH@state.gov]
Sent: Monday, August 22, 2011 07:06 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Benghazi update (1200 local)

From: Abbaszadeh, Nima
Sent: Monday, August 22, 2011 06:54 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Wells, Alice G; Abedin, Huma; Hanley, Monica R; Mills, Cheryl D
Cc: S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: FW: Benghazi update (1200 local)

Update from Rep. Stevens in Benghazi, based on largely on info from acting PM Ali Tarhouni and acting FM Salah Bishari:

- TNC caretaker cabinet/members were up until 4am following events in Tripoli and discussing plans for the coming days. Tarhouni said the TNC has been in constant communication with its people in Tripoli, including both fighters and those entrusted with implementing the stabilization plans. Rebels in Tripoli, in coordination with the TNC, have begun to set up checkpoints inside the city and guard public buildings.
- TNC chairman Abd al Jalil and PM Jibril made statements to the media last night, urging people to refrain from revenge attacks and destruction of public buildings.
- There has so far been "no bloodbath" or serious looting.
- The capture of Saif al-Islam al-Qadhafi and Mohamed al-Qadhafi is significant. The TNC, including Abd al-Jalil himself, intervened with rebels surrounding Mohamed's house to ensure that they did not harm him. They understood that it would be harmful to the revolution and the TNC if he were killed. These events were captured live by Al Jazeera in interviews with Mohamed. Both brothers are in rebel custody (at this time, it is unclear to us exactly who is holding them, however).
- Per Tarhouni, the next steps are: 1) find Muammar Qadhafi; 2) issue a statement announcing the end of the Qadhafi regime and the start of the interim period under the TNC (TNC staff have begun drafting

this statement already); 3) insure the delivery of essential services and commodities (esp. addressing the acute shortages of fuel, children's milk, and medication for blood pressure and diabetes); and 4) move the TNC to Tripoli.

- Regarding the move to Tripoli, Tarhouni said security arrangements would need to be made before they could send the TNC leadership to the capital. We have heard from another contact that some TNC members are already making plans to fly to Misurata and the Western Mountains, possibly as early as today, and from there drive to Tripoli.
- Request for assistance: Tarhouni, who also holds US citizenship, said the items listed above (gas, diesel, baby milk, and medicine) are urgently needed in Tripoli and recommended that the USG ship those items directly to Zawiya's Port and publicize such assistance as soon as feasible (in coordination with the TNC). He said this would bring the US even more goodwill than it has already earned here.

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2011 5:17 AM
To: H
Subject: Fw: Secretary in Tripoli

From: Cretz, Gene A
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2011 04:50 AM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: Secretary in Tripoli

T thanks for the kind words. I think the Secretary's visit here was picture perfect given the chaos we labor under in Libya. The Secretary was great and her efforts will I think help us move forward on our project to help the war-wounded. On a lighter note, I will never be lonely here after the Secretary was kind enough to give my personal contact information to all 120,000 students at the university during her stirring dialogue with them. It has been quite a week ;I don't think I can take any more excitement. All the best, Gene.

From: Mills, Cheryl D
Sent: Sunday, October 16, 2011 2:36 PM
To: Cretz, Gene A
Subject: RE: contact

Thanks so much Gene – you have been a terrific partner in a hard circumstance.

I think we will move forward with seeking to have Chris become charge in January and then nominate him subsequently so he can begin serving.

[REDACTED]

B6

cdm

From: Cretz, Gene A
Sent: Friday, October 14, 2011 1:36 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D
Subject: contact

Hi Cheryl: hope this finds you well. I know that Jeff has been in touch with you regarding the switch between myself and Chris Stevens. I just wanted you to know that I am prepared to do whatever you and the Secretary think is best. I met with Pat Kennedy and Bill Burns before I left and told them [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] please rest assured that I consider myself extremely fortunate to have had the opportunity to work closely with/for the Secretary during the past 8 months. I consider the Secretary's visit to Tripoli this coming week to be the high point of my 30 year career. Warm regards, Gene.

B6

PERSONAL
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2012 11:38 PM
To: 'sullivanjj@state.gov'; 'millsd@state.gov'; 'nulandvj@state.gov'
Subject: Chris Smith

Cheryl told me the Libyans confirmed his death. Should we announce tonight or wait until morning?

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, April 27, 2012 11:16 AM
To: H
Subject: FW: Talk with PM

FYI

From: Cretz, Gene A
Sent: Friday, April 27, 2012 6:23 AM
To: Feltman, Jeffrey D
Cc: Dibble, Elizabeth L; Maxwell, Raymond D; Sidereas, Evyenia; Stevens, John C; Roebuck, William V; SES-O; Sullivan, Jacob J; Burns, William J
Subject: Talk with PM

I called PM el-Keib this morning to get his take on what we were all hearing about TNC final decisions to dismiss the government, etc. I told him that after the British Ambassador and I had spoken to him and Jalil on Sunday, we had hoped that these public skirmishes would end and that the government could focus on security and the elections. The PM said that he had in fact met with Jalil on Monday and agreed to work together for the good of the nation. On Tuesday, the PM had met with several Council members and had brought along proposed changes in some of the ministerial portfolios. He sensed there was agreement from the Council members present and thought he had succeeded in quelling the public discontent. Unfortunately, he continued, more public threats, etc. were issued and by Wednesday evening he had had enough. That prompted his critical remarks in a press interview demanding that the TNC stop interfering in the government's business and let him and his government do the work they needed to do without all this negative background noise. He told me that we should not be concerned about last night's "rumors" and that he would continue to work to end these fratricidal disputes. For his own role, he said he would be just as happy to give up his post if matters came to that. We will continue to try to reach out to other contacts today to see if in fact the Council does intend to act against the government. But while the PM is clearly frustrated, he also seemed to believe that the current strife will not result in any major shake-up, at least for the time being.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Friday, June 10, 2011 4:01 PM
To: H
Subject: Hotel in Benghazi

There is credible threat info against the hotel that our team is using - and the rest of the intl community is using, for that matter. DS going to evacuate our people to alt locations. Info suggested attack in next 24-48 hours. Will keep you posted.

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Abedin, Huma <AbedinH@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, April 23, 2011 3:28 PM
To: H
Subject: Fw: McCain update

----- Original Message -----

From: Davis, Timmy T
Sent: Saturday, April 23, 2011 03:12 PM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Abedin, Huma; Wells, Alice G; S_SpecialAssistants
Subject: McCain update

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Foreign Minister Alaraby:

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- Alaraby reiterated Egypt is in no rush to restore diplomatic relations with Iran.
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RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Saturday, September 10, 2011 10:23 AM
To: H
Subject: Rogers

Apparently wants to see you to talk Libya/weapons.

RELEASE IN PART
B6

From: PIR [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2012 7:29 AM
To: H
Subject: STATEMENT

B6

Statement on the Death of American Personnel in Benghazi, Libya

It is with profound sadness that I share the news of the death of four American personnel in Benghazi, Libya yesterday. Among them were United States Ambassador to Libya Chris Stevens and Foreign Service Information Management Officer, Sean Smith. We are still making next of kin notifications for the other two individuals. Our hearts go out to all their families and colleagues.

A 21 year veteran of the Foreign Service, Ambassador Stevens died last night from injuries he sustained in the attack on our office in Benghazi.

I had the privilege of swearing in Chris for his post in Libya only a few months ago. He spoke eloquently about his passion for service, for diplomacy and for the Libyan people. This assignment was only the latest in his more than two decades of dedication to advancing closer ties with the people of the Middle East and North Africa which began as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Morocco. As the conflict in Libya unfolded, Chris was one of the first Americans on the ground in Benghazi. He risked his own life to lend the Libyan people a helping hand to build the foundation for a new, free nation. He spent every day since helping to finish the work that he started. Chris was committed to advancing America's values and interests, even when that meant putting himself in danger.

Sean was a husband and a father of two, who joined the Department ten years ago. Like Chris, Sean was one of our best. All the Americans we lost in yesterday's attacks made the ultimate sacrifice. We condemn this vicious and violent attack that took their lives, which they had committed to helping the Libyan people reach for a better future.

America's diplomats and development experts stand on the front lines every day for our country. We are honored by the service of each and every one of them.

###

RELEASE IN
PART B6

From: Anne-Marie Slaughter [REDACTED]
Sent: Sunday, March 13, 2011 9:39 PM
To: H
Cc: Sullivan, Jacob J; Mills, Cheryl D; Reinesp@state.gov; Abedin, Huma
Subject: piece on libya nfz that will appear on NYT op-ed page tomorrow

B6

I wanted to make sure you had a heads up. AM

Anne-Marie Slaughter is a professor of politics and international affairs at Princeton.

By Anne-Marie Slaughter

PRESIDENT Obama says the noose is tightening around Col. Muammar al-Qaddafi. In fact, it is tightening around the Libyan rebels, as Colonel Qaddafi makes the most of the world's dithering and steadily retakes rebel-held towns. The United States and Europe are temporizing on a no-flight zone while the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Gulf Cooperation Council and now the Arab League have all called on the United Nations Security Council to authorize one. Opponents of a no-flight zone have put forth five main arguments, none of which, on closer examination, hold up.

It's not in our interest. Gen. Wesley K. Clark argues that "Libya doesn't sell much oil to the United States" and that while Americans "want to support democratic movements in the region," they are already doing that in Iraq and Afghanistan. Framing this issue in terms of oil is exactly what Arab populations and indeed much of the world expect, which is why they are so cynical about our professions of support for democracy and human rights. Now we have a chance to support a new beginning in the Muslim world — a new beginning of accountable governments that can provide services and opportunities for their citizens in ways that could dramatically decrease support for terrorist groups and violent extremism. It's hard to imagine something more in our strategic interest.

It will be counter-productive. Many thoughtful commentators, including Al Jazeera's director general, Wadah Khanfar, argue that what is most important about the Arab spring is that it is coming from Arabs themselves. From this perspective, Western military intervention will play right into Qaddafi's hands, allowing him to broadcast pictures of Western bombs falling on Arab civilians. But these arguments, while important, must be weighed against the appeals of of Libyan opposition fighters asking for international help, and now, astonishingly, against support for a no-flight zone by some of the same governments that have kept their populations quiescent by holding up the specter of foreign intervention. Assuming that a no-flight zone can be imposed by an international coalition that includes Arab states, we have an opportunity to establish a new narrative of Western support for Arab democrats.

It won't work. The United States ambassador to NATO, Ivo H. Daalder, argues that stopping Colonel Qaddafi's air force will not be decisive; he will continue to inflict damage with tanks and helicopters, bombing oil refineries and depots on his way to retaking key towns. But the potential effect of a no-flight zone must also be assessed in terms of Colonel Qaddafi's own calculations about his future. Richard Downie of the Center for Strategic and International Studies argues that although Colonel Qaddafi cultivates a mad-dictator image, he has been a canny survivor and political manipulator for 40 years. He is aware of debates with regard to a no-flight zone and is timing his military campaign accordingly; he is also capable of using his air force just enough to gain strategic advantage, but not enough to trigger a no-flight zone. If the international community lines up against him and is willing to crater his runways and take out his antiaircraft weapons, he might well renew his offer of a negotiated departure.

If it does work, we don't know what we will get. Revolutions are almost always followed by internal divisions among the revolutionaries. We should not expect a rosy, Jeffersonian Libya. But the choice is between uncertainty and the certainty that if Colonel Qaddafi wins, regimes across the region will conclude that force is the way to answer protests. And when Colonel Qaddafi massacres the opposition, young protesters across the Middle East will conclude that when we were asked to support their cause with more than words, we blinked. Americans in turn will read the words of Mr. Obama's June 2009 speech in Cairo, with its lofty promises to stand for universal human rights, and cringe.

Let's arm the rebels instead. Some commentators who agree with the analysis above say we could better accomplish our goals by providing intelligence and arms to the opposition. That would, of course, be much easier for us. It undoubtedly appeals to Mr. Obama as a neat compromise between the desire to help the protesters and the desire not to overrule his defense secretary's reluctance to participate in a no-flight zone. But we would be providing arms not to a disciplined military, but to ragged groups of brave volunteers who barely know how to use the weapons they have. They need action that will change the situation on the ground for Colonel Qaddafi, as well as his the calculations. Moreover, by the time arms and intelligence could take effect, it is quite likely that Colonel Qaddafi will have retaken or at least besieged Benghazi, the opposition stronghold.

The United States should immediately ask the Security Council to authorize a no-flight zone and make clear to Russia and China that if they block the resolution, the blood of the Libyan opposition will be on their hands. We should push them at least to abstain and bring the issue to a vote as soon as possible. If we get a resolution, we should work with the Arab League to quickly assemble an international coalition to impose the no-flight zone. If the Security Council fails to act, then we should recognize the opposition Interim National Council as the legitimate Libyan government, as France has done, and work with the Arab League to give the council any assistance it requests.

Any use of force must be carefully and fully debated, but that debate has now been had. It's been raging for a week, during which almost every Arab country has come on board calling for a no-flight zone and Colonel Qaddafi has retaken two key cities and is moving toward three more. It is time to act. \$

RELEASE IN
FULL

From: Mills, Cheryl D <MillsCD@state.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, January 18, 2012 5:05 PM
To: H
Subject: FW: Agrément/Libya

From: Samuelson, Heather F
Sent: Wednesday, January 18, 2012 3:38 PM
To: Mills, Cheryl D; Kennedy, Patrick F
Subject: FW: Agrément/Libya

Fyi

From: Hardy, Sharon L
Sent: Wednesday, January 18, 2012 3:36 PM
To: 'Kramer, Douglas'; McMahon, Collin
Cc: Alba, Joann G; Samuelson, Heather F; Mehlenbacher, Kelly J; 'Johnson, Darin'; Starke, Petra; 'Sobel, Charlie'; McLaughlin, Meg T.
Subject: Agrément/Libya

Sensitive

Doug, Collin:

Libya has granted agrément to John Christopher Stevens (goes by Chris). His security is complete and OGE pre-cleared his financial disclosure. We will forward nomination documents to the Executive Clerk.

Thank you, Sharon

Sharon L. Hardy
U.S. Department of State
Presidential Appointments Staff
(202) 647-9731
(202) 647-4694 fax

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